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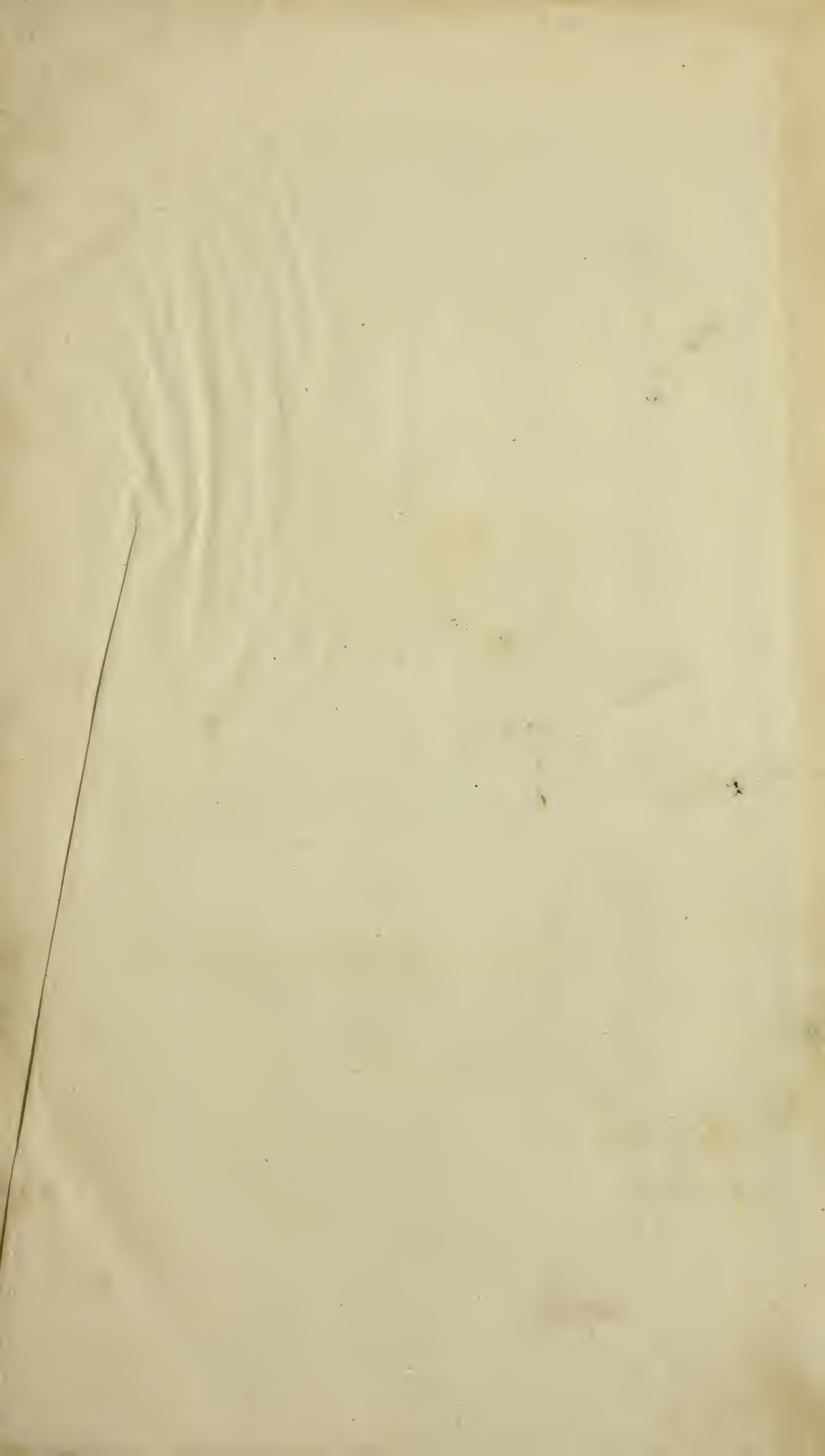
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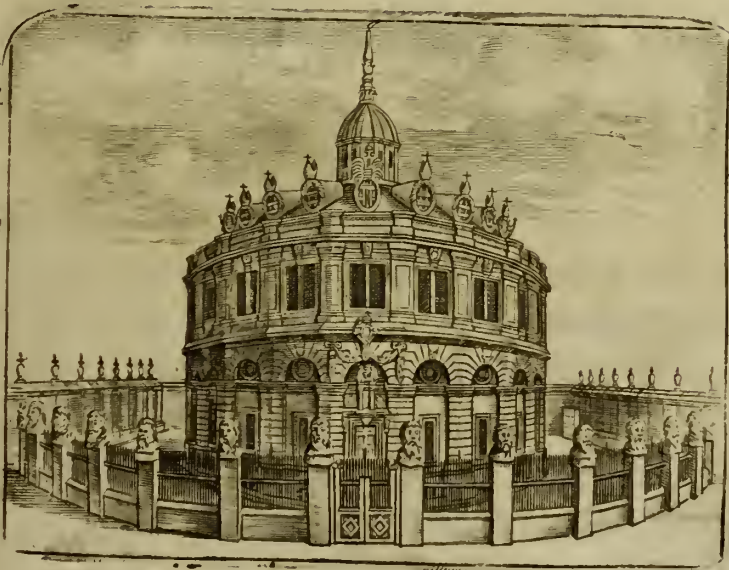
A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
Late Troubles
IN
ENGLAND;

Briefly setting forth,

Their RISE, GROWTH, and TRAGICAL CONCLUSION.
As also, some Parallel thereof with the BARONS-WARS
in the time of King HENRY III. But chiefly with that
in *France*, called the HOLY LEAGUE, in the Reign of
HENRY III. and HENRY IV. late Kings of that Realm.

To which is added

A Perfect Narrative of the Treaty at Uxbridge in an. 1644.



O X F O R D,

Printed at the *THEATER* for *MOSES PITT* at the
Angel in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, *London*. MDCLXXXI.



That all Rebellions did ever begin with the fairest Pretences for Reforming of somewhat amiss in the Government, is a Truth so clear, that there needs no manifestation thereof from Examples. Nor were they ever observed to have greater success, than when the Colours for Religion did openly appear in the Van of their armed Forces; most men being desirous to have it really thought (how bad and vile soever their practises are) that zeal to God's glory, is no small part of their aim. Which guilded bait hath been usually held forth to allure the Vulgar, by those, whose ends and designs were nothing else, than to get into power, and so to possess themselves of the Estates and Fortunes of their more opulent Neighbours.

Should I look far backwards for discovery of the first source and fountain, whence that viperous brood, which not long since hath so miserably infested these Kingdoms, did spring, of whose unparallel'd practises the ensuing Narrative doth specially take notice; I must ascend to the times of Moses and Aaron (the one the supreme Magistrate, the other the chief Priest): Corah, Dathan, and Abiran, then rising up, and taking upon themselves an authority equal with those chosen servants of God; and saying that all the Congregation was Holy. In like manner afterward when Absolom the rebellious son of David rose up against his father, there was a demure face of Godliness put on, of a solemn vow to be performed to God at Hebron; and large promises of reformation of all abuses in Government were made by the unnatural usurper.

This sort of practice continued in the Jewish Church till the time of the Gospel, as is conspicuous enough from the words of our blessed Saviour, where he speaks of the Scribes and Pharisees; that they did outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within were full of Hypocrisy and Guile; devouring Widows houses; and for a pretence making long Prayers: Our Lord in the xith and xvith Chapter of St. Luke, making likewise a farther Description of them. St. Paul also in his Epistle to Timothy, plainly foretelling us, that such should again spring up in the last times Men (saith he) who shall be Lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud &c. Traiterous, heady, high-minded &c.

The Preface.

having a form of Godliness, but denying the power thereof.

Now, that the Offspring of these, did more or less infest the world throughout all after-times, would be no difficult thing to manifest, were it here necessary or convenient; In the time of heathen persecution of Christianity, rose up Novatian the father of the Cathari or Puritans; to whom may be added Donatus and his followers, who confin'd Godliness to themselves; and religion to Africa their country. After the settlement of the Church in Christian Emperors, appear'd Acrius the first inventor of Presbytery; which tho it seem'd a long time dead, has been of late raked out of its ashes, and made to trouble and set on fire the Western Church.

As to the usual practises of the men of this sect, there is nothing more clear, than that Religion, nay the Reformation thereof to its purity, hath bin the thing which they have ever cryed up: and that meekness, sanctity and the power of Godliness, are the Cloaks in which they have alway at first shew'd themselves; by which plausible devices, they have captivated thousands. But it is no less evident, that having by this means got power into their hands; destruction of civil Government, Rapine, Spoil, and the greatest mischeifs imaginable, have bin the woful effects of those their Specious pretences; whereby they have really verified that expression of our Saviour; viz. that they were of their father the Devil, and the Works of him they should do.

But to come nearer my present business.

That the Actions of our late times, chiefly from the year 1637 till 1660, can be easily forgotten, or that there is any need of reviving the memory of them to this present Age, 'tis not to be imagin'd. Nevertheless, for their sakes, who are ignorant of the means and preparations made in order to those grand Exploits, then done: and that Posterity may have a short view thereof, I have adventured upon the publishing of this Discourse which was long since compiled. Wherein I first deduce our late Troubles in England, and other his Majesties Realms, from the principles of those persons; who, about an hundred and fifty years before, under the same Hypocritical pretences, did greivously infest Germany. And, having finished that Narrative as particularly and fully as I may; afterwards manifest, that the original

The Preface.

ginal project of our chief Contrivers here, was to reduce the King to Necessities ; and thereby to expose him to the use of such extraordinary ways of Supply, as might most conduce to the raising of discontent amongst all his good Subjects. Which they did, by engaging first his father in a war for the Palatinate, and their failing to assist him, notwithstanding their most solemn promises.

As also by planting Schismatical Lectures in most corporate-Towns, and populous places throughout the Realm ; so to poison the people with Antimonarchical principles.

In the next place I shall take notice of the rise and progress of the late troubles in Scotland, which were the Prologue to these of ours.

Then of the Scottish Invasion, which occasioned the unhappy long Parliament, and likewise of some proceedings in that Parliament, before the predominant party therein did put themselves in Arms.

After this I shall point at the dissolution of the Presbyterian power, and growth of the Independent, whereupon ensued the nefarious murder of King Charles the first : and after that, such confusions, as made way for the happy Restoration of our present Sovereign King Charles the second.

Which being done, I shall make some observations upon their first fair and smooth pretences, set forth in several Declarations and Remonstrances, by which the too credulous people were miserably deluded, and drawn from their due Allegiance.

And lastly give some brief Account of those Actions by the Rebellious Barons here, in the time of King Henry the third, which had most resemblance with the practises of these our pretended Reformers. As also shew how exact a parallel these great Masters in mischief have held with those of the Holy League in France: whose Rebellion terminated, in some sort as ours did, in the Murder of their King.

What falleth within my own cognisance, I deliver with mine own words : what is beyond my knowledge, in the words of my Authors ; most of which I have quoted ; the rest being taken from the common Mercuries, and other public-licensed Narratives of the chiefest occurrences in those times.

If the Reader think it disproportionat that so particular an account is given of the counsels and proceedings leading to the Rebellion ; but one more brief of the transactions in it : He may be pleas'd to know that the Author being not a military man, was

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more enabled to relate what past in counsel than in the field. The Diary part until the year 1646, was compos'd at Oxford, in the time of the late troubles, before that Garrison of his Majesty was rendred up to General Fairfax, as the Original copy will apparently shew; which hath bin seen and read by several persons of great honour and credit, many years since, who are yet living, and upon occasion, if need be, will assert the same. Which original was a good while since, with little variation transcrib'd for the Press; and has now for many months been out of the Author's hands, and far distant from him, in order to the publishing thereof; so that he has wanted opportunity to review, piece by piece what he had written; or correct the errors which in so long a work must needs escape; for which the Readers candor is desir'd.

If the Reflections on what is past, are sometimes severe, let it be imputed to the just indignation conceiv'd against those men, who under specious pretences mask'd the most black designs; and an abhorrence of those proceedings which embroil'd the nation in a civil war; perfidious in its rise, bloody in its prosecution, fatal in its end, and which to this day proves mischievous in its consequents.

When the subjects of this miserable Kingdom had murder'd the defender both of us and of our faith; and driven away his children, Princes and Nobles, into strange lands; bidding them, as David speaks on a like occasion, go serve other Gods; the divine vengeance gave us the natural product of this sin of ours, several of our Princes and great men, returning back corrupted in their principles, and tainted with the religion, wherewith they long convers'd. And in like manner, when men had for a long time falsely cried out of the intentions to bring in Popery, thereby the more easily to destroy the Protestant Religion by Law establish'd; the same divine justice has permitted the whole Protestant Religion, to be now under the greatest danger imaginable, by the real plots, and execrable machinations of Papists among us at this day; who, both in this and our sister Kingdoms, by Combinations among themselves, and by fomenting divisions among us, have gone very far towards the ruine of our Church, and subversion of the State; and say of both, there there, so would we have it; down with them, down with them even to the ground. But that almighty God, who by miracle so lately restored unto us our Religion and our Laws, will as we hope and earnestly pray, preserve them still against the joint attempts of Popery on the one hand, and Fanaticism on the other; and make his Jerusalem a praise in the earth. In which prayer all true Protestants; and, what is commensurat thereto, all loyal Subjects, will joyn their suffrage and say, Amen.



A Short View of the
Late Troubles
I N
ENGLAND.

C H A P. I.



THE chief design of this ensuing Discourse being to shew the mischievous fruits of *Hypocrisy*; which is, under the colour of *Sanctity* to act any sort of wickedness: And that these great pretenders to *Godliness* were they who have been the chief disturbers of our blessed peace; I shall observe, that upon the departure, long since, of most of the Subjects of this Realm from the Church of *Rome*, by reason of its apparent corruptions; there were some, who did unhappily infuse into sundry well meaning people, a bad opinion of our *Reformation*. These were men of proud and peevish Spirits, who had not light enough in themselves to discern the truth, because they wanted learning to search into Antiquities; nor knowledg to trace those of that Church in the paths by which they

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had

had deviated from the Doctrine of Christ and his holy Apostles; and so (by reason thereof) ran from one extremity to another. Thus sleighting the authority of the learned and pious Reformers, who shew'd the Errors of the *Romish* Church, such a liberty to the private Spirit, was at that time by them allow'd, as at last, when the giddy multitude became in that sort deluded by those their false Teachers, every Brain-sick person stamp't the Seal of God's Spirit upon his own false and erroneous conceits.

Which false Teachers, among other their Artifices to captivate the Vulgar, and to beget a disaffection in them to that reverend Ecclesiastical Discipline which was then establish'd, have cunningly suggested to them, that all the *Reformed Churches* in forreign parts, do utterly dislike thereof, as too much favouring of the *Romish* p'olutions. And by this subtle insinuation, tho' most notoriously false*, have so far prevail'd upon their Profelytes, that they do not only refuse to communicate with us in our Divine Offices; but in that, and whatever else their own vain fancies do prompt them, are become disobedient and refractory to the superior powers which God hath ordain'd.

They who would know more of these things, may repair unto the Relations of such learned men, as have written of our *Reformation*, and make their own observations thereon; as also upon what I shall further say in this Historical Work, whereunto I refer them; beginning with the *Anabaptists of Germany*, from an Author* of good credit.

They had always in their mouths (says he) those great things, *Charity, Faith, the true Fear of God, the Cross, the Mortification of the Flesh*. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world; to account Riches and Honours vanity.

They were sollicitous of men to Fasts, and to often meditations on Heavenly things. Wherever they found men, in Diet, Attire, Furniture of House, or any other way observers of Civility and decent Order; such they reported as being carnally and earthly minded.

They so much affected to cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other men used to put on better

* See a view of the Government and public Worship of God in the Churches beyond Sea; by Dr. Durëll. impr. Lond. 1662.

* Guy de Bres contre l'erreur des Anabaptists. p. 5.

Ib. p. 118, 119, 120.

Ib. p. 177.

better attire, they would be sure openly to shew themselves abroad in worse.

The ordinary names of the days of the week, they thought it a kind of prophaneness to use; and therefore accustomed themselves, to make no other distinction than by numbers.

From this they proceeded unto public Reformation; first Ecclesiastical, and then Civil. Touching the former, they boldly vouched, that themselves only had the Truth, which thing, upon peril of their lives, they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might be brought again to that integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requireth, they began to controll the Ministers of the Gospel, for attributing so much force and virtue unto the Scriptures of God read; whereas the Truth (said they) was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the Heart, and to convert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto appliable, as it is read and preached; but as it is engrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost, opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the Mysteries of God.

No marvel was it, to see them every day broach some new thing, not heard of before; for they interpreted that restless levity, to be their growing to spiritual perfection, and their proceeding from faith to faith. Ib. p. 27.

But the differences amongst them, growing by this means in a manner infinite, there was scarcely found any one of them, the forge of whose Brain was not possessed with some special Mystery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to defend the Cause, common to them all, against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the founder in his own persuasion, excusing the *Dear Brethren*, who were not so far enlightned. Ib. p. 65, & 66.

Their own Ministers they highly magnified, as men whose Vocation was from God: but their manner was to term others *Disdainful Scribes and Pharisees*; to account their calling a humane Creature, and to detain the people, as much as might be from hearing them. Ib. p. 71.
Ib. p. 124.

Ib. p. 748.

Ib. p. 122.

The custom of using Godfathers and Godmothers at Christenings, they scorn'd: and hated conformity to the Church, in observing those solemn Festivals which others did; in as much as Antichrist (they said) was the first Inventor of them.

The pretended end of their civil Reformation was, that Christ might have dominion over all; that no other might reign over Christian men but He: and for this cause, they laboured with all their might in overturning the Seats of Magistracy.

Ib. p. 40.

Ib. p. 6.

Certain it is, that these men at first, were only pityed in their error; the great Humility, Zeal, and Devotion, which appeared to be in them, being in all mens opinion, a pledge of their harmless meaning. Whereupon *Luther* made request unto *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*; that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared; for that (their error excepted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which toleration, they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the State of the Commonwealth, wherein they lived. For they had their secret meetings in Corners, and Assemblies in the night, the people flocking unto them by thousands.

Ib. p. 420.

Nor were the means, whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes ineffectual; *viz.* First, a wonderful shew of Zeal towards God. Secondly, an hatred of Sin, and a singular love of Integrity. Lastly, a cunning sleight which they had to stroak and smooth up the minds of their followers; as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue.

Ib. p. 27.

And in all these things, being fully perswaded, that what they did, it was in obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remain'd after speculation, practise, whereby the whole frame thereunto (if it were possible) might be squared.

Ib. p. 6.

But seeing that this could not be done without mighty opposition and resistance against it: therefore to strengthen themselves, they secretly entred into a *League of Association*; concluding, that as *Israel* was deliver'd out of the

Egypt

Egypt of the worlds servile thraldome, to sin and superstition. As *Israel* was to root out the Idolatrous nations, and to plant instead of them, a people which feared God. So the same Lords good will and pleasure was now, that these new *Israelites*, should under the conduct of other *Joshuas*, *Sampsons* and *Gedeons*, perform a work no less miraculous, in casting out violently the wicked from the Earth, and establishing the kingdom of Christ with perfect Liberty.

But these men in whose mouthes at the first founded nothing but mortification of the flesh, were come at the length, to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives apiece. They who at the first, thought judgment and justice it self to be merciless cruelty; accounted at the length, their own hands sanctified with being imbrued in Christian blood. They who at first were wont to beat down all Dominion, and to urge against poor Constables, Kings of Nations; had at the length, both Consuls and Kings of their own erection amongst themselves. Finally, they who could not brook at first, that any man should seek, no not by law the recovery of his goods injuriously taken, or withheld from him; were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable sacrifice, then by turning their adversaries clean out of House and Home; and by enriching themselves with all kind of spoil and pillage.

For a further Character of them, *Sleidan* tells us; that *Muncer*, by his new Doctrine, touching goods to be in common, incited the Boores of *Franconia* and *Turingen*, to undertake the *Holy-war* (as he call'd it) against their Princes; telling them, that he was commanded of God to destroy all wicked Princes, and substitute new ones in their places; and that they were call'd indeed Princes, but were Tyrants. Moreover, that they would not restore unto the people their liberty; nor permit them to have the true Religion and service of God: exhorting them rather to dye then to allow their wickedness, and suffer the Doctrine of the Gospel to be taken from them; and therefore to play the men, and gratify God, in destroying such unprofitable people.

Likewise, that this their great zeal towards God, and outward humility, got them in the beginning many fol-

An. 1525.
Sleidans Com-
ment. lib. 5.
f. 55. a. b.
Ib. f. 56. b.

Ib. 59. b.

lowers; for their demands were, first, that they might choose them such Ministers, as should preach Gods word sincerely, without any mixture of mens traditions. Secondly, that thenceforth they would pay no Tythes, but of Corn only; and the same to be distributed by the discretion of good men; partly to the Ministers of the Church; partly upon the poor; and partly upon common affairs. Thirdly, that they had till that time, been unworthily kept in Bonds, considering how they were all made free in the blood of Christ. Fourthly, that they refused not to have a Magistrate, knowing that he is ordain'd of God, and would obey him in all honest things; but could not abide to be any longer bound, unless it were shewed reasonable by the testimony of Scripture. Fifthly, that in all their Letters, which they wrote to provoke and allure others to their fellowship; they made their boast that they took up arms by Gods Commandment; and for a certain love and zeal to the Commonwealth, to the intent the Doctrine of the Gospel might be set forth, augmented, and maintained. And sixthly; that Truth, Equity, and honest living might reign and flourish: as also, that they might so provide for them and theirs, that thenceforth they should not be oppressed with any violence.

Ib. f. 63. a.

And that when they had thus, at few words, declared the cause of their enterprize, they would then command their Neighbours to arm, and come unto them immediately, and help them: If not, then would they threaten to come upon them, with all their force. But, having gotten the power and Arms into their hands, they committed divers horrid outrages; insomuch as *Luther* exhorted all men, that they would come to destroy them as wicked Theeves and parricides, in like case as they would come to quench a common fire; having most shamefully broken their faith to their Princes; taken other mens goods by force, and cloake all this abomination and wickedness, with the cover of Christianity: which (saith he) is the vilest and unworthiest thing that can be imagined.

Ib. f. 64. b.
& 65. a.

In *Suevia* and *Franconia* about forty thousand Pefants took Arms; rob'd a great part of the Nobility, plunder'd many Towns and Castles, *Muncer* being their chief Captain;

tain: so that the Princes of the Empire, *Albert Count of Mansfeild*, *John Duke of Saxony*, and his Cousen *George*, *Philip the Lantgrave of Hesse*, and *Henry Duke of Brunswike*, were necessitated to raise what power they could; and having offered them pardon upon submission, and delivering up their principal leaders, which was refused; marcht against them. But *Muncer* preparing for Battel, encouraged his followers; crying out to them to take their weapons, and fight stoutly against their Enemies, singing * a Song, whereby they call'd for help of the Holy Ghost. The success of which Battel was, that the Rebels at the first onset, were soon put in disorder, and above five thousand slain on the place: and that *Muncer* fled and hid himself: but being found and brought to the Princes, was (with his fellow *Phifer*) beheaded at *Mulhuse*.

Sleidans Com.
f. 57.

Thus did the
Rebels here
in England at
the last Bat-
tel of New-
bery 27. Oct.
1644.

And about the year 1535, *John of Leyden* (a Taylor by trade, and of this Tribe) preaching the Doctrine of *Rebaptization*, so much infected the inferior sort of people, by the means of private Conventicles, that his followers grew numerous, and exercised violence against those that were not of their Sect. At last robbing their adversaries, and gathering together in great Troops, they possess themselves of the strongest part of the City of *Munster*; declaring, that all such as were not rebaptized, ought to be accounted Pagans and Infidels, and to be killed. His Companions were *Rosman* and *Cnipperdoling*, who gathered together to that City great numbers of the base sort of people: and seeing their strength, chose new Senators of their own Sect, making *Cnipperdoling* the chief; who taught that the People might put down their Magistrate. And albeit that the Apostles had no commandment to usurp any jurisdiction: yet such as were their Ministers of the Church, ought to take upon them the right of the Sword, and by force to establish a new Commonwealth. Hereupon they spoil'd the Suburbs, and burnt the Churches; so that the Bishop of *Munster* (who was Lord of the City, and forced out) besieged them; the neighbour Princes giving assistance: which siege continuing long, the famine grew to be such, as that the besieged miserably perished in great numbers: and at length the besiegers forcing their entrance by assault, slew many,

An. 1535.

Sleidan ut sup-
pra lib. 1. f.
131. b.

took the Ring-leaders; and having put them to death, hang'd their Bodies in several Cages of Iron on the highest Towers of that City. Thus far *Sleidan*.

It is not unworthy observation, that divers of these *German Phanatiques*, to the end they might at that time be the better known to those of their own Sect, did cut their hair round, as *Petrus Crinitus* (an Author of good credit) in his Book *de Bello Rusticano Tom. 3. pag. 209.* averreth. * From which example, there is no doubt but that these of ours took their pattern, whence they were generally called *Roundheads*.

* Agmen ton-
file a rotunde
detonfis capi-
tibus.

Concerning these men, the testimony likewise of *Mr. John Calvin*, may (I presume) be here not unfitly produced; as well for other respects, as for that he lived in that time.

* Calvin's
Comment on
the Psalms f.
33 o. Psal. 71.
verse 14.

Olim * *Fanatici homines* (saith he) *ut sibi applauderent in sua inscitia, jaetabant, Davidis exemplo, spernandas esse omnes literas, sicut hodie Anabaptistæ; non alio prætextu se pro spiritualibus venditant, nisi quod omnis scientiæ sint expertes.* *Brainsick men, in times past, would take example from David, to despise all learning, as now our Anabaptists; who only hold themselves inspired with gifts, because they are ignorant of all literature.* And he addeth, * *Cum sub specie studii perfectionis, imperfectionem nullam tolerare possumus, aut in corpore, aut in membris Ecclesiæ, tunc Diabolum nos tumescere superbia & hypocrisi seducere moneamur.* *Whereas under the colour of a desire of perfection, we can tolerate no imperfection, either in the body or the members of the Church; then may we be admonished, that it is the Devil which puffeth us up with pride, and seduceth us with hypocrisy.* And in another place he further saith, *Quia nulla specie illustriori seduci possunt miseri Christiani &c.* *Because silly Christians, who with a zeal to follow God, cannot by any more notable shew be seduced, then when the word of God is pretended; the Anabaptists (against whom we write) have that evermore in their mouths, and always talk of it.*

* Calvin ad-
vers. Anabap.
Art. 2.

There is an undoubted Tradition, that upon the suppressing of this pernicious Sect in Germany, many of them fled into the *Netherlands*; and that thence two Ships laden with some, got into *Scotland*, where they first propagated their mischievous Principles. Which within a short time spreading hither, have not a little endangered the

utter

utter ruine of Church and State. For that they soon after arrived here to a considerable increase, it may very well be concluded, from what the same person hath expressed, in an Epistle of his, written to *Edward Duke of Somerset*, then Protector to King *Edward the sixth*, in these words: *Amplissime domine, Audio esse duo seditiosorum genera, &c. Sir, I hear there are two sorts of seditious men among you, who lift up the head against the King, and state of the Kingdom; the one are a sort of Giddy-headed men, who promote their sedition under the name of the Gospel. The other are so hardned in the superstitions of Antichrist, that they cannot endure a revulsion of them; and both these must be restrained by the revenging Sword, which the Lord hath put into your hand; since they rise up not only against the King, but against God himself, who hath placed the King in his Royal Throne, and made you Protector of his person, and his Royal Majesty.*

Calvin. Epist.
P. 67.

C H A P. II.

AND, as this evil Generation, became at that time first transplanted hither, upon the dissipating of those *German Sectaries*; so had it shortly afterwards, much furtherance in its growth from some persons of more able parts, and of no mean quality; who having embraced the *Reformation* here, in the time of King *Edward the sixth*; to avoid the storm in *Queen Mary's* Reign, fled beyond Sea: where having form'd sundry congregations (as at *Frankfort, Strasburg, Geneva*, and other places) they devised such new models of *Discipline* (but all of them more or less favouring of those Tenets) as upon their return, after the death of that Queen, not a few both of the Clergy and Laity, were unhappily tainted therewith. And at length, through the countenance of some chief Ministers* of State, who then seemed to favour them for certain private respects, became dangerous Enemies, not only to the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of this Church, but to the very temporal Government of the Realm, as by their heterodox opinions, which they boldly promoted and

* Dudley Earl
of Leicester,
and Secretary
Walsingham.

- spread under the specious Title and name of the *Gospel*, will evidently appear: of which I have here thought fit, out of their own Books and Writings to give a Taste.
- The principles of the Puritans. R. A. Conf. of Brow. p. 113. Corda Angl. prop. 16. Barrow Disc. p. 236. Barrow Ref. p. 244. Christ on his Throne f. 67. Prelacy misery f. 7. Ha'y' any work &c. p. 14. 15. 20. 21. Also Mart. Marprel. in his Epistle to the terrible priests. Sion's plea. 155. Supplic. an. 29. Eliz. p. 25 Bancroft f. 50. Unlawfulness of unlimited Prelacy f. 12. Bancroft f. 169. Knox to the Commonalty f. 49. 50. T. Cartw. lib. 2. p. 48. Ib. lib. 1. p. 192.
- Lay men may teach to get Faith.
- Lay men may preach to Congregations, to exercise their abilities.
- Every member of the Church hath power to examine the manner of administering the Sacrament.
- That to have a Liturgy, or form of prayer, is to have another Gospel.
- Some Protestants are of opinion, that Ordinances cannot be performed but by a Prelate, or at least by Ministers only, without whose Imposition of Hands it were no Ordination, as if it did confer such an order: whereas the prime and proper conferring of this Order, is by Christ himself, inwardly calling and gifting a man for the work of the Ministry.
- To the people belongeth the laying on of Hands, as a token of their approbation, and confirmation of him that is chosen.
- Arch-Bishops and Bishops are superfluous members of the Body of Christ. They are unlawful, false, and bastardly Governours of the Church: they are the ordinances of the Devil; yea they are petty-Popes, petty-Antichrists, Bishops of the Devil, and incarnate Devils.
- If the Hierarchy be not removed, and the Scepter of Christ's Kingdom, namely his own Discipline advanced, there can be no healing of the sore.
- If the Parliament do not abrogate the government of Bishops, they shall betray God, the Truth, and the whole Kingdom.
- Though the Parliament be for Bishops; yet all the Godly and Religious will be against them.
- If the Brethren cannot obtain their wills by Suit, nor Dispute, the multitude and people must work the feat.
- Reformation of Religion belongs to the Commonalty.
- Christian Sovereigns ought not to be called Heads under Christ, of the particular invisible Churches within their dominion.
- They ought not to meddle with the making of Laws,

Laws, Orders, and Ceremonies for the Church.

The people may well enough be without Kings; for there was none till *Cain's* days. These therefore being their Principles; that their continued Practises have been futable thereto, is not unknown to many; *viz.* to subject all Princes and Governours to their own Rule and Authority: and *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, to determine in temporal matters.

Covenanters
Inform. for
Defensive,
Arg. 3.

Hence I shall proceed a little farther, and out of their own Writings, make manifest, what a noise they have made, that their *Discipline*, founded on these Principles, might be firmly settled.

The establishing the Presbytery (saith *T. Cartwright*) is the full placing of Christ in his Kingdom. Lib. 1. p. 31

The *Presbyterian Discipline* is the Scepter of Christ, swaying his own House according to his hearts desire: the Soul; the Cheif Commander in the Camp Royal. Sion's plea

Huic Disciplinæ omnes orbis Principes & Monarchas, fasces suas submittere, & parere necesse est. There is a necessity that all Princes and Monarchs should submit their Scepters, and obey this Discipline. Travers de
Discipl. Eccl.
P. 142.

This Discipline ought to be set up, and all Princes ought to submit themselves under the yoke of it. Yea what Prince, King, or Emperour shall disdain the same, he is to be reputed God's Enemy; and to be held unworthy to reign above the people. Exhort. to
Engl. p. 91,
92.

This Discipline is no small part of the Gospel: it is the substance of it. T. Cartw. lib.
1. p. 6. & 48.

This Discipline is the Gospel of the kingdom of God.

They that reject this Discipline, refuse to have Christ reign over them; and deny him in effect to be their King, or their Lord. Knox Ex-
hort. p. 35:
43.
T. Cartw. p.
220.

This Discipline is the eternal Council of God.

If any refuse to have the Lord Jesus set up as Lord (*i. e.* to submit to this Discipline) let him be *Anathema Maranatha*. Epist. before
the Supplic. 2.
Eliz.
Christ on his
Throne f. 76.

Aut hoc, aut nihil is their Ensign. They who hinder Discipline, bring the Estate at length to an extremely desperate point. None but Enemies to Christ are Enemies to this Government. Sion's plea. f.
340. & 244.

Strike neither at great nor small, but at those troublers of Israel. Smite that *Hazael* in the fifth rib. Yea, if
Father

Father or Mother stand in the way, away with them. Down with the colours of the Dragon. Advance the standard of Christ.

Title page to
Sion's plea.

Those mine Enemies, who would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them before me.

Sion's plea
f. 262.

Strike the Basilic vein. Nothing but this will cure the Pleurisy of our State.

Bancroft's
Surv. f. 28.

And *Gibson* threatned King *James*; that, as *Jeroboam*, he should be rooted out and conclude his race, if he maintained Bishops.

Which dangerous positions being thus maintained by this sort of men, occasioned Mr. *Perkins* (an eminent Divine of those times) thus to express;

Treatise of
applying
Gods word to
the confci-
ence. p. ult.

There is in England (saith he) *a Schismatical, and indiscreet Company, that would seem to cry out for Discipline. Their whole talk is of it; and yet, they neither know it, nor will be reformed by it. They are full of pride, thinking themselves to be full when they are empty; to have all knowledg, when they are ignorant, and had need to be catechised. The poison of aspes is under their Lips. They refuse not to speak evil of the blessed servants of God.*

Knox app.
28. 30.

And, as the *German* Sectaries, upon the Principles before mention'd, did act in those parts: so did the *Scots* upon those Documents they had received, chiefly from *John Knox*; who told his Countrymen in print, that *the Nobility and Commonalty ought to reform Religion: and in that case might remove from Honours, and punish such as God hath commanded, of what estate, condition, or honour whatsoever.*

A. D. 1557.

Hereupon, taking an Oath of confederacy and Subscription, under hands, to some agreement for a Reformation; much strength was added thereunto by the Sacerilegious, hoping thereby to swallow up the Church-Revenues.

A. D. 1558.

Next, without the authority of Sovereignty, or knowledg of it, those Confederates prescribed orders for Reformation of Religion, to be observed and practised throughout the whole Kingdom.

Knox Hist. p.
217, 218.

Then preach'd against the Queen-Regent and Parliament; and wrote to the Bishops and Clergy, *that except they did desist from dealing*

Ib. p. 275, &
276.

against them, they would with all force and power, execute just vengeance and punishment upon them; likewise begin the same war, which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites.

nites. And lastly, arriving at the highest pitch of Rebellion, they deposed their Queen.

By that which hath been said, it is no less apparent, what those *Disciplinarians* in Queen Elizabeth's days, did also aim at, had their Power been answerable to their Wills. Whereof she was not ignorant, as may appear by her Speech at the dissolving that Parliament *an.* 1585 (the 27th. of her reign) wherein, taking notice of them, she pronounc'd them *dangerous to Kingly rule; every man according to his own censure, making a doom of the validity, and privacy of his Princes Government, with a common veil and cover of God's word.* Whereunto I shall add what Serjeant Puckering, being Speaker of the House of Commons in the Parliament held the next ensuing year (*viz.* 28. *Eliz.*) did by that Queen's direction then express.

Stow's Annal.
Holingsh.
Chr. p. 1396.

And specially you are commanded by her Majesty, (faith he) to take heed, that none ear be given, or time afforded to the wearysome solicitations of those that commonly be called Puritans, wherewithall the late Parliaments have been exceedingly importuned. Which sort of men, whilst (in the giddiness of their Spirits) they labour and strive to advance a new Eldership; they do nothing else but disturb the good people of the Church and Common-wealth; which is as well grounded, for the body of Religion it self, and as well guided for the Discipline, as any Realm that professeth the Truth. And the same thing is already made good to the World, by many the Writings of Godly and Learned men; neither answered, nor answerable, by any of these new fangled Refiners. And as the present case standeth, it may be doubted, whether they, or the Jesuits do offer more danger, or be more speedily to be repressed. For albeit the Jesuits do impoyson the hearts of her Majesty's Subjects, under a pretext of Conscience, to withdraw them from the obedience due to her Majesty; yet do they the same but closely, and only in privy corners. But these men do both publish in their printed Books, and teach in all their Conventicles sundry opinions; not only dangerous to the well settled Estate, and policy of this Realm, by putting a pyke, between the Clergy and the Laity, but also much derogatory to her sacred Majesty and her Crown, as well by the diminution of her antient and lawful Revenues, and by denying her Highnesses Prerogative and Supremacy, as by offering peril to her Majesty's safety in her own Kingdom. In all which things, howsoever in many other points, they pretend to be at

war with the Popish-Jesuits; yet by this Separation of themselves from the unity of their fellow-Subjects, and by abasing the sacred Authority and Majesty of their Prince, they do but joyn and concur with the Jesuits, in opening the doer, and preparing the way to the Spanish Invasion, that is threatned against the Realm. And shall conclude, with what is most judiciously observed by the worthy Author * of the History of the sometime Famous and Reverend *Hooker's* life. "So
 " that these very men, saith he (speaking of the Puritans
 " in that Queen's time) that began with tender and meek
 " Petitions, proceeded to Admonitions; then to satyrical Re-
 " monstrances: and at last, having numbred who was not,
 " and who was for their Cause, they got a supposed certain-
 " ty of so great a party, that they durst threaten, first the
 " Bishops; then the Queen and Parliament. To all which
 " they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of *Leicester*,
 " then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed
 " Cherisher and Patron-General of these pretenders to ten-
 " derness of conscience; his design being, by their means,
 " to bring such an odium upon the Bishops as to procure
 " an alienation of their Lands, and a large portion of them
 " for himself. Which avaritious desire had so blinded
 " his reason, that his ambition and greedy hopes, had
 " almost put him into a present possession of *Lambeth-*
 " House.

Mr. Isaac
Walton.

Copping and
Thacker
hang'd at St.
Edmundsbury;
an. 1583, for
publishing
Pamphlets
written by
Browne a-
gainst the
Book of
Common-
Prayer.
Penri hang'd
an. 1593 for
his libellous
Book called
Mart. Mar-
prelate.

That Queen therefore had not only a vigilant Eye upon them, but a strict hand; as these seditious Pamphleters; *Udall, Barrow, Greenwood, Studley, Billots, Bowdler, Copping, Thacker, Penri*, and others deservedly felt.

But, upon the coming in of King *James*, they began to raise unto themselves better hopes of countenance and favour; being so confident of his Indulgence, that within few weeks after his entrance here, they took the boldness to present him with a Petition against the Government and Liturgy establish'd in the Church of *England*. Whereupon his Majesty, who well knew the temper of that Sect (though he was abundantly satisfied with what he found here settled) did with great prudence by his Royal Proclamation, appoint an Assembly of divers select Divines, such as could best represent the desires of these dissenting men, as others, to meet at *Hampton-Court* upon the twelfth of *January* following; where Dr. *Reynolds*, and Dr. *Sparkes*

A. D. 1603.
Conference at
Hampton
Court.

of Oxford, and Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chaderton* of Cambridge, appear'd on their behalfs, and freely hearing whatsoever could be objected by the *weak Brethren* (as they were then modestly stiled) he clearly discern'd that all the Exceptions which they made, were no other than frivolous scruples of indiscreet men, and so convinced every one of them thereupon, that they went away amply satisfied; promising thenceforth, not only full obedience to the Government and Liturgy; but Dr. *Sparkes* wrote a Book to perswade all others thereunto.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding this, the *Mystery of Iniquity* work'd on still in the Hearts of other busy-headed *Disciplinarians*: many of which, though they received Ordination from the Bishops, Subscribed, took Oaths, and outwardly seem'd to conform, stuck not, underhand, to use all the arts and devices of cunning Impostors, to bring the people by degrees into an utter dislike of the Ecclesiastical Government, the better to fit them for some desperate Rebellion, whensoever there should be any fair opportunity. To which end their practise was, in their officiating, ever to omit some portions of the Liturgy, and to read the remainder with but little reverence at all; whereby they might by degrees, beget an opinion in their auditory, that the service of God did consist meerly in the *Sermon*, and those long-winded prayers immediately preceding and following it, which be expressly opposite to a special Canon * establish'd by Act of Parliament in 1. *Jac.* Canon 55. Which Prayers, (if they be worthy of that name) they are not ashamed to say, are uttered by the immediate direction of Gods Holy Spirit; though therein, they have oftimes, not only taken the liberty to deprave the Government in Church and State, by divers subtil expressions; but made such a seeming shew of Zeal therein, by altering their Countenances, and changing their Voices into an affected tone; using therein many absurd and unmannerly expressions; that one * of their own Fraternity, after he became farther reformed by an Independent-light, could not forbear, but cryed out against them, in a certain Book, intituled *The Clergy in their Colours*, printed at London an. 1651. pag. 33. l. 17. in these words; *I cannot let pass one observation; and that is the strange posture these men put themselves into, when they begin their Prayers, before*

Colonel John Frye, a member of the then Parliament.

their Sermons. Whether the Fools and Knaves in Stage-plays took their pattern from these men, or these from them, I cannot determine, &c. What wry Mouths, Squint Eyes, and Screw'd faces do they make? And pag. 41. l. 3. Again, how like a company of Conjurers do they mumble out the beginning of their Prayers, that the people may not hear them: and when artificially they have raised their voices, what a pulling do they make.

But that which afforded them no little advantage, was that horrid *Gun-powder Plot*, which happened in the third year of King *James*; being hatch'd by those fiery-spirited men of the Romish-perfwasion, whom the bloudy-minded Jesuits had influenc'd for that most wicked practise. For, after this, to terrify the people with the *Church of Rome*, their Sermons were little less than Declamations against the Papists; aiming thereby to represent them formidable and odious; insinuating to the world, that all the fear of danger was from those of that Religion; whilst they themselves, in the mean time, did insensibly poyson the people with such other unsound Doctrines, as became at length the fountain of this late unparallel'd Rebellion, which terminated in the execrable Murther of our late gracious King: and would have put a Period to this famous and long flourishing Monarchy, had not almighty God of his great mercy miraculously prevented it.

But how far the Principles of these Holy Reformers do differ, from the most rigid of the Romish profession, against whom they have so long and loudly clamoured, these ensuing observations will briefly manifest.

The Jesuits Tenets.

Bellarm. de
Concil. lib. 2.
cap. 19.

In Regnis Hominum potestas Regis est a populo, quia populus facit Regem. In the Kingdoms of men, the power of the King is from the People.

Bellarm. de
Cleric. lib. 3.
p. 6.

Potestas immediate est, tanquam in subiecto, in tota multitudine: & si causa legitima adsit, potest multitudo mutare Regnum in Aristocratiam & Democratiam. The power is immediately, as in the subject, in the multitude; and if there be lawful cause, the multitude may change the Kingdom into an Aristocracy, or Democracy.

De fide certum est, quemcunque Principem Christianum, si a Religione Catholica deflexerit, & alios avocare voluerit, ex-cidere statim omni potestate & dignitate; idq; ante prolatam Papæ sententiam, posseque & debere subditos, si vires habeant, istiusmodi Hæreticum, & Hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere. It is certainly a matter of Faith, that whatsoever Christian Prince shall depart from the Catholic Religion, and shall withdraw others; doth immediately fall from all power and dignity, even before the Popes sentence given; and that the Subjects may and should (if they have strength) cast forth such an Heretick, from the dominion of Christian men.

Philopat. 2.
p. 109.

Talis, consensu omnium, potest, imo debet privari suo dominio. Si hoc priscis temporibus minus factum sit; causa est, quia deerant vires. Such a King, by the consent of all may, yea ought to be deprived of his dominion. If this in old time was not done, the cause was, for that they had not strength.

Bellarm. lib.
3. de Pont.
cap. 7.

Non dissimulandum esse, &c. This is not to be dissimul'd; that it is the most expedient and safe way, if a public meeting may be granted, to deliberate what shall be done by common consent. First of all the Prince is to be admonish'd, and to be brought to his wits again, &c. If he reject the Medicine, and no hope of his recovery be left; when the Sentence is pass'd upon him, the Common-wealth may first refuse his command. And because of necessity, there will be a stirring up for war, they may unfold their Councils for defence thereof; and shew, that it is expedient to have weapons, and to command the people to advance moneys for the charge of the Wars. And if the matter will suffer, and the Common-wealth cannot otherwise defend it self, with the same right of defence, but with a better authority and peculiar of their own---*Principem publice Hostem declaratum, ferro perimere.* They may kill the Prince, he being publickly declared an Enemy.

Mariana lib.
2. de Reg. cap.
6. p. 59.

The Presbyterian Tenets.

Populo jus est, ut Imperium cui velit deferat. The people may confer the Government on whom they please.

Gilby lib. de
Obedientia p.
25. & 105.
Buchanan de
jure Regni a-
pud Scotos.
p. 61.

- Barrow refut. p. 169. Without the Prince, the people may reform, and must not tarry for the Magistrate.
- Knox App. f. 30. Goodman. p. 185. Not Kings and Magistrates only, ought to punish crimes against God; but the whole body of the people, and every member of the same to his ability must revenge the injury done to God.
- Knox to Engl. & Scotl. p. 78. If Princes be Tyrants against God, and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their Oath of Obedience.
- Goodman p. 190. Subjects do promise obedience, that the Magistrate might help them; which if he do not, they are discharged of obedience.
- Goodman p. 144. 145. Evil Princes ought to be deposed, and inferior Magistrates ought chiefly to do it.
- Ibid. 43. 57. 72. Subjects must withstand wicked Princes; they must take up Arms against them.
- Knox Hist. p. 343. God hath appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes; and in so doing they cannot be accused as Resisters of Authority.
- Goodman p. 111. in obedience. Judges ought to summon Princes before them, for their crimes, and proceed against them as against all other offenders.
- Ib. p. 185. When Magistrates cease to do their duties, God giveth the Sword into the peoples hands.
- Buchan. de jure Regni &c. p. 50. & 56. *Let every Soul be subject to Superiors.* Paul (says he) wrote this in the Infancy of the Church. There were but few Christians then; not many of them rich, or of ability, so as they were not ripe for such a purpose. As if a man should write to such Christians as are under the Turk; in substance poor; in courage feeble; in strength unarm'd; in number few, and generally subject to all kinds of injuries; would not he write as Paul did? So as the Apostle did respect the men he wrote unto; and his words ought not to be extended to the body, or people of a Common-wealth, or whole City.
- Ib. p. 57. If Paul were alive, and did see wicked Kings reigning in Christian Common-wealths, Paul would say, that he accounted no such for Magistrates; he would forbid all men for speaking to them, and from keeping them company. He would leave them to their Subjects to be punished; neither would he blame them, if they accounted no such longer for their Kings.
- Engl. compl. against the Canons. They may kill wicked Princes, as Monsters and cruel beasts. And

And if neither the Magistrate nor the people do their office, in deposing or killing them; then the Minister must excommunicate such a King.

Any Minister may do it against the greatest Prince.

A private man, having some special inward notion, may kill a Tyrant.

In other things also, were it not for brevity, the like parallel might be made in what those of the Romish Perswasion, and the Presbyterians do hold; as *that the Office of Priests and Bishops is one and the same*, as is judiciously observed by the learned Author of *the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, printed at London 1679, pag. 366, whereunto I refer my Reader.

Goodman p.
99.
Buchanan, ut
supra.
Knox Hist.
f. 78.
Goodman p.
110.

C H A P. III.

ANd having thus demonstrated, that the Principles, by which this sort of men be unhappily guided, are most dangerous and destructive to civil Government; I now descend to those their Arts and Devices; whereof, by the help and influence of a most subtile, corrupt, and schismatical party in Parliament, they made use, in order to the raising this late nefarious Rebellion: the consequence whereof; *viz.* the extirpating of Monarchy here, was in their design long before; however it may be thought by some, that *Necessity* and *Despair*, put them upon that bold Exigent, after they had gone farther, than they thought they could (by any outward reconciliation or pardon) be safe: for if need were, sufficient and undoubted testimony might yet be produced, who did hear a principal Actor * in this late woful Tragedy, about a twelve-month after the barbarous murder of King Charles the First, express these words; *I bless God, that I have now lived to see the ruine of Monarchy, and that I have been instrumental in it: for I do here acknowledge that it hath been in my design ever since I was at Geneva, which is now thirty eight years.*

Of these the first, and indeed most fatal Artifices, was *the reducing his Majesty to Necessities*, to the end he might be inforc'd to betake himself unto such extraordinary

* Col. Purefoy, one of their Council of State.

Their Practice for reducing the King to Necessities.

means for supply, as would certainly attract the odium of his Subjects. For accomplishing whereof, that war, wherein King *James* became engaged on the behalf of his daughter and her children, for recovery of the *Palatinate*, gave them a seasonable opportunity; the Story whereof, I shall briefly here set down.

An. 1619.
17. Jac.

*Rushw.Hist.
Coll. impr.
Lond. 1659.
p. 11. F.

Upon * the death of the Emperour *Matthias* (8. Aug. An. 1619. 17 Jac.) *Ferdinand* his Brother (adopted by *Matthias* in his life time) was elected Emperour, and crowned 19 *Septemb.* following. Which Election the *Bohemians* disclaiming, they chose for their King *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. Who thereupon by his Letters to King *James* (whose daughter he had marryed) acquaints him therewith, craving his advice as to his reception thereof. Howbeit, before King *James* his answer could come to his hand (which was utterly dissuasory) he had accepted * their choice. Whereof King *James* hearing, in no little perplexity disavow'd * the act, and would never stile him by that Title.

* Ib. p. 12.

* E. F.

That this unhappy business prov'd most destructive to the Count *Palatine*, will immediately appear. For the Emperour *Ferdinand*, became so highly irritated thereat; that he soon after publish'd a *Proscription* * against him; proclaim'd him guilty of High Treason; and declared his resolution to prosecute him as a public Enemy of the Empire: and accordingly, * sent *Marquess Spinola* with numerous Forces to invade the *Palatinate*; as also *Buquoy* and *D. Balthasar* into *Bohemia*; who with a powerful Army gave him Battail * near to the City of *Prague*, upon the eighth of *November* An. 1620, utterly routed the *Bohemians* and forc'd that new King, with his Queen to flee the Country.

An. 1620.
18. Jac.

* Ib. p. 14.

* Ib. p. 15. E.

* Ib. p. 17. A.

The Report whereof arriving soon after in *England*, caused King *James* to advise * with the Lords of his Council upon the 13th of *January* following, for recovery and protection of the *Palatinate*, it being the antient Inheritance of his Son in Law, and his Children. Whereupon thirty thousand Pounds was forthwith sent to the Princes of the Union, for their assistance therein: and in order to farther help, a *Parliament* call'd to sit at *Westminster* upon the 30th of the same month of *January*. At which Convention the King acquainting the two Houses with what

An. 1620.

* Ib. E.

A Parliament
called 30 Jan.
18 Jac.

what had happened; farther represented unto them, that he had already treated a Peace in this business: but Perswasions without power, being (as he said) of little effect; he told them, that he thought it fit to provide an Army against the Summer following; and desired them therefore to think upon his Necessities.

Which Parliament having sat about four months and done little in this matter; the King considering of a Recess for a time, in regard of the season that might cause Infection; represented to them, by the Lord Treasurer, his purpose to adjourn them. Whereat the Commons growing displeas'd, they desired the Lords to joyn with them in petitioning against it: the King therefore taking much exception thereupon, judging it derogatory to his Prerogative (it being in his sole power, to call, and adjourn, and dissolve Parliaments;) they thereupon, for satisfaction of his Majesty, publish'd a *Declaration*, wherein they signified unto him; that, *in case his endeavours by a Treaty, could not effect the restitution of the Palatinate, upon signification of his pleasure in Parliament, they should be ready to the utmost of their powers, both with their lives and fortunes to assist him; so as, by the Divine help of Almighty God, he might be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable course could not be effected.*

After this the Parliament was adjourn'd from the fourth of *June* until the twentieth of *November*; at which time of meeting again (the King being absent for lack of health) the Lord Keeper told them, that *unless they took farther resolutions, and were expeditious, the Army in the Palatinate would fall to the ground.* The Lord Treasurer also acquainting them, how empty the King's Coffers were; and that his Majesty had assisted the *Palatine*, and Princes of the Union with great Sums, which had so exhausted his Treasure, that he was much in debt: Also, that notwithstanding the King had declared for War, he pursued Peace; and resolv'd therefore to close with *Spain*, hoping by that Alliance to heal the breach.

Which Speech of the Lord Treasurer tending to Peace, so startled the House of Commons (wherein the *Puritan* was predominant) that they soon after drew up a *Remonstrance* to his Majesty, wherein representing Religion to be in danger, by the growth of Popery, they

An. 1621.
19. Jac.
Ib. p. 35.

Ib. p. 36.

Ib. p. 39. D.

Ib. p. 40. A.

B.

Ib. C.

incited him to take his Sword into his Hand, for the aid of those of our Religion in forreign parts; and that the bent of this War might be against that Prince, whose Armies and Treasures had maintained the War in the Palatinate. Signifying, that they had given him one Subsidy, for the present Relief of the Palatinate.

3. Dec.
Ib. 43. E.

But in this Remonstrance there being also divers things which the King esteem'd to tend unto his high dishonour, and to trench upon his Prerogative-royal; he forbade them farther to entermiddle concerning his Government, and deep affairs of State; and particularly with the match of his Son with a Daughter of Spain.

Ib. 52. E.

Certain it is, that the Parliament made little hast, in the offering of that, for which they were chiefly called together; viz. the giving to the King considerable aid, for relief of the Palatinate in so much as the Lord Digby then took occasion to put the Peers in mind thereof; and that it was to that end they were summon'd thither; reporting the present distress of that Country and danger thereto by the Duke of Bavaria: as also, that the Army of Count Mansfeild, which came in for defence thereof, if not speedily supplied, was like to desert that service.

19. Dec.
Ib. p. 53.

But, instead of hasting such Relief, *Christmasts* approaching, and the King upon the nineteenth of December, giving a Commission for their Adjournment till the eighth of February following; the house of Commons made a Protestation, wherein they declared for sundry Priviledges: of which his Majesty in a Speech * at the Council-Table upon the thirtieth of that month took notice, that it was unduly gained, late at night, when not a third part of the House was present; and penned in such ambiguous and general words, as might serve for future times to invade most of the Rights and Prerogatives annexed to the Imperial Crown.

* Dec. 30.

And, discerning that some Parliament men, who had a great influence upon the House, rather hinder'd that good progress, which he expected they would have made, towards the recovery of the Palatinate, then further'd the giving of money in order thereto; did by unanimous consent of his whole Council, dissolve that Parliament by Proclamation, upon the sixth of January following.

Parliament
dissolved 6.
Jan.
Ib. p. 56.

And seeing his hopes of raising moneys by Parliament

to be thus frustrate, they first endeavoured the restitution of the *Palatinate*, by all good means of Treaty, both with the Emperour and King of *Spain*. Which not succeeding, he caused Letters to be written by the Lords of the Council to the Justices of the Courts at *Westminster*; and likewise to the Sheriffs of the several Counties, and Justices of Peace throughout *England*; as also to the Mayors and Bayliffs of Towns-Corporate, to raise moneys by a *Benevolent contribution* for recovery thereof by force; yet still pursued the *Spanish* match, in hope to gain it thereby.

Ib. p. 61.

Ib. p. 114.

But after many subtile delays made by the *Spaniard*, that match being not like to take effect, His Majesty sent the Lord *Kensington* into *France*, to try whether a match might there speed: which was well accepted. Whereupon the King call'd another Parliament; which began 19 Febr. 1623. At which time he acquainted them with the ill success of that dilatory Treaty, in order to the match with *Spain*; and desired their advice, on the behalf of his Son the *Count-Palatine*, and his Children.

An. 1623.
21. Jac.Another Par-
liament called
Ib. p. 115.

In answer to which they signified, *that the said Treaty, both for the Marriage and the Palatinate, could not longer be continued with the honour of his Majesty, the safety of his People, welfare of his Children and Posterity; and assurance of his antient Allies and Confederates.*

Ib. p. 128. B.

Whereunto the King replied; that he should be loath without necessity to imbroil himself in war. And manifesting to them his wants, for the support of a war, desired their advice: offering, that, *in case he took a resolution, by such their advice to enter into a war; they themselves by their own Deputies, should have the disposal of the moneys.*

Ib. 129. D.

Ib. 131. A.

Hereupon the Parliament tendred three Subsidies and three Fifteens, to break off both the Treaties; *viz.* that of the match with *Spain*, and that concerning the *Palatinate*, desiring his Majesty that he would be confidently assured *they would never fail in a Parliamentary-way, to assist him in so royal a design.*

Ib. 135. C.

Ib. 136. A.

But the King esteeming that too little, demanded five Subsidies, and two Fifteens for every Subsidy, towards the support of that war; and one Subsidy and two Fifteens yearly till his debts were pay'd. Nevertheless told

Ib. 137. A.

them, that he would be content to quit that demand for his own debts, in case they gave six Subsidies and twelve Fifteens for the war: declaring his resolution to dissolve the Treaties (whereupon Bonafires were made in *London*, and the Bells rang for joy.) And farther told them, that he did assure himself, they would make good what they had said; and, that what they had advised him unto, they would assist him in, with their Wisdom and Council, as also with Forces, if need required.

Ib. 138. B.

Ib. 139. A.

Ib. p. 156. D.

An. 1624.

22. Jac.

Shortly after which, Count *Mansfeild* arriving in *England*, twelve thousand Foot, with two hundred Horse, were raised to go under his Command, for recovery of the *Palatinate*; and in *August* following, the match with *France* was concluded.

Ib. 158. E.

But this hopeful Army under Count *Mansfeild* (consisting of twelve Regiments) was by tedious stay on Ship-board, so infected with the Pestilence, that scarce a third part thereof came safe to Land: a third part likewise mouldring away, so that the design came to nothing.

An. 1625.

Ib. p. 159. C.

The Death of

King James.

And upon the seven and twentieth of *March* following, King *James* departed this life. Unto whom King *Charles* the first succeeded: who resolving to pursue the recovery of the *Palatinate*, upon the grounds of those great promises so made by the Parliament to his Father, did, in the beginning of *May* next ensuing, issue out Warrants, for the levying of Souldiers, to be employ'd in that Expedition; whereof eight thousand to rendezvouz at *Plymouth*, one thousand at *Hull*, to be transported into the *Netherlands*, for the service of the United Provinces; and two thousand returned thence, for his Majesties present service.

Ib. p. 172. B.

'The first Par-

liament of

King Charles

the first. 18.

Junii.

Ib. p. 174.

And having married a Daughter of *France*, who arrived at *London* upon the sixteenth of *June*, he began his Parliament at *Westminster* within two days following. Where, in his Speech to both Houses, he put them in mind, how they had engaged his Father in the war, for the *Palatinate*; earnestly pressing their speedy assistance. And the Lord Keeper added, that the principal cause of calling that Parliament (besides the beholding his Subjects faces) was to mind them of the great Engagements for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, imposed on his Majesty by the King his Father, and by themselves, who thereupon brake off

Ib. p. 175. C.

& 176. C.

off the two Treaties with *Spain*: as also to let them understand, that the Subsidies granted by the preceding Parliament, with much more of the King's own Revenue, were already spent in the following Treaties and Alliances, upon the Armies sent into the *Low-Countries*, and in repairing of the Forts, with the Fortifying of *Ireland*; all which did meet in one center, the *Palatinate*, whereof the Account was ready.

Hereupon the Houses presenting the King with two Subsidies, the Lord *Conway* (then one of the Secretaries of State) signified his Majesties gracious acceptance thereof: yet told them, that the necessity of the present affairs, were not therein satisfied, and therefore required their farther Councils; Reminding them, that the late King was provoked beyond his nature, to undertake a war for recovery of his Childrens antient Patrimony; the charges whereof did appear by computation to amount unto seven hundred thousand Pounds a year; *viz.* in supporting the *Netherlands*; in preventing the Emperour's design of concluding with the Princes of *Germany*, for utter excluding the *Palsgrave*; and levying an Army under Count *Mansfeild*. Farther representing to them, that the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and Princes of *Germany* had levyed another. That *France*, *Savoy*, and *Venice*, joyn'd together for a war of diversion; and, that to uphold the *Netherlands*, the charges of *Mansfeild's* and *Denmark's* Army must yet continue.

But the Plague increasing sore in *London*, occasion'd some delay in their Proceedings, by an Adjournment to *Oxford*: at which place they met the first of *August* following. Where, on the fourth of that month, his Majesty in a speech to both Houses did again put them in mind, of their engaging his Father in that war, for recovery of the *Palatinate*, upon promise of their assistance in a *Parliamentary-way*; and that they themselves then appointed a Council of war, and *Treasurers*. He also acquainted them with the expence of the three Subsidies, and three Fifteens then given. And further expressed, that he had thus re-assembled them upon the death of his royal Father, to receive their farther advice and aid for proceeding in that, wherein by their Councils his Father was engaged; as also that they had granted unto him two Subsidies, then

ungathered, which were far short of setting forth the Navy at that time preparing.

Ib. p. 182. A.

And the Lord *Conway* and Secretary *Cook*, did then more particularly declare unto the House of Commons, the state of Affairs, as they at that time stood; manifesting that much more then the two Subsidies, already given, though not paid, had been disbursed. Moreover, that the Fleet was then at Sea, hastening to their Rendezvouz, the Army at *Plymouth*, expecting their Commanders; his Majesties Honour, Religion, and the Kingdoms safety engaged. That the King had certain advice of his Enemies intentions to infest his dominions in *Ireland*, and the *English* Coasts; and of their increase of Shipping in all parts: as also, that the present charge of his Army and Navy, did amount to above four hundred thousand Pounds. The Lord Treasurer likewise representing to them the late Kings debts;

Viz. To the City of *London* 120000 *l.* besides Interest.

For *Denmark* and the *Palatinate* 150000 *l.*

For his Wardrobe 40000 *l.* All which did then lye upon his Majesty.

And that his then Majesty was indebted to the City of *London* 20000 *l.*

That he had laid out upon his Navy 20000 *l.*

For Count *Mansfeild* 20000 *l.*

For Mourning and his Father's Funeral Expences 42000 *l.*

For Expences concerning the *Queen* 40000 *l.*

And that the pay of the Navy, during the time intended, for that present Expedition, with the setting forth thereof, would amount to 300000 *l.*

Ib. p. 183. F.

But the Commons, instead of that calm and temperate Consideration of the present Exigencies, which his Majesty expected, fell into very high debates; and alledg'd, that the Treasure was misemploy'd; that evil Councils guided the King's designs; that his Necessities grew by improvidence; that they had need to petition the King for a straight hand and better Council to manage his affairs: and that, though a former Parliament did engage the King in a war; yet (if things were managed by contrary designs, and the Treasure misemploy'd) that Parliament was not bound by another Parliament

to be carried blindfold in designs not guided by second Councils; Adding, that it was not usual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies, in one Parliament, and no grievance redressed.

Notwithstanding which objections, it was earnestly pressed by some Members of the House, that two Subsidies and two Fifteens might be given; his Majesties Honour, and the Necessity of Affairs requiring it; as it then appeared out of Considerations, which had been frequently represented. But these motives little avail'd; for, instead of hearkening thereto, the Commons then publish'd a plausible *Declaration*; wherein they solemnly protested and vowed, before God and the world, with one Heart and Voice, that they were all resolv'd, and did thereby declare, that they would ever continue most loyal and obedient Subjects to their most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles: and that they would be ready, in convenient time, and in a Parliamentary-way, freely and dutifully to do their utmost endeavours, to discover and reform the Abuses and Grievances of the Realm and State; and, in like sort to afford all necessary Supply to his most excellent Majesty upon his present, and all other his just Occasions and Designs.

The King therefore plainly perceiving, that the House did not incline to any Supply: and that in their debates they reflected upon some great persons near unto him, dissolved that Parliament upon the twelfth of *August*. Which done, he resolv'd that the Fleet should speedily put to Sea; and entred forthwith into a League with the United Provinces against the Emperour and King of *Spain*, for restoring of the Liberties of *Germany*. But being in great and present Want of moneys, he issued out Letters, under his Privy-Seal, for borrowing to supply those Necessities; and summon'd another Parliament to meet upon the sixth of *February* ensuing, which was four days after his solemn Coronation.

Soon after the sitting of which Parliament, the Earl of *Pembroke*, at a Conference of both Houses, represented how the affairs of Christendome stood, before the breach of the Treaties with *Spain*; and how at that present: as also the condition of the *Palatinate*; and likewise the King of *Denmark's* engagement in the quarrel, with the forwardness of the *Swedes*, and contract with
the

Ib. p. 194. B.

Ib. E.

Ib. p. 195. A.

Parliament dissolved.
Ib. E.

Moneys borrowed by Privy Seal.

The second Parliament of King Charles the First.

6. Februarii.

the *Hollander*; and that the Fruits of all these would be lost, unless a speedy Supply were resolved on.

ib. p. 218. E.

But notwithstanding all this, the Commons still delay'd the giving of any Supply; which occasion'd the King, by a Letter to the Speaker, to press them again thereunto, and to remind them of their promises: with all assuring them, that he would willingly apply fit and seasonable remedies, to such just Grievances as they should present unto him, in a dutiful and mannerly way, without throwing an ill odour upon the present Government, or upon the Government of his Father. Unto which Letter, they made a specious general answer; intimating, that they really intended him Supply: and accordingly voted three Subsidies, and three Fifteens, but gave them not.

ib. p. 220. A.

Not long after this, His Majesty, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, took notice to the House of Commons, of a seditious expression, made by Mr. *Clement Coke*, one of their members; as also of Dr. *Turner's* unparliamentary carriage in reference to the Duke of *Buckingham*: likewise of suffering his Council of State to be censured and traduced in their House, by persons whose Years and Education could not judge of things: that forreign business had been entertain'd in the House, to the hindrance and disadvantage of his Majesties Negotiations: yea that upon the first day of his Inauguration, they suffered his Council, Governours, and Servants, to be parallel'd with the times of most Exception: that their Committees had also presumed to examine the Letters of his Secretaries of State; nay his Majesties own Letters; and sent a general Warrant to his Signet Office, commanding his Officers there, not only to produce and shew the Records, but their Books, and private Notes, which they made for his Majesties service. Next he told them, that they had been made acquainted with the greatness of his Majesties affairs, both at home and abroad, with the strong preparations of the Enemy: with the Importance of upholding his Allies; strengthening, and securing, both *England*, and *Ireland*; besides the encountring and annoying the Enemy, by a powerful Fleet at Sea, and the charge of all. And, that this being calculated unto them, they had professed unto his Majesty, by the mouth of their Speaker,

their

their carefulness to support the Cause, wherein he and his Allies were justly engaged. Then he reminded them of their unanimous consent, and real intention, formerly express'd to supply him in such a measure, as should make him safe at home and fear'd abroad; and, that in the dispatch thereof, they would use such diligence, as his pressing and present Occasions did require. And he observ'd, that in two days only of twelve, that business was thought of; and not begun, till by a Message his Majesty did put them in mind of it, whilst their Inquisition, against his direction, proceeded day by day. And, for the Supply intended, he told them, the measure thereof was so little; that instead of making him safe at home, and feared abroad, it would both expose him to danger and disesteem; in regard, that without better help, his Allies must presently disband, and leave him alone to bear the fury of a provoked and powerful enemy; besides the manner of it, which was dishonourable and full of distrust; *viz.* that the Bill was not to come into the House, till their Grievances were both preferr'd and answer'd.

And his Majesty himself then farther added, he must put them in mind, that in the time of his blessed Father, they did by their Council and Perswasion prevail both with his Father and himself, to break off the Treaties before-mention'd; and told them, that *now they had all things according to their wishes, and that he was so far engaged, they thought there was no retreat; now they began to set the Dice on him; saying moreover, that it was not a Parliamentary-way; nor a way to deal with their King.*

And to this the Duke of Buckingham, by his Majesties Command, farther affirm'd; that *if his Majesty should accept of a less sum then would suffice, it would deceive their Expectations, disappoint his Allies, and consume the Treasure of the Kingdom: whereas, if they would give largely now, the business being at the Crisis, it would come so seasonably, as that it might give a turn to the affairs of Christendom: wishing them therefore to enlarge it, but lest the augmentation to themselves.* And, to the end the load might not lye on the poorest; told them, his Majesty did likewise wish, that they who were the abet-

tors and councillors of this war, would take a greater part of the burthen to themselves.

An. 1625.

9 Junii.

Nevertheless all this moved them very little; inso-much as the King, by a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons (dated upon the ninth of *June* following) hoping to quicken them the better, did put them in mind, how often and earnestly he had press'd them for speeding that Aid, which they intended for his great and weighty affairs; telling them, the time they themselves had prefix'd, was so far spent (*viz.* the last day of that month) that unless it were presently concluded, it would neither bring him money, nor credit. And, that if it were farther deferr'd, it would be of little use; he being daily advertised from all parts, of the great preparations by the Enemy really to assail him: and moreover, that he held it necessary by those his Letters, to give them his last and final admonition; as also to let them know, that he should account all further Delays and Excuses, to be expresse Denials: and therefore did will and require them, to bring in their *Subsidy-Bill*, to be pass'd without delay, or condition. Adding, that, if by their denial or delay, any thing of ill consequence should fall out, either at home or abroad; he should take God to witness, that he had done his part to prevent it, by calling his people together, to advise with them; and opening to them the weight of his occasions; as also by requiring their timely help and assistance in those Actions, wherein he stood engaged by their Council.

Ib. p. 402. B.

But, instead of any satisfactory return unto this his Royal Letter, wherein he had earnestly prest unto them, the speedy and necessary consideration of his present Exigencies; they made what haste they could, to perfect a *Remonstrance* against the Duke of *Buckingham*; and concerning *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, taken by the King, since the death of his Father, without consent of Parliament. Which was no sooner finished, but they had intimation, that the King would dissolve the Parliament; whereupon they forthwith order'd, that every Member of their House should have a Copy of that *Remonstrance*.

Ib. p. 403. D.

The Parliament being therefore dissolv'd by Commission, upon the fifteenth of *June*, his Majesty did presently set forth a *Declaration*, manifesting the reasons he had for dissolving thereof; as also of the former Parliament: whereby he did clearly publish to the world, how he became engaged in a war with a potent Enemy, upon his Father's death; and that he was enforc'd thereto, for the necessary defence of himself and his Dominions; as also for the support of his Friends and Allies; recovering the patrimony of his Sister, and her Children, and maintenance of the true Religion. Moreover, that *he was invited thereto, and encouraged therein, by the advice of both Houses of Parliament; and by their large Promises and Protestations to his Father, to give him full and reall assistance in those Enterprizes, which were of so great importance to this Realm; and to the general peace and safety of all his Friends and Allies: but, that instead of making performance of those their undertakings, he found them so slow and full of delays and diversions, that no fruit came thereof. And farther added; that tho he had by his Letters, bearing date the ninth of June, press'd them earnestly therein, with a clear and gracious manifest of his resolutions, they never so much as admitted one Reading to the Bill of Subsidies; but instead thereof prepared and voted a Remonstrance, which they intended to prefer unto him; containing (tho palliated with glosing terms) as well many dishonourable Aspersions upon himself, and upon the memory of his deceased Father, as dilatory Excuses for their not proceeding with the Subsidies. Adding thereto also colour'd conditions, crossing thereby his direction. All which his Majesty plainly understanding; and esteeming the same to be a denial of the promised Supply: finding likewise withall, that no admonition could move, nor reasons or presumptions prevail, the time being so far spent, as that they had put an impossibility upon themselves to perform their Promises; upon mature advice, he dissolv'd the Parliament, as hath been already observed.*

The second Parliament of K. Charles I. dissolved. 15 Junii.

Being therefore thus expos'd to extreme Necessities, he was constrain'd to require a *Loan* of money from the Nobility, the City of *London*, and others: as also

An. 1626.
2 Car. 1.
Ib.p.419.B.C
A Loan of money required by the K.

Ship-money
required.

to lay a Charge upon the Ports and Maritime Towns, for the furnishing certain numbers of Ships; for the guarding of the Coasts against attempts from *Spain* or *Flanders*; and likewise upon the Counties adjoining, to contribute thereto.

Privy Seals.
Ib. p. 420.

A Benevo-
lence propo-
sed.

After which he issued out *Privy-Seals* unto several persons, for borrowing of money; and to others proposed a *Benevolence*, according to the proportion of *four Subsidies* and *three Fifteens*, which were by the late Parliament resolv'd on, to have been given to the King; setting forth a *Declaration*, to manifest the reasons of his requiring that *Loan*. Soon after which, he sent away six thousand Foot-Soldiers, under the command of Sir *Charles Morgan*, and others, for the service of the *United Provinces*.

Ib. p. 422.

An. 1626.

Short View
of the Life
of King Charles,
impr. Lond.
1658. p. 46.

Moreover, to heighten and increase these his wants, about this time a most unlucky occasion hapned, which (in short) was this; that the *French* Priests, and *Domestics* of that Nation, which came into *England* with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and had put so many affronts upon the King; that (as the *French* King had sent back all the *Spanish* Courtiers, which his Queen brought with her) his Majesty was forc'd to send them home. But that King, not looking on this Example, and knowing upon what ill terms our King stood, both at home and abroad; first seized on all the Merchants Ships which lay in the River of *Bordeaux*, and then brake out into open war; so that the King was constrain'd to make use of those Forces against the *French*, which were design'd to have been used against the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the desire of the *Rochellers*, who humbly sued for his protection and defence: but the Fleet set forth for that purpose, being encountred with great Tempests, was forc'd to return, without doing any thing farther, then shewing his Majesties good will, and readiness to assist them.

C H A P. IV.

BUT the next year the King, having made new Preparations for a war with *France*, to manifest what ground he had for it, declared, that the House of *Austria* (conspiring the ruin of all those of the Reform'd Religion through Christendom, as he said plainly appear'd in the wars of *Germany*) had such an influence upon the Council of *France*, as to prevail with the *French* to obstruct the landing of Count *Mansfield's* Army, contrary to promise, with whom they should have join'd Forces for the relief of the *Palatinate*, and the *German* Princes; the failure wherein proved the ruin of that Army, the greatest part whereof perished. Furthermore, that having by his mediation prevail'd for a Peace between the *French* King and his Protestant Subjects; and engaged his Word, that the Protestants should observe the Articles of Agreement: nevertheless the King of *France*, contrary to those Articles, block'd up their Towns, Garrisons, and Forts, committing many spoils upon them, though they had done nothing in violation of the Edict of Peace.

An. 1627.
Rushw. Coll.
p. 428. F.

p. 429.

Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham*, in order to the relief of the *Palatinate*, being made Admiral, and Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces, on the 27th of *June* set out from *Portsmouth* (the Fleet consisting of an hundred Sail, whereof ten were of the King's Royal Navy, having aboard six or seven thousand Land-Soldiers) and towards the later end of *July* appear'd before *Rochel*. Where, attempting to gain the Isle of *Rhee*, which lay before that Town, and imbar'd their Trade, his unskilful conduct therein was such, that he was forc'd to a retreat*, with the loss of many valiant men, and not a little of his Honour; the more full relation of which ill success I refer to our Historians.

27 Junii.

lb. F.

* 8 Nov.

lb. p. 469.

This Expedition proving thus unhappy, his Majesties necessitous condition forc'd him to pawn much of his Lands to the City of *London* for an hundred and twenty thousand

Life of King
Charles by
Dr. Perenchef
impr. Lond.
1676.

An. 1627.
3 Car. I.
Rushw. Coll.
p. 480. C.
The third
Parliament of
K. Charles I.
17 Martii.

thousand pounds, which he then borrowed; and also to borrow thirty thousand pounds more of the *East-India* Company. But all this, being not sufficient to support the charge of the Fleet; notwithstanding these former great discouragements, still hoping by a Parliament to obtain some reasonable Supply, in these his pressing Necessities; he call'd another Parliament, to begin on the seventeenth of *March* next following. At the meeting whereof he told them, *None there but knew, that common danger was the cause of that Parliament, and Supply at that time the Chief end thereof.* Likewise, *that if to maintain their own advices; and, as the case then stood, for the following thereof, the true Religion, Laws and Liberties of this State, and the just defence of its true Friends and Allies, were not sufficient; then no Eloquence of men and Angels could prevail;* the particular dangers being laid open by the Lord Keeper.

Ib. p. 481. D.

Ib. p. 531. B.

26 Junii
1628.

Ib. p. 644. B.
Ib. D.

Short View
of the Life
of K. Charles.
p. 26.

Hereupon (after some time spent in debate of these things) *five Subsidies* were voted, and the *Petition of Right* assented to by his Majesty. After which the Parliament was first prorogued from the 26th of *June* till the 20th of *October*. And then, by Proclamation, till the 20th of *January*. At which meeting the Clergy also gave the King as many Subsidies.

In the interim of which Prorogation, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had formerly been the Darling of that Parliament, which made use of him to King *James* for breaking the match with *Spain*, being now grown odious, and in this Parliament represented to be the chief cause of all their Grievances; not only by reason of the losses at the Isle of *Rhee*, but for many other respects, as in the Annals of that time may at large be seen; hoping as well to regain the honour he lost in the last year's attempt in that Isle, as a better opinion of the People; design'd another Expedition to *Rochel*. In order whereunto, being Commander of the Royal Fleet, ready to set sail from *Portsmouth*, he was there desperately murther'd by one *John Felton* (a discontented Officer of the last years Army) upon the 23d of *August*; who gave no other reason for that his barbarous and bloody Act, then *that the Duke had been declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth, in a Remonstrance tendred*

Rushw. Coll.
p. 647. C.

to the King by the House of Commons in the former Session. But I proceed, notwithstanding this fair shew of an hopeful accordance; there were not a few turbulent-spirited men, both in the Parliament and elsewhere, who sought all advantages for breaking thereof; divers Merchants refusing to pay *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, in regard it had not been granted to the King by a special Act since the death of his Royal Father King *James*. Whereupon his Majesty first sent for those Merchants to the Council-Table; and after, by a Speech to both Houses, told them he expected they should pass the Bill for it. But instead of complying therein, the Commons published a *Declaration* concerning *Religion*; alledging, that they must prefer it before all other business. Whereupon the King, whose urgent *Necessities*, for want of the Supply expected, pressed hard upon them; issuing out a special Commission *, for taking of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Against which the Commons not only protested, but some of their Members behaved themselves therein so disobediently and seditiously, to the contempt of his Regal authority; that fearing they should be dissolved before they had vented their own passions in that particular, they lockt the doors of the House of Commons, kept the Key, and held the Speaker by strong hand in his Chair, till they had thunder'd out their Anathema's; not only against such as should dare to levy it, but against those who should willingly pay it. The News whereof, being thereupon brought forthwith to the King, he did, upon the second of *March*, by Proclamation dissolve that Parliament: And about a week following coming to the House, declared, that *he did not impute those Disasters to the whole House of Commons, knowing that there were amongst them many religious, grave, and well-minded men: but that the sincerer, and better part of the House, were overborn by the practices and clamours of the other: who, careless of their duties, and taking advantage of the times, and his Necessities, did enforce him to break off that meeting. Which, had it been answer'd with like duty on their parts, as it was invited and begun with love on his, might have prov'd happy and glorious, both to himself and the whole Nation.* And farther added, that *he did thus declare the manifold causes he had*

Ib. p. 651.C.

Ib. p. 656.C.

An. 1628.
* Febr.

Ib. p. 670.F.

Short view of
the life of
K. Charles p.
53.The third
Parliament of
King Charles
the first dissolved.
2. Martii.Rushw. Coll.
p. 672. A.

to dissolve that Parliament; that all the world might see, how much they had forgotten their former engagements, at the entrance into the war, themselves being the Perswaders of it; promising to make him feared by his Enemies, and esteemed by his Friends: and how they had turned the Necessities grown by that war, to enforce him to yield to conditions incompatible with Monarchy.

C H A P. V.

THe ends in reducing his Majesty to *Necessities*, being by those means thus unhappily accomplish'd, and the King thereby expos'd to some extraordinary ways of Supply (*viz. Loanes, Benevolences, Ship-money &c.*) their next work was to possess the people with an opinion, that these were but the beginnings of farther and greater oppressions; by which his purpose was; first by degrees to weaken them in their Estates; and then to bring upon them no less a vassalage, than that of the *French Peasant*. And, not only so, but to endanger their souls, by enthraling them to the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. To which purpose, under a seeming Devout and Holy pretence, to advance and promote the *Preaching of the Gospel*, they got in a number of *Lecturers* into most of the Corporate Towns, and populous places of this Realm (according to the pattern * of *Geneva*.) especially into the City of *London*; whom they maintained by Voluntary contributions, to the end * they might be engaged to preach such Doctrine, as should (upon occasion) prepare the People for any disloyal attempt, and dispose them to Rebellion when opportunity served.

And for the better support of these *Boutefeus*, they purchased * in divers Improprate Tithes; constituting Feoffees, some of the Clergy, some Lawyers, some Citizens (all of the *Puritan Party*) under colour of *redeeming the Lord's Portion out of Lay hands* (as the Phrase then was.) By which subtile Practise, they gained many large sums in order thereto, from sundry well-meaning People; especially such as lay on their Death-beds; who
being

Planting
Schismatical
Lecturers.

* Hist. of the
Presbyterians
by Dr. Hey-
lin. p. 11. &
12.

* Hist. of the
life and death
of Archbish.
Laud. p. 9.

Buying in im-
propriate
Tythes for
their support.

* Ib. p. 211.
212.

being thus incited to this seeming glorious work, saw nothing at all of the main design, which was under-hand driven on by the Grand Contrivers. Besides this, they likewise cunningly wrought, that such as were of their Party, might by one means or other be made Heads of some Houses in the Universities; as they did in *Emanuel Colledge*, and *Catherine Hall* in *Cambridge*; *New-Inne*, and *Magdalen Hall* in *Oxford*. And for an essay of those whom under colour of Preaching the Gospel, in sundry parts of the Realm, they determin'd to make instrumental for carrying on the work, they set up a Morning-Lecture at *St. Antholines-Church* in *London*; where (as Probationers for that purpose) they first made tryal of their abilities; which place was the grand Nursery, whence most of the Seditious Preachers were after sent abroad throughout all *England*, to poyson the People with their Antimonarchical Principles. These being the men, who first began to infuse into their Auditors a disaffection to the *Church Discipline* establish'd by Law, pretending it to favour of Popery: and after a breach made therein, then to cry out against miscarriages in Government. So that having in a short time wean'd the People from kneeling at Prayers, and bearing part in the publick Service of God by their mutual *Responses*, as the *Liturgy* directs; they then cryed down those reverend Set-forms of Devotion, which were enjoyned by the Law: and by degrees using them to long-winded *ex tempore* Prayers, of their own indigested composure (which they call'd Praying by the Spirit (at length insinuated to them, that the *Liturgy* by Law establish'd was no other than the Mass translated into *English*, and a thing utterly nauseous to God Almighty: by which means multitudes deserted the Publick Prayers of the Church in divers places, where the Incumbents continued regular, and forbore to come there, until the Psalm preceding the Sermon began. So that in the end, the decent and pious Order, in serving God, according to the Laws, not only became by little and little wholly antiquated; but such of the Clergy, as making any conscience of their Subscriptions, and Oaths of Canonical obedience, observed the Rule; were frequently scandaliz'd with Innovation in Religion, and inclination to Popery; few regarding any thing but the Sermons,

Ib. p. 311,
312.

The absurdity and ill effects of them.

and those tedious *ex tempore* Prayers of the Preacher in order thereto: placing all Religion in being present at those wild and frothy Exercises, though they slept when they came there, or little regarded what was said.

In which Prayers (if I may so call them) it was no wonder to hear them, cunningly to insinuate that, which might put the people into a jealousy of the King, and the inferior Magistrate; by praying against this or that miscarriage; of which, by their subtle expressions they would have their auditory believe them to be guilty, in point of Government, or personal demeanour. Nor were those their Sermons, for the most part, other than vain and frivolous declamations against Popery, wherewith they affrighted the more ignorant sort of people; as if that were the only thing which would endanger their souls, enslave their consciences, and utterly ruine them in their temporal estates. By which sleight, in drawing their thoughts from what was really the grand danger, they led them blindfold into those mists of error and ignorance, wherein they became afterwards miserably shakled, and were made Slaves to those Grand Contrivers; who, at length, by these devices, got the full power of the Sword into their hands; verifying therein that Prophetical expression of the venerable and judicious *Hooker*, in that excellent Preface to his Books of Ecclesiastical Policy; *viz. after the Puritans have first resolved, that attempts for Discipline are lawful; it will follow in the next place to be disputed, what may be attempted against Superiors.*

In further order to which malevolent design for the utter extirpation of Monarchy, being not ignorant in what high esteem the memory of the same *Mr. Hooker* was with all pious and learned men, for those five Books of *Ecclesiastical Policy*, made public in his life time: and having heard that there were three more written by him upon the same subject; which under colour of a desire to search after his death, for some Writings in his Study, were by certain Clergy-men who stood disaffected to the Discipline of the Church, unhappily lurch'd away: they did at length gain those very Books into their hands; and not long after the beginning of this late unparall'd Rebellion, for the better accomplishing their long studyed ends, most shamefully corrupted them in sundry places,

omitting

omitting divers passages which were unfutable to their purposes; and instead thereof inserting what they thought might give countenance to their present evil practises: amongst which was this, *in terminis*, that, *though the King were singulis major, yet he was universis minor*; and having so done, caus'd them to be publish'd in Print. By which fallacy, divers well meaning people were miserably captivated and drawn to their Party. And, at length were not ashamed, in that Treaty which they had with his Majesty in the Isle of *Wight*, to vouch the authority of this venerable man, in derogation of his Supremacy, and to place the Sovereign power in the People; that great Antimonarchist, *William* late Vicount *Say* and *Sele*, being the person who boldly urged it. Whereunto the good King answered; that *though those three Books, were not allowed to be Mr. Hookers; yet he would, admit them so to be, and consent to what his Lordship endeavoured to prove out of them, in case he would assent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker, declared in the other five Books, which were unquestionably His.*

But as to these their indirect dealings, in thus corrupting the works of that excellent man; (whose memory for his profound learning, singular piety, and most exemplary life will be ever precious to succeeding ages) and his necessary vindication therein; I shall, for more full satisfaction to my Reader, refer him to that seasonable Historical discourse, lately compiled and published, with great judgment and integrity, by that much deserving person *Mr. Isaac Walton*, containing a perfect Narrative of the life and death of this right worthy person.

Of which I hold it necessary, that special notice should be taken; by reason that since the happy Restoration of our present Sovereign *K. Charles II.* *Dr. Gawden*, then Bishop of *Exeter*, upon the reprinting those five genuine Books of *Mr. Hooker*, together with the other pretended three; taking upon him to write a Preface to the whole; and therein to give an account of *Mr. Hooker's* life; hath not only, with great confidence, used divers Arguments to satisfy the world, that those three Books were penn'd by *Mr. Hooker* (notwithstanding those poysonous assertions against the Regal power, which are to be found therein) but

much misreported him, in the Narrative of his life; representing him to have been a single man, with many other gross mistakes; as who so compares it with Mr. *Walton's History* of him, may easily see.

Moreover, well knowing, that the City of *London*, in respect of its Riches and Populoufness, must be the principal stage for this Tragic-Action; there was no small care taken for fitting all places of Authority therein, especially the *Common-Council*, with such active men as might advance this blessed work. Wherein, having made a fair and succesful progress; but discerning, that the Sword must at length be made use of; they then began to frequent the *Artillery-yard*, and to be diligent Practisers of military Discipline: in which they grew in a short time so great Proficients, that most of the cheif Officers in that School, were men of that stamp, and got into their hands the best and choicest Arms.

Their practising of military Discipline.

And, that they might make the more secure progress in this their long studied design; they laid the Scene at first in *Scotland*, the Subjects of that Realm being most tainted with *Presbytery*: so that in case this their contrivance should speed there, they might the more boldly adventure upon the like here.

His Majesties Declaration printed at London, An. 1639. p. 6.

The first thing therefore, that was made use of, towards their Master-piece in *Scotland*, was an exception (or rather cavil) by divers eminent persons in that Kingdom, at his Majesties Revocation of such things, as had been passed away in prejudice of that Crown (especially by some of his Progenitors in their minorities) though not without example. This, being advised by those, that were then his Majesties Privy-Councillers and Officers of State in that Realm (whose late Actions have sufficiently manifested what they effect desired it should produce) did accordingly occasion much repining by divers principal persons, who thereupon infused into his Subjects a distaste of his Government. And, though the King was pleased to wave his interest therein; and to remit as well the Equity, as rigour of the Laws in that point, the Male-contents would not be satisfiyed, but still endeavoured to work a disaffection in the people thereto.

Ib. p. 7.

Ib. p. 9.

And whereas his Majesty out of his pious care of the Clergy, who had been much oppressed by the Laity, that
pay'd

pay'd Tythes, being pleased to grant out Commissions in their behalf; had so good issue therein, as that both Parties were abundantly satisfied; the maintenance of the Clergy being thereby improv'd, and the Laity freed from a dangerous dependance upon Subjects: yet the Nobility and Lay-Patrons, fretting privately for being rob'd, as they conceiv'd, of the dependance of the Clergy and Laity, bent their envy against the Bishops, under pretence that they were the principal causers thereof.

To quiet therefore these discontents, in the year 1633, An. 1633. his Majesty made a progress into *Scotland*, and was there crowned (having not been personally there, till then, since the death of his Royal Father) at which time he also held a Parliament in that Realm; wherein great suggestions were made of fears, that dangerous Innovations in Religion would be attempted, as also instead of acceptance of an Act for Ratification of all other Acts, concerning the Religion professed and established, it was dissented to by divers of the after-chiefeft *Covenanters*. And, no sooner was he returned back into *England*, but that infinite Libels were dispers'd abroad, to impoyson the People with his Majesties proceedings at that Parliament. Of which Libellers (amongst others) the Lord *Balmerino* was found guilty by his Peers; and accordingly should have receiv'd sentence of death for it: nevertheless, through his Majesties goodness, was not only pardoned, but enlarg'd, and afterwards became an eminent *Covenanter*.

Which Insolency of the *Scots* did not a little animate An. 1634. and encourage the Puritan-faction here, who loudly declaimed against the *Discipline of the Church*, as it then by Law stood establish'd: and to beget a greater contempt thereof in the generality of the people, represented it to be superstitious, and like to usher in Popery: dispersing many scandalous, seditious, and libellous Pamphlets to that purpose: infusing likewise into them strange apprehensions, that their *Liberty* and *Property* were in no little danger: and the better to give colour to their pretended fears of these approaching Evils, they took ready hold of this following occasion.

The Sovereignty of the British-Seas, by antient right justly appertaining to the Crown of *England*, having not only been invaded by the *Dutch*, but their bold usupation

The Inland parts charg'd with Ships for defence of the Realm.

therein openly justified by certain public Writings; the King, with the advice of his Council-learned, did, about the same time, issue out certain Writs, directed as well to all the Inland Counties, as to the respective Port-Towns, according to the example of his Royal Progenitors, to set out a certain number of Ships, furnish'd with Mariners, Amunition, Victual, and all other necessaries for defence of the Realm. By which means he did not only assert and recover that dominion on the Sea, which really belong'd to this Kingdom, but much improved Trade and Commerce, whereby the generality of his Subjects were not a little enrich'd.

But this just and rational practise, some of the malevolent Members of his former Parliaments, and others of that stamp, under pretence of standing up for the *Rights and Properties of the Subjects*, did stubbornly oppose, though his Majesty had the clear and unanimous opinion of all the grave and learned Judges of his Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, under their hands, to justify those his Proceedings: Nevertheless, waving any arbitrary power, he freely gave leave, that the Case should be solemnly debated in the Exchequer-Chamber. Which being publickly done after divers solid Arguments thereon; no less then ten of those twelve Judges fully declared their opinion for the Legality thereof; *Sr. George Crook*, and *Sr. Richard Hulton* only dissenting, though they had formerly subscribed thereto.

This as to the *Civil Liberties*, and what (as hath been before observed) of the great noise made every where touching the fear of Popery, was it whereof not only the factious people here took great advantage, but those of that leven in *Scotland*; who thereupon began to set on foot a contrivance, whereby they might have the colour of Religion * to help on their work. Whereunto the rise they took, was a pretended apprehension, that the *Liturgy* sent to them in *an. 1637*, was a meer Popish *Service-book*, and purposely design'd to introduce the Romish worship into both Kingdoms. From the ground of which seeming jealousies, they fell foul upon the Bishops; under colour, that they were the framers thereof, and the chief Instruments for obtruding it upon them.

A usual mask for evil designs. Hist. of Arch-Bishop Laud's life. &c. p. 92. 93. Multitudo, ubi religione capta est, potius vatibus quam Ducibus suis paret. Curtius lib. 4. An. 1637. The Service-book sent into Scotland.

To clear them therefore of this most impious scandal, I shall here briefly represent to the world, what that so much defam'd *Liturgy* was, and on what occasion it was sent into that Realm.

King *James* after he came to enjoy the Crown of *England*, well observing the Decency and Uniformity of God's worship here, and the Deformity thereof in his own native Kingdom, where no set, or public form of Prayer was used, but oftentimes seditious expressions, girding at Sovereignty and Authority, and stult with false Reports; upon his Progress into *Scotland* an. 1616, an Assembly being then held at *Aberdene*, he proposed to that Convention a public *Liturgy*, to be used in that Realm. Which pious motion, being then and there well approved of, a *Liturgy* was accordingly framed, and in all points properly fitted for that Kirk; and after his return into *England*, convey'd to him, where it was viewed by some of his *Scottish* Subjects: yet not sent thither whilst that King lived.

King Charles
his large De-
claration. p.
16.

Ib. p. 17.

Being thus composed, his Son and Successor *K. Charles*, after a review thereof, finding it in substance, the same with the *English Liturgy*, which his Majesty in point of prudence declin'd to recommend unto them, lest they might cavil thereat, under colour, that it would be look'd upon as a badge of Dependency upon the Church of *England*, then sent it to the Lords of the Privy-Council of that Realm, by their advice to be publicly read, without the least suspicion of any dislike thereof, in regard it did so little differ from the *English Liturgy*, where-with his *Scottish* Subjects of all sorts were well acquainted, by reason of their frequent resort to his Majesties own Chappel, and many other Churches in this Realm, where it was constantly used; as also in his Royal Chappel at *Haly-Rood-House* (whereunto the Nobility, Bishops, Judges, Gentry, and people of all degrees did usually come), Cathedrals of *Scotland*, and University of *St. Andrews*: and not only so, but commended in the Sermons of some of their after principal Covenanters, especially *Mr. Rollock*.

Ib. p. 18. &
19.

Ib. p. 19.

Ib. p. 22.

But Rebellion being the close and underhand design of these great Pretenders to Godliness; whereby, in case they did prosper, they might swallow up the Possessions of the

the

Crown and Church, with the Estates of all his Majesties loyal Subjects; the contrivance was so laid, that the Common people should be possess'd with an opinion, that the King having married a Popish Queen, did resolve to introduce the Romish Religion first into *Scotland*, and afterwards into the rest of his dominions; and to that end, first to settle this *Liturgy* there, it being privately whispered, that it was the very Mass translated into their Language. Which so far incensed the vulgar; that upon the reading thereof, in the great Church at *Edenborough*, upon the 23^d of *July* the same year (1637) they made such a tumult, as that the Dean, who read it, and many other persons of note, had much ado to escape thence with their lives.

Ib. p. 23, 24,
25.
23 Julii.
1637.

Tumults at *E-*
denborough,
by reason of
the Service-
book.
* Ib. p. 26,
& 27.

Which uproar was so barbarous, that the day following, the Lords of the Council there, set forth a Proclamation * in dislike thereof. And, the Magistrates of *Edenborough* (to make up the Pageant) sent Letters into *England* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, desiring him to recommend to the King's Majesty their zeal and forwardness, for settling the peaceable practise thereof. Neither would any man of note, then seem to own that Tumult; but attributed it to the Rogues and base multitude, except the zealous Kirkmen, who cryed it up in their Pulpits, and magnified them for the most heroical Sparks, that ever God inspired, and raised up, in this last age of the world; and for their happy Mouths and Hands; which God was pleas'd to honour that day, with the beginning of their new *Blessed Reformation*, and occasioning their *celestial Covenant* (as they call'd it) that their memorial should be eternal, and all succeeding generations should call them blessed.

Ib. p. 31.

After this (about the end of Harvest) began a tumultuous conflux of the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers, and others at *Edenborough*, from all parts of the Kingdom: howbeit, as yet the principal persons in authority there, seemed to stand right enough in their loyalty (so that his Majesty the less feared the ensuing mischeifs) the more to prevent any suspection thereof, set forth three *Proclamations*.

17. Oct.
1637.

First, that nothing should be treated of at the Council-Table there, about Church-business, till they saw the times and meeting

meeting of his Majesties Subjects more quiet and peaceable. 1638.
 The Second, for removing the Session (or Term) from **Edenborough** to **Lithgow**, for fear of present danger. The
 third, for burning a seditious Book, dispersed in derogation of
 the Ecclesiastical Government in England.

But these Proclamations were for little else then shew; Ib. p. 35.
18. Oct.
 the Tumults increasing; so that the next day, the Bishop
 of **Galloway**, and the Lord chief Justice of that Kingdom,
 were assaulted by the multitude, and the Lords beset in
 the Council-house; the people, in their clamorous noises,
 crying, *God defend all those, who will defend God's cause;* Ib. p. 37.
*and God confound the Service-book, and all the maintainers
 thereof.* And so great were their outrages, that they
 pull'd down the Lord Treasurer; took his Hat, Cloak,
 and White-Staff from him; and set upon the Provost,
 as he was entring his own House.

These with the like were the beginnings to their inten-
 ded glorious work of *Reformation* (as they call'd it)
 which they said *God even to a miracle had so graciously
 prospered in their Hands.* In which last Tumults none
 were more forward than two of those, who were late-
 ly Bayliffs of **Edenborough**, and had subscribed the be-
 fore-mention'd Letters to the Arch-bishop of *Canter-*
bury.

Subsequent to which Tumults, two Petitions were Ib. p. 41.
 presented to the Lord Chancellour and Council against
 the Service-book: the first in the name of all the Men,
 Women, Children and Servants of **Edenborough**; the se-
 cond by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers and Bur-
 gesses: suggestions being made to the people of the King's
 inclination to Popery.

Of which stirs in **Scotland**, the King having adver- Ib. p. 47.
 tisement, he sent over the Earl of **Roxborough** (Lord
 Privy-Seal) into that Kingdom. Whereupon a *Pro-*
clamation * was set forth there, by his Majesties appoint-
 ment, for dispersing of the dangerous multitudes got to-
 gether at **Sterlyn**. But against this *Proclamation* the Earl
 of **Hume**, and Lord **Lindsey**, with many others of all
 ranks, made a *Protestation*; which *Protestation* they pub-
 lished at **Lithgow**, and afterwards at **Edenborough**, forcing
 the Heralds that proclaim'd the same, to stay and hear
 the *Protestation* against it. * 19. Febr.
1638.

1638.

lb. p. 40.

So that, 'tis observable, that the first Tumult was by the name of *Rascals* and Scum of the people. The second by the *best sort of Citizens*: and the third by the *Nobility, Gentry, and Magistrates*.

Tables of Advice erected.

After which *Protestation*, they erected public Tables of Advice and Council, for ordering the affairs of that Kingdom, in contempt of his Majesties authority; entring into a formal Combination, which they call'd a *Covenant* against all that should oppose them. Which *Covenant*, Mr. *Andrew Cant*, in his Sermon at *Glasgow*, told the people, he was sent to them with, by a Commission from Christ, to bid them Subscribe; it being Christ's contract: and that he himself came, as a wooer to them, for the Bridegroom; and call'd upon them to come to be hand-fasted, by subscribing that contract. Adding, that he would not depart the Town, till he got all the names of those who should refuse to subscribe that Contract, of whom he promised to complain to his Master.

The first Covenant by the Scots.

His Majesties Declaration.

lb. p. 40.

* Dated at

Windfor 20

May 1638.

The Marq. of

Hamilton

sent into Scot-

land, to ap-

pease the peo-

ple there.

The King therefore hearing of the increase of those troubles, sent over the Marquess of *Hamilton*, with Commission* for composure of them. Who, on the sixth of *June* following arrived at *Dalkeith*; where the Lords of his Majesties Council of that Kingdom, were then assembled for safety (as 'twas pretended) in regard of the combustions at *Edenborough*, which daily increased.

But the cheif of the *Covenanters* grew daily more violent in their courses; increased the meetings of their Tables; subdivided them into several Committees; augmented their Provisions of Armes; and infusing fears and jealousies into the people, by seditious Sermons; caused *Edenborough*-Castle to be girt with strong Guards; hindred all persons to go to the Marquess, to treat or speak with him in the business for which he was sent; giving out, that there was a *Plot* to blow them up with Gunpowder, if they should go to *Dalkeith*; and received in two Ships-lading with Armes and Amunition at that time.

lb. p. 85. 86.

Whereupon, at the request of the Citizens of *Edenborough*, the Marquess took his journey from *Dalkeith* to *Haly-Rood-House*. But, before he got thither, the *Covenanters* meeting

meeting him on the way, with multitudes that made great Exclamations against Popery and Bishops; required a *General Assembly* of the Church, and then a Parliament; justifying their *Covenant*, as being more available and usefull to them (as they said) than all the Laws and Acts of Parliament, which had been enacted in that Kingdom since the time of *Fergus*, the first King thereof. The Peoples fury also growing more hot than ever, new Guards were clap'd upon the Castle of *Edenborough*; the Pulpits rung of Libellous Sermons and Prayers: yea so insolent they were, that they sent a Prohibition against reading the English-Service in the King's peculiar Chappel, where the Marquess (his Majesties Commissioner) and the Council were to be.

1638.

Ib. p. 88.

Which Tumults (as 'twas said) occasioning the Marquess to go back to *Dalkeith*; the *Covenanters* sent Letters to every one of his Majesties Council, requiring their Subscription to the *Covenant*. And, understanding, that the Marquess did resolve to publish a *Declaration* of his Majesties forwardness, to maintain the Religion professed in that Kingdom, and his averfness to Popery; dissuaded him, as he tendred the King's honour, his own safety, and peace of the Publick from doing it.

But notwithstanding these arguments, the Marquess did cause his Majesties *Proclamation* to be publish'd by Heralds, at the Market-Cross in *Edenborough*; declaring his resolution to maintain the true Protestant-Christian-Religion. And for farther clearing of scruples, assured them; that he would neither then, nor thenceforth press the practise of the *Canons* and *Service-Book*, otherwise than in such a fair and legal way, as should satisfy his loving Subjects, that he neither intended Innovation in Religion, or Laws; warning all his good people to beware of disobedience.

Ib. p. 96.
28. Junii.

But all this no whit sufficed them; for in open affront thereto, they caused multitudes of people to fill the streets (especially near the Cross) in an hostile equipage; with Pistols and Swords out of their Belts; giving out, that if this *Proclamation* were hearkned unto, it would bring undoubted ruine to their Religion, Laws, and Liberties: and upon a Scaffold (erected for that purpose) they mounted, with a *Rebellious Protestation*, in defence of their

their *Covenant*, which they published openly: concluding, that if his Majesty would not allow their proceedings, they themselves would call a *General Assembly*; justifying all their doings to be most necessary, and an orderly means, agreeable to the Laws and practise of that Church and Kingdom.

Ib. p. 110. &
111.

Whereupon the Marquess returning into England, to acquaint the King with what had passed; resolving to be back again before the Fifth of *August* with new instructions; they in his absence inform'd the People, that he was well satisfied with their *Covenant*. Against which calumny, upon his return, he publish'd a *Manifesto* in Print. And having direction from his Majesty to indict an *Assembly*; sent to divers of the principal *Covenanters*, concerning some Propositions to be resolv'd upon before the meeting thereof. But this Message was receiv'd with so much choler and contempt; that they blazed it abroad for a proposition, tending to the utter ruine of the Laws and Liberties of that Church and Kingdom.

Which much startling the Marquess, he told them of his resolution to go back into England, and that he could not concur with them: but that he had power to grant them a new *Assembly*; which he could not conceive to be free, if they should bring in every man to have a voice, whom they had a mind to. And accordingly went again into England. Where having acquainted the King with what had hapned, he returned. Howbeit, before he came back, the *Covenanters* (contrary to promise) had elected Commissioners for the *Assembly*.

22 Sept.

Upon which his Return, he delivered to his Majesties Council at *White-Hood-House*, Letters concerning the *Confession of faith* of the date at *Edenborough Jan. 28. 1580*; and signed by King *James*. But the *Covenanters* hereupon gave out to the people, that the News brought by the Marquess, did tend to the utter subversion of their *Religion* and *Liberties*: also that there was a new *Covenant* to be set on foot by the King, to destroy theirs; and that if now they resisted not, all was lost that they had already done. Nevertheless the Marquess caused his Majesties *Declaration* and *Confession of Faith* (*ut supra*) to be publish'd at the Market-Cross in *Edenborough*: and at the same time,

Ib. p. 137.

not

not only a *Proclamation* for indicting a *General Assembly* at *Glasgow* the one and twentieth of *November* ensuing; Ib. p. 147. but an *Act* of the *Lords* of the *Council*, requiring all his *Majesties* *Subjects*, to subscribe the said *Confession of Faith*, and *Band* annexed. Which *Declaration* contain'd a grant for redress of all the particular *Grievances*, desired in their *Supplications*, *Remonstrances*, *Protestations*, *Declarations* &c. and besides all this, their own *Confession of Faith* (the ground, as they pretended of their *Covenant*) renewed and established.

But the principal *Covenanters* having possess'd the *People* with a prejudicate opinion of this gracious *Declaration* (before they heard it) as destructive to the *Laws* and *Liberties* of that *Church* and *Kingdom*; erected a large *Scaffold* near the *Cross*, where the same was to be published; at which divers *Earls*, *Lords*, *Gentlemen*, and others, with their *Swords* in their *Hands*, and *Hats* on their *Heads*, stood jeering and laughing, during the time of the same *Declaration*: and it being ended, with Insolent and *Rebellious* behaviour, assisted one *Archibald Johnston*, in the publishing a most wicked and treasonable *Protestation*; wherein they invoked *God's* holy name, as a witness to many notorious falsehoods; attributing *Infallibility* to their *Rebellious Covenant*: affirming, that it was approved from *Heaven* with rare and undeniable instances. And the next *Sunday* after, all the *Pulpits* rang with bitter *invectives* and *Declamations* against his *Majesties Declaration*; branding it with the depth and policy of *Satan*. Ib. p. 156.

Nevertheless, this *Declaration* and *Confession of Faith*, so sent by his *Majesty* was very well received in all places, except such whereunto the *Covenanters* from their *Tables* had prepared their *Emissaries* to dissuade the acknowledgment of it; witness the *Letter* sent to the *Marquess*, dated 24 *Sept.* from the *Provost*, *Bayliffs*, and *Council* of *Glasgow*, 24 Sept. and the *Ministers* there. And the *Assembly* at *Glasgow* being thus indicted, they cunningly contrived, that the *Commissioners*, should be elected of the most rigid and fanatic spirits that were; the *Principal Covenanters* perswading the *People*, that the *King* intended no performance of what he promised in his last *Proclamation*; no not the *Assembly* it self; but to gain time until he were ready for Ib. p. 188, &
189.
Ib. p. 195.

1638.

* 13. Oct.

Ib. p. 197.

their ruine: sending likewise for all their party, to flock to * **Edenborough**, as if then there had been greater danger than ever; increasing also their Guards about the Castle; their Preachers publishing in the Pulpits; that *whosoever subscribed his Majesties Confession and Covenant, were perjur'd Villains.*

Ib. p. 208.

Ib. p. 210.

Moreover they caused a most false, odious, and scandalous Libel, to be drawn up against the Archbishops and Bishops; and exhibiting it to the Presbytery of **Edenborough**, procured it to be publicly read in the Pulpits. Whereupon the Archbishops and Bishops were cited by the Presbytery of **Edenborough**, to appear before the General Assembly, to be holden at **Glasgow** 21 Nov. following.

Ib. p. 226.

An. 1534.
25. H.8. Ho-
linsh. p. 936.
937.

And the more to infatuate the giddy-headed multitude, they set up such another Impostor, as the *Holy Maid* * of *Kent* in King *Henry* the Eighth's time was, viz. one *Michelson's* daughter, said to have been long distracted by Fits, and then pretended to be inspired with *Divination*; who was cryed up for raving against the Bishops, in her mad Fits; *Rollock* (one of their fiercest Presbyters) giving out, that *God spake through her*; her expressions being, that *it was revealed unto her from God, that their Covenant was approved from Heaven.*

Ib. p. 228.

Ib. p. 229.
& 230.

And soon after this, they indicted an *Assembly*, by their own authority upon the one and twentieth of *November* following. But upon knowledg that the Lord *Marquess* (his Majesties Commissioner) was resolv'd to hold the *Assembly* at the time and place appointed by the King's *Proclamation*, they altered their purpose, and sent out Papers for a General meeting at **Edenborough** upon the twelfth of *November*; and to stay there, till they were to go to **Glasgow** on Saturday the seventeenth of that month.

Which meeting (according to the King's *Proclamation*) being very great; after his Majesties Commission read, the *Marquess* exhorted them to a peaceable and moderate carriage; giving some touch of the disorders that had passed. Whereunto answer being made by a Nobleman (a Lay Elder) that *they had given his Grace satisfaction for all their proceedings*, they went on to the choice of a Moderator, without the approbation and consent of his Majesties Commissioner; appointing for that purpose *Mr. Alexander Henderson* (the most rigid *Covenanter*) Against

gainst whom, when the Marquess protested, such was their heady and exorbitant carriage; that, by the hands of Doctor *Hamilton*, they presented to the Marquess a *Declinator* and *Protestation* against his proceedings, in the name of the Bishops. Nay so formidable they soon after grew, as that the University of *Aberdene*, having been threatned with the loss of their lives, for writing against the *Covenant*, durst not send any of their Professors to that *Assembly*. And on the eight and twentieth of *October* a calumnious Libel against the Bishops was read in all the Churches of *Edenborough*; one *Gibson* (in the *Assembly*) thundring out a verbal *Protestation*; that *they would pursue their Libel against the Bishops, so long as they had lives and fortunes.*

1638.

Ib. p. 224.

28. Oct.

Ib. p. 248.

Which *Assembly* was form'd of Ministers (Commissioners to it) chosen by Lay Elders, the Lay Elders themselves being likewise present in it; a course so much distast'd by several parts of the Kingdom, that they thereupon made *Protestations* against their proceedings; divers of which were read at the instance of his Majesties Commissioner: but the Lord *London* hindred the reading of that from *Glasgow*. And, as their *Elections* were wholly undue, so were their *Actions* in the *Assembly*; all being carried by faction, and clancular contrivances, as appeared by their own Private Papers of Instructions (some whereof were discovered by the Marquess) neither was any freedom of debate therein, but what tended to the advancement of their evil designs.

Ib. p. 264.

Ib. p. 281;
282, 283.

The Marquess therefore shewing a dislike to those their sinister dealings, departed from the *Assembly* at *Glasgow*. Whereupon the *Covenanters* protested against all that he had said and done there, as his Majesties Commissioner. And at the same instant the Lord *Areskyn*, and three other mean persons, came and beg'd to be admitted into their blessed *Covenant*. Which offer (though of purpose contrived) was made so good use of by the Moderator, that he desired it might be admired as God's approbation and Sealing of their proceedings. And it being put to the question whether they should adhere to their *Protestation*, and continue the *Assembly*, notwithstanding the King's Commissioners departure, it was voted (by most) affirmatively. Secondly, whether the *Assembly*,

Ib. p. 287.
27 Nov.

1638.

Assembly, though dissolv'd by his Majesties Commissioner, was competent judge against the Bishops, and whether they would go on in their Tryal; it passed also affirmatively, *nemine contradicente*.

lb. p. 290.
29. Nov.
The Assembly at Glasgow dissolved.
lb. p. 294.
lb. p. 317.

And now, no sooner was the Marquess thus departed, having caused his Majesties *Proclamation* to be publish'd by Heralds, at the Market-Cross in **Glasgow**, for dissolving the *Assembly*; but that Mr. *Archibald Johnston* (the then Clerk to the Assembly) made a scandalous *Protestation* against it. After which all things were transacted by some few pack'd Committees of the most fierce *Covenanters*, which sate till the thirtieth of *December* following. Which Committees, amongst other of their Acts declared six general *Assemblies* to be Null and void, whereof two were then in force by several Acts of Parliament; and divers Acts of the other four, confirm'd by Parliament. They condemned likewise, all the *Arminian Tenets* (as they call'd them) without defining what those *Tenets* were. They also deprived all the *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops* of that Realm; excommunicating many of them, without examining any one witness to prove, no nor offering to produce any to testify ought against them. And next declared *Episcopal Government* to be inconsistent with the Laws of that Church and Kingdom; abolishing it for ever, though it then stood confirm'd by many Acts both of Parliament and Assemblies. They also depriv'd divers Ministers for *Arminianisme*, without ever questioning them for what *Tenets* or opinions they held.

Episcopal
Government
abolish'd in
Scotland.
lb. p. 319.

Moreover, towards the end of their *Assembly*, they divided themselves into several Committees; which, after their rising, should see all their Acts put in execution. And, at the conclusion of all, the *Moderator* gave God thanks for their good success, congratulating the Nobility for their great pains; giving thanks also to the Earl of *Argyle* for his Presence and Council. Which Earl, in a long Speech, then excused his late declaring himself; yet protesting, that he was always set that way, though he delay'd to profess it, so long as he found his close carriage might advantage their Cause, but now he must openly adjoyn himself to their Society, or prove a *Knave*, as he said.

Hereupon

1638.

Hereupon the Marquess (his Majesties Commissioner) resolving to ask the King's leave to return for England, came first to **Edenborough**, where he found strong Guards put upon the Castle, and the people much abused by false Reports; viz. that his Majesty had made good nothing at all, which was contained in his *Declaration* at **Edenborough** upon the two and twentieth of *September* last; whereupon he caused a Proclamation * to be published in his Majesties name, at the Market-crofs there, containing the sum of his whole proceedings at **Glasgow**. Which being encountered with a blustering and undutiful *Protestation*, in the name of the general Assembly of the Kirk of **Scotland**, and published at the same time and place, he return'd into **England**.

Ib. p. 366.

* 18 Dec.

Ib. p. 375.

Then the Faction proceeded to levy Soldiers, impose Taxes; and requiring obedience to their Acts, menac'd the Refusers; raised divers Fortifications in that Kingdom; block'd up his Majesties Castles and Forts; and took the Castle of **Edenborough**; procuring their Preachers seditiously to teach the People, that there was a Necessity of bearing Arms against his Majesty under pain of Perjury and Damnation; and caused such an infamous Bailad to be sung up and down against the Bishops; as that, in hatred of them, the people called a Dog with black and white spots, a Bishop as he went in the Streets.

Ib. p. 402.

Moreover they procured divers Libels to be scattered in **England**, for justification of their rebellious courses, and defamation of Ecclesiastical Government; inciting his Majesties Subjects in this Realm, to attempt the like Rebellion here: refusing to admit such to the Communion, who had not subscribed their *Covenant*; and preaching that the Non-subscribers were Atheists. Nay one of them, in his Sermon exhorted the people never to give over, till they had the King in their power, and then he should see what good Subjects they were. Others preach'd, that the *Service-Book* was fram'd at **Rome**. These and many other groundless scandals and falshoods, to amuse the People, they published in their Pulpits (which they call'd the *Chairs of truth*.) And to hasten on the Peoples Insurrection, endeavoured to perswade them, that his Majesty intended an Invasion of that Kingdom, and to make it a Province; as also to despoil them of their

Ib. p. 404.

1639.

The Scots put themselves in Arms.

The King raised an Army, whereof he made the Earl of Arundel General. 27 Martii. 1639.

* 28 Maii, at the Birks.

The King's Declaration, since the Pacification in the Camp near Barwick. p. 3. & 4.

Laws and Liberties, and to give them new Laws, as if they were a conquer'd Nation. And having thus prepared the People and fitted themselves with all Provisions for war, they put themselves in Armes, and march'd to the Frontiers of **England**, pretending they came as Petitioners.

The King therefore discerning the danger, raised a gallant Army, whereof he made *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* his General; and on the seven and twentieth of *March* set forwards toward **Scotland**; having with him the flower of his English-Nobility and Gentry, whose cheerfulness then to serve him was very great. Yet was the Earl of *Essex* at that time his Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horse (so much was his Majesty then mistaken in their affections to him, who did afterwards sufficiently discover themselves) And advancing with his Army,* encamp'd four miles West from **Barwick**.

What correspondence was then held, betwixt the *Scots*, and divers of the great ones, then in his Majesties Camp (considering also who were of his Bed-chamber) may easily be guest by the consequences. Certain it is, that divers of them grew cool in the business: so that, after the *Scots* had, by a formal Petition expressed; *that they falling down at his Majesties feet, did most humbly supplicate him, to appoint some of the Kingdom of England, to hear by some of them, their humble desires*: his Majesty assented thereunto; and after several meetings thereupon, and their demands presented in writing, professed; *that it was their greif that his Majesty had been provoked to wrath against them, his most humble and loving Subjects: and that it should be their delight, upon his gracious assurance of the preservation of their Religion and Laws, to give example to all others, of all civil and temporal obedience, which could be required of loyal Subjects.*

To which his Majesty answered, that if their desires were only the enjoying of their *Religion* and *Liberties*, according to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of his Kingdom of **Scotland**; he did not only agree to the same, but should always protect them to the utmost of his power; they yielding him in the mean time, such civil and temporal obedience, as could be justly required of loyal Subjects.

Upon.

Upon this Petition therefore, Articles of *Pacification* were concluded* on at *Barwick*; whereby his Majesty was contented not only to confirm whatsoever his Commissioner had promised in his name; but that all Ecclesiastical-matters, should be determined by the *Assemblies* of the Kirk. Likewise matters Civil by the Parliament, and other inferior Judicatories establish'd by Law.

Moreover, that for settling the distractions of that Kingdom, he was willing to grant a free general *Assembly*, to be kept at *Edenborough* the sixth of *August* ensuing; and after that a Parliament the twentieth of *August*; for ratifying what should be concluded in the Assembly; being graciously pleased to declare, that *upon disbanding of their Forces, dissolving all their pretended Tables; restoring his Forts, Castles, and Amunition &c. To his good Subjects their Liberties, Lands, Goods &c. detained since the late pretended general Assembly; he would recall his Fleet; retire his Land-forces; and make restitution to them of their Ships, and Goods arrested &c.*

Which Agreement was entertained by them, with so much outward acceptance; that by the Subscriptions of the chiefest of them, it was promised, *they would ever, in all things carry themselves like humble, loyal, and obedient Subjects.* But, instead of performance on their parts, at the very publishing* the Articles in their Camp, a *Pro-*

1639.

lb. p. 17.

* 17 Junii.
Articles of
Pacification
with the
Scots.

* 20 Junii.

1639.

Assembly at Glasgow; keeping up all their Fortifications. Yea such was the fury of the People (animated by that *Protestation*, with divers scandalous Papers, and seditious Sermons) that they deterred his Majesties good Subjects, from going to their dwellings; threatening them with loss of their lives, if they repaired to their own Houses; labouring also to pervert them in the choice of the Commissioners for the general *Assembly* appointed; by anticipating their voices, in making them swear to, and subscribe the approbation of the same *Assembly* at *Glasgow*, and Acts thereof; deterring others from repairing there-to. So that, by these new disorders, the peace and quiet of his Subjects, was greatly disturbed (great Insolencies being offer'd to the Earl of *Kinnowl*, his Majesties high Treasurer; as also to Sir *James Hamilton* Justice-general, and other his Majesties Councillors and good Subjects) so that the King forbore to come to *Edenborough*; such of his Loyal Subjects as attended his Person, and adhered to him, being branded by them with the vile aspersion of *Traitors to God and their Country*, and threatned to be proceeded against with censures accordingly. And lastly, shaking off all respect due to sacred Majesty, protested, that *all members of the Colleges of Justice and Leiges, were not to attend the Session; and that all Acts, Decrees, and Sentences therein past against any of them, should be null, void and ineffectual*; contrary to the King's exprefs Warrant for the down-sitting thereof, and the heavy damage of his good Subjects, who were thereby frustrated of Justice.

Ib. p. 17.

Ib. p. 19.

Ib. p. 20.

And having laid these insolent and seditious foundations for a Parliament, it could not be expected, but that the structure must be full of confusion (as indeed it proved) their Actions, and demands favouring of nothing but undutifulness and disloyalty: for they stuck not to deny to his Majesty the most essential, and inherent Prerogatives of his Crown; striving by all means to change and alter the constitutions of the Parliament, and frame of Government. Likewise to restrain his power in point of coinage, custody of Castles, grants of Honour, and Commissions-Justiciary, or Lieutenancy.

* 2 Julii.

And his Majesty by his Commission, * having allow'd them
them

them the liberty of convening and meeting, until a certain day, for distributing of their pretended charges, amongst such as should willingly condescend thereunto; they did not only, without Warrant, continue their Conventicles and Tables, since that Commission expired,* contrary to the positive Laws of that Kingdom, the Act of Pacification, and their own acknowledgment in petitioning for the aforesaid Commission; but urged, that *all those his good Subjects, who adhered to him in defence of his Royal authority, against their rebellious commotions, should be made equal* (if not more liable) *to the defraying of their pretended charges.* Which might imply his Majesties countenance and justification of all their Rebellions and Treasons.

1639.

* 20 Julii.

Ib. p. 30.

The King therefore discerning their persistance in such unsufferable demands, return'd to England, signifying to the Earl of Traquier (his Commissioner) that *it did evidently appear unto him, that their aim was not now for Religion, as they always pretended, but rather the alteration of the Government of that Kingdom, and withall the total overthrow of Royal authority:* commanding his said Commissioner to prorogate the Parliament, till the second of June, next following.

August.

November.

Notwithstanding which Prorogation; they continued their sitting at **Edenborough**; and sent their Deputies * over into this Kingdom, to make *Remonstrance* of their doings, (without knowledg of his Commissioner.) Whereupon his Majesties Commissioner came over, and acquainting him with those Insolencies; also by his command, relating * them at his Council-board; the King there propos'd to the consideration of the Lords then present; *whether it were not more fit to reduce them to their duty by force, than give way to their demands, so much prejudicial to his Honour and safety.* Which being unanimously voted in the affirmative, his Majesty resolv'd to call a Parliament soon after.

* Earl of Dumfermlyn.
Lord of Lowdon.

* 5 Dec.

Ib. p. 41.

In which Interim the Scots lost no time, but making fair pretences by their *Remonstrance*, protested against this Act of *Prorogation*; and declar'd, *that the same was contrary to the Constitutions and practise of all precedent Parliaments; contrary to the liberties of that Kingdom, and repugnant to the Articles of the late Pacification; and that*

18. Dec.

it

1639. *it was ineffectual and of no force to hinder their proceedings; professing, that it was never their intention to deny his Majesty any part of that civil and temporal obedience, which is due to all Kings from their Subjects, and from them to their dread Sovereign, after a more special manner; but meerly to preserve their Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom: and that whatsoever course they should take, it should be no imputation to them, being constrain'd thereto, for best securing that Kirk and Kingdom from the Extremity of confusion and misery: taking God and man to witness, that they would be free of all outrages, and Insolencies that should be committed in the mean time.*

Scots raise
more forces.

Jan. 1639.
Act. 34.

And then they began again to levy and raise Forces in several parts of the Realm in great numbers; exercis'd, train'd, and assign'd them a Rendezvous; as also a day to be in readiness to march; making Provisions of Artillery, Amunition, and Armes in great quantities, from forreign parts; laying Taxes and Impositions of ten marks in every hundred, upon all the Subjects of that Kingdom, according to their several Revenues, for support of their Rebellion; exacting the same with the greatest rigour that could be imagin'd; spreading fundry Papers and Pamphlets scandalous to the King's proceedings; block'd up the Castle of *Edenborough*, and fortified divers places; imprisoned the Earl of *Southeske* (one of his Majesties Privy-Council there) and fundry others of quality, for not adhering to them in their Rebellious courses: endeavouring to settle Intelligencers in parts beyond-Sea; and practising to let in forreign power; inclining rather to prostitute themselves to a forreign Government, and different in Religion, than yield obedience and conformity to his Majesty their natural Sovereign; as appears by their Address'es, and Letter to the *French King*.

lb. p. 57.

By what hath been said, it appearing, that the first glimpse of this grand and destructive Rebellion shew'd it self at *Edenborough* upon the three and twentieth of *July, an. 1637*; the scum of the people then taking fire at the reading of that *Service-book*, which was sent over by his late Majesty (of blessed memory) as a proper Liturgy for the Church of *Scotland*, and most nearly suting with this of *England*. Forasmuch, therefore, as
from

1639.

from those Sparks the ensuing flames arose; which from and after that time continued burning, for the space of many years, until they had overspread, and much wasted the cheif parts of this great Isle: to make the Bishops of both Kingdoms odious, there are not a few, who either out of malice to their sacred function, or ignorance as to matter of fact, have imputed the original of all this mischeif unto them, as the first Authors or procurers of that Book, which they would have believed to be the first rise thereof.

To the end therefore, that those reverend persons (soon after ruin'd, and since dead) may be fully vindicated from being primarily instrumental therein (though had they so been, no person of upright judgment could justly have blamed them from endeavouring an uniformity in the service of God in both Kingdoms.) I shall desire my Reader to cast his eye upon that faithful *Narrative*, * written by the command of our late Sovereign King *Charles* the first (and corrected throughout with his own hand, as many yet living can testify;) whereby he will clearly discern; that *the then Lords of the Privy-Council of Scotland*, were the men, who advised the King to commend a *Service-Book*, to be received and used in all the Churches of that Realm, of which there was no little want, every man being left to his own giddy fancy.

The King's
Declaration
printed at
Lond. 1639.

Now, whether this advice of those Lords was not with purpose to trepan his Majesty to do that; which (as they resolv'd to order the business) should occasion a tumultuous Insurrection by the rabble, whence their grand Design of raising a general flame of war might ensue, let the Reader judge, when he looks back upon their discontents upon his Majesties Revocation of such things as had been passed away, in prejudice of that Crown, especially by some of his Progenitors in their minorities (though not without advice of those who were then his Privy-Councillors in that Realm) as hath been already observed. And withall consider what combinations were driven on divers years before, betwixt the most considerable persons of the Puritan-party in England, and the Grand-Contrivers there; Mr. *Knightley's* house in *Northampton-shire*, being the chief place, where
that.

Ib. p. 8.

1639.

* Sir Henry Vane junior.
* Preface to the Memoires of the lives of James and William D. of Hamilton. Impr. Lond. 1677.

that restless faction had their frequent meetings: “whence
“* a Gentleman * of quality was sent into Scotland (af-
“terwards a great Parliament-man here:) who residing
“there for some time before the troubles broke out,
“represented to those which had the chief Interest there,
“that the business of the ship-money and Habeas Corpus,
“with divers other things, whereof there was much
“noise made afterwards, had so irritated the greatest part
“of the English Nation; that if they made sure work
“at home, they needed not to fear any thing; from Eng-
“land.

Moreover how earnestly and eagerly; after that Tu-
mult at Edenborough was so raised, all sorts of people
took advantage thereof; the Kirkmen laying about them
in their Pulpits, so that the Citizens, Gentry and Nobles
speedily put themselves in Armes; entering into a re-
bellious Confederacy, called *the Covenant*. And lastly,
that when his Majesty most graciously offered to re-
call the *Service-Book* (which was the great business at
which they seem'd to take offence) they were no whit
lenified. It will be visible enough to any person of judg-
ment, who doth not wilfully shut his Eyes, that the hatch-
ing of this Rebellion, was of a much elder date than
that *Service-Book*.

But I now return to England.

C H A P. VI.

His Majesty thus seeing his danger from
Scotland; and hoping of help from his
English Subjects, resolv'd of calling a
Parliament here. But, no sooner were
Writs out for that purpose, than that the
Schismatical Party used all possible endea-
vour to strengthen their side, by choosing of their own
faction, for Knights and Burgeffes. And to accomplish
the same, spared for no pains in packing of Voices, and
making

making parties (wherein their Seditious Pulpit-men beftir'd themselves to purpose:) such being then their fury, that those meetings for Elections appeared more like riotous tumults, than orderly conventions: nevertheless, the Nation was not then so generally tainted, but that many good men were chosen.

Which Parliament began at Westminster upon the thirteenth day of April; wherein his Majesty declared to both Houses the indignities receiv'd from his *Scottish* Subjects; and to suppress their Rebellion, propos'd a Supply of twelve Subsidies; in lieu whereof he was content to forbear *Ship-money*, than which nothing seem'd so grievous.

Had not that Parliament been broke by the subtile artifices of the Grand-Contrivers in the immediate Rebellion; no doubt but all those miseries, which were thereby soon after brought upon this Realm, might have been easily prevented: and that the breach thereof was wrought by them, is plain enough. For Sir *Henry Vane Senior*, a member of the House of Commons at that time (and one of his Majesties principal Secretaries of State) having by the King's appointment, mov'd for a Supply of twelve Subsidies; yet with power to stoop to eight: when he saw an inclination in the House tending thereto (first by a Proposal of four, then five, nay six were mention'd, and the motion not dislike'd) told them peremptorily; that *it was in vain for them to think of less than twelve, in regard he knew, under that number would not be accepted.*

And, having by that sinister dealing kept such distance betwixt his Majesty and his good Subjects, was by some other of the faction so seconded, with a hideous representation of their Grievances, together with dangerous Innovations in Religion, and fears of introducing Superstition; besides certain motions as did (not without cause) put strange apprehensions in the Queen of peril to her person (or at least some others very near unto her) that his Majesty was constrain'd to dissolve that Parliament. And taking consideration of the *Scots* rebellious Insolencies, which every day increased, propos'd the business of money to his Privy-Council, who contributed a considerable sum to his aid; his domestic-Servants and Of-

1640.

An. 1640.
13 Apr.
The Short
Parliament
call'd.

The Short
Parliament
dissolved.
5 Maii.

1640.

ficers making good addition thereto. The Earl of *Strasford* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, speedily hasting into that Kingdom; where he call'd a Parliament, raised an Army of eight thousand men, with money to maintain them, and within the space of six weeks return'd into *England*.

That the meeting of these Members of Parliament from all parts of the Realm (being many of them men of turbulent Spirits, and principles totally Antimonarchical) gave opportunity for those contrivances which afterwards were put in Action, there is nothing more sure. For in the first place, they took care to infuse *Fears* and *Jealousies* into the people every where, that the Government was then design'd to be *Arbitrary*, and Popery like to be introduced: to promote which Scandals many seditious Preachers took no small pains in their Pulpits; especially in and about *London*. Whereupon several tumultuous meetings were made in divers parts of the Suburbs; and a Paper set up in the night, at the old Exchange, animating the Apprentices to sack *Lambeth House*. Which took such effect, that two nights following, it was beset * with above five hundred of the rascal multitude, and an attempt made thereon, though without success; some of them being taken and imprisoned in *Southwark*.

But here they rested not; for within a few nights after, they broke open the *White-Lion*, and *King's-bench* Prisons, and let out their fellows.

The *Scots* also, having made such preparations for a second Rebellion, continued likewise their Parliament, according to the *Fundamental Laws* (as their phrase was) having enacted a Band, to be subscribed by all men before the first of *September*, to maintain it to be a free and lawful Parliament: whereupon they form'd another Army: and knowing certainly what store of well-wishers they had in this Kingdom: as also how easy the work was like to be made, through the subtle contrivances of the factious party here, from whom they were sufficiently instructed and animated by private Invitations and large promises; invaded this Realm, passing * the *Tweed* at *Barwick*.

But the King being slow to believe what they designed, was

9 Maii.

* 11 Maii.

11 Julii.
Ad. 38.* 17. Aug.
The first In-
vasion of the
Scots.

was not so forward as to encounter them upon the Borders; his Army (which he rais'd that Summer) lying, at that time about *New-Castle*, of which the Earl of *Northumberland* was made General; who (alleging himself to be then ill in health) staid in *London*. His Majesty therefore having certain advertisement, that the *Scots* were ready to enter *Northumberland*, intended to have made the Earl of *Strafford* General; who declin'd it, out of an honoured respect to the Earl of *Northumberland*: but, being much pressed, in regard of this present occasion, desired to serve, as Lieutenant general under him, and had his Commission * accordingly.

1640.

* 13 Aug.

On Thursday the twentieth of *Aug.* the King set forwards from *London*, towards the North, and on Monday following, the Earl of *Strafford* (having in that short time fitted himself for his journey) posted from *London* by Coaches; and arriving at *York* the Wednesday after (though then much troubled with the Stone) rode to *Copcliffe* on Fryday *.

* 28 Aug.

At that time the Lord *Conway* was General of the Horse, and at *Newcastle*, with the Army. Where, by reason of the General's and Lieutenant-General's absence he had the cheif command thereof: but made such slender resistance, that the *Scots* forc'd their passage over the River of *Tine* at *Newburne*, that very Friday, and entered *Newcastle* without opposition; himself then retreating with the Army towards *York*, and in some confusion.

And now that the *Scots* had thus possess'd themselves of *Newcastle*, they began to strengthen that place, and bring all those Northern-parts under contribution. Which strange passages made most men amazed; scarce any man knowing whom to trust or speak freely to. Much labour (indeed) there was, to make the people believe, that all this did work for their good, and that the *Scots* were their surest friends; *this* being the certain way to have a Parliament, and *that* the undoubted cure of all things amiss, both in Church and State. And (truly) such a burthen was *Ship-money* then esteem'd to be, and some few other extraordinary Impositions (so wanton were many grown, being surfeited with that plenty which long peace had produc'd) that the *Scots* then

1640.

had, not a few well-wishers in all parts of this Reālm, their piety and goodness being so cried up by the whole *Puritan-party*.

A grand
Council of
the Peers
at York.
24 Sept.

His Majesty therefore in this difficult Labyrinth, took resolution to summon a meeting of the Peers at *York* (a course which had anciently been used; especially when exigencies were so great, that the Convention of a Parliament could not be staid for); and at the meeting of this grand Council, represented to them the present danger of this Invasion; with desire of their advice, touching the maintenance of his Army, as not safe to be disbanded, whilst the *Scotish-Forces* were on foot: as also what course was fittest to be taken to get them out. Whereupon, without long deliberating, a Treaty was determin'd on, and for that end sixteen of the Lords then present, were assign'd on the King's part, to meet with Eleven of the *Scots*; with power to compose and conclude all differences.

Whereunto the *Scots* assented; upon condition, that the King should first revoke his *Proclamation*, whereby he had declared them Traitors.

C O M M I S S I O N E R S

Of the English these,

Francis Earl of *Bedford*.
William Earl of *Hertford*.
Robert Earl of *Essex*.
William Earl of *Salisbury*.
Robert Earl of *Warwick*.
John Earl of *Bristol*.
Henry Earl of *Holland*.
Thomas Earl of *Berkshire*.
Philip Lord *Wharton*.
William Lord *Paget*.
Edward Lord *Kymbolton*.
Robert Lord *Brook*.
John Lord *Paulet*.
Edw. L. Howard of *Escrick*.
Thomas Lord *Savile*.
Francis Lord *Dunsmore*.

Of the Scots these,

John Earl of *Rothess*.
Ch. Earl of *Dumfermeling*.
John Lord *Lowdon*.
Sir Patrick *Hepburne* of
Waughtone.
Sir Will. *Douglas* of *Cavers*.
William *Drummond* of *Ric-*
carton.
John *Smith* Bailiff of *Eden-*
borough.
Alexand. *Wedderburn*, Clerk
of *Dundee*.
Hugh *Kennedy* Burgefs of
Aire.
Alexander *Henderson*.
Archibald *Johnstone*.

Which

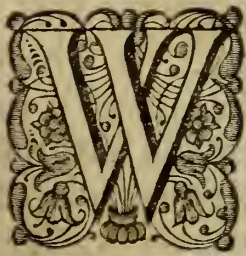
Which Treaty began at **Rippon** upon the ninth of *October*; but what good effect it was like to produce, we now plainly see; Eleven of those sixteen *English* Lords, which were chosen on his Majesties part, being afterwards Actors or Assisters in the late war against him.

1640.

9. Oct.
Treaty at
Rippon.

The first demand there made by the *Scots* Commissioners, being no less then forty thousand pounds a month, for maintenance of their Army, during the Treaty. Which tho not directly granted, was so far yielded to; as that the Assessment impos'd by them, upon the Countie of **Northumberland**, Bishopric of **Durham**, and Town of **Newcastle**, should stand good, for the raising of Eight hundred and fifty pounds a day allowance, for the space of two months, to begin upon the sixteenth of that instant *October*. And that there should be a cessation of Arms; the *Scots* Army to be confin'd on the North part the River *Tese*, and the *English* to the South thereof.

C H A P. VII.



Which footing thus gotten by the *Scots* in the North, gave no small encouragement to their well-wishers in the South; especially in **London**; who, in contemplation also of the ensuing Parliament (which by his Majesty was summon'd to meet upon the third of *November* following) were not a little animated in divers bold Enterprizes: for scandalous papers and Libels, were frequently thrown in the streets, against the Bishops. Yea so bold were the multitude grown (by the example of the *Scots* in *an.* 1637, and through the incitation of many Citizens and others of note, who would not then shew themselves) that on the 22th of *October*, a rabble of no less than Two thousand *Brownists*, and the like Sectaries, entred *St. Paul's Cathedral*, where the high Commission Court then sat; tore down all the Benches, and cried out, *No Bishop, No High Commission.*

1640.

The long
Parliament
began. 3.No.

To the consideration of which Parliament (began on the third of *November* accordingly) did the King represent the safety and security of this Realm; earnestly desiring, that care might be speedily taken for riddance of the *Scots*, which had thus invaded the North; and to satisfy their just Grievances, promised his hearty concurrence; desiring that his Army might not be suffer'd to disband, for want of pay, before the Rebels (for so he then call'd the *Scots*) were put out: And that they would lay aside all suspicions, to the end it might become a happy Parliament; resolving to cast himself wholly upon the love and affection of his *English* Subjects.

Will. Lenthal of Lincolns Inn being Speaker.

But the house of Commons (consisting of the same, or persons worse affected than those in *April* before (the prevalent party purging the House of divers persons, whom they conceived would not comply with their destructive enterprizes: for such, they either finding fault with their Elections, or making them criminals, as to some public Grievances, though others of a deeper guilt were not touch'd, whose offences might make them obnoxious to their power, or obsequious to their designs] went slowly on with what his Majesty had proposed to them: for the busy-party (who were the great Actors in the ensuing Tragedy) then fell to contrivance about the accomplishment of their long desired work. To which purpose the *Treaty at Rippon* was soon after remov'd to *Westminster*; to the end, that there they might have the *Scots* Commissioners at hand, and the power of the *Londoners* to assist them; for it had been impossible, without the conjunction and help of the Prevalent and factious party in that City ever to have accomplish'd the ruine of the establish'd Government, and destruction of the King, as they afterwards did. In order whereunto, the first step they made, was the entertaining * *Petitions of Grievances* from all parts of the Realm; which made such a noise, as if the Subjects of *England* had suffered under the greatest slavery and oppression, that had ever been heard of: and (being devised and framed by themselves) were receiv'd with such great acceptance, as that the People began to shew no small expressions of Joy in their new Reformers. Who to win them the more, besides

the

* 9 Nov.

the Impeachment * of the Earl of *Strafford* (which was within two days following) whom they had made sufficiently odious, by representing him to be one of the greatest causes of their oppressions, and an especial Enemy to Parliaments, expell'd * divers Projectors and Monopolists out of the House of Commons; impeach'd * the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Bishop * of *Ely*; and Lord Keeper * (*Finch*) for Treason against the State: having in order thereto, by libellous Pamphlets and Pictures rendred them hateful to the People; Damn'd that hideous Grievance of *Ship-money* by vote *; Pass'd a Bill * for a Triennial Parliament; as also impeach'd * Justice *Berkley* of High Treason, for his activeness in the business of *Ship-money*. And to try how safely they might adventure to strike at the establish'd Government of the *Church*, which might make the easier way for ruine of the *State*, they brought * *Pryn*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick* in triumph to *London* (who had been censured in the Star-Chamber, for Libels against the Hierarchy) countenancing a Petition, exhibited * to them by Alderman *Penington*, against *Episcopacy* and *Church-Discipline*. Yet, that there might be no doubt of their zeal, and dutiful affection to the King, they sent * a Message to his Majesty to desire leave that they might advance and fettle his Revenue; offering * to make him the richest King in Christendom.

And having thus gain'd a strong confidence with the people, what blessed Patriots they were like to be; that they might also seem as zealous for God's cause, they exhibited a Remonstrance * (in the name of both Houses) to his Majesty, grounded upon divers Petitions (which they had subtilly procured from all parts of the Realm) of the increase of Popery. Also, that the danger thereof might the more amaze the world, they then began to open their Cabinet of *Plots* and *Conspiracies*; four of the House of Commons imparting to the Lords, a discovery * of an horrid design by many thousands of Papists, in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*.

Moreover, because of the great complaint of Innovation in Religion, increase of Popery, and growth of Superstition, they appointed * Commissioners for removing Rails from about all *Communion-Tables* throughout the Realm.

1640.

11 Nov.
The Earl of
Strafford im-
peach'd of
Treason.

* 13 Nov.

* 18 Dec.

* 19 Dec.

* 21 Dec.

* 14 Jan.

* 5 Febr.

* 11 Febr.

* 28 Nov.

* 11 Dec.

* 15 Dec.

* 16 Dec.

* 29 Jan.

* 10 Febr.

* 11 Febr.

Likewise,

1641.

* 10. Martii.

* 2. Febr.

* 16. Martii.

Tryal of the
E. of Straf-
ford.

* 22. Martii.

* 23. Martii.

An. 1641.

* 3. Apr.

* 5. Apr.

* 7. Apr.

* 19. Apr.

* 12. Maii.

Likewise, to the end that the Bishops might the better attend their Spiritual functions, they voted *, that none of them should have voice in Parliament, nor meddle in temporal affairs. And to assure the *Scots*, whose Army they, as yet, thought not fit to part with, till their work was brought to more maturity, they gave * them three hundred thousand pounds, towards a supply of their losses and Necessities. Which signal favour got them the stile of *Brethren*, and thanks from the *Scottish-Commissioners*; who seem'd so tender of our good, that they desired * the Treaty might be accelerated, and the Kingdom eased of the burthen of the two Armies, by their returning home.

The next thing wherewith they went in hand, was the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford* (for 'twas resolv'd he must be cut off, being a person of such integrity to the King, and known abilities.) To which purpose, having prepared *Westminster* Hall with Scaffolds, they began * his trial upon the two and twentieth of *March*, where they charg'd * him with subverting the Fundamental Laws of *England* and *Ireland*; with threatning * to root the *Scotch* Nation out of *Ireland*; with procuring * his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament: as also with betraying * *Newcastle*, and the King's Army to the *Scots*.

And, after many days labour to prove him guilty of Treason, by the Law; and failing thereof, they brought * in a special Bill, to attaint him; wherein they took care to insert a special Clause, *that it should not be drawn into President*; thereby to secure themselves from a return of that Injustice upon any of them, which they acted on him. Which Bill was twice read and voted in one day. What course they took with those that concur'd not with them in passing thereof, and other their practises, I shall briefly mention when I come to their apparent violation of the *Privileges of Parliament*. How multitudes, out of the City, were brought down to the Parliament-House, to cry for Justice: Also with what difficulty his Majesty passed that Bill (though importun'd by the Earl's own Letter, out of hope his death might have satisfied those blood-thirsty men) I spare to mention; but on the twelfth of *May*, they cut * off his Head on *Tower Hill*.

Which

1641.

Which strange and unjust way of proceeding, driven on by those who stood least affected to the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of our Church, caused many to fear that which afterwards came to pass. Lest therefore the People (whom under the most specious pretences they were to captivate) should have the least suspicion of hazard to the Service of God, as it stood here establish'd; they cunningly insinuated to the world, that by means of a Jesuitical Party the *Protestant Religion* was in no small danger; and therefore as zealous Champions for the same, framed a formal *Protestation* for its sure defence, as it then stood establish'd in the Church of England, both in *Doctrine* and *Discipline*; which for farther satisfaction they caused to be solemnly taken * by every Member of Par-

* 3 Maii.

liament; and not only so, but by a special Order made it public by the Press, and sent it to several Counties of this Realm.

But their grand work being to get the *Militia* into their power, by which means whatever else they had a mind to, might be accomplish'd; as an Introduction thereunto, divers strange *Plots* and *Conspiracies* were talk'd of. Which Plots, not only stood them in stead, to amuse and put fears into the people, (who by a most implicit faith, did then believe that all they acted was for their good) but to countenance those many unreasonable demands they made from his Majesty; so that under the shadow of them, they might go through with any thing. And therefore it will not be amiss to view by what degrees they themselves, with these devices, proceeded towards the obtaining those their desired ends.

Pretended
Plots and
Conspiracies.

The first of these that they broach'd, was a conspiracy * by divers in the House of Commons, to bring in a *French Army*; unto which the *Irish* and *English* should be joyned. Whereupon a vote was passed, * that new

* 5 Maii.

* 7 Maii.

Fortifications should be rais'd at *Portsmouth*, and the *Cinqueports*; and order taken, that one Lord, and two of the Commons (*viz.* the Lord *Kymbolton*, Sir *Walter Earle*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*) should be forthwith dispatch'd thither.

* 10 Maii.

About the same time also they sent * some of their Mem-

N

Arms;

1641.

Arms; as also about the Parliament-House, for fear of any Plot. Which pretended fear was much countenanced by a Letter directed to the Lady *Shelley* (and produced * by Mr. *Pym*) discovering a design to destroy—

* 12 Maii.

* 13 Maii.

* 14 Maii.

* 17 Maii.

* 17 Junii.

Then was there a Report * in the House of what a Jesuit should say of some great design against this Kingdom. As also of a Letter from *Calais* of many Frenchmen coming for *England*: and of another * Jesuits speech of firing the Parliament-House. Again of *French* intended * to land here. And, within a short space after, Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes* made report * to the Houses; that a Plot to seize the Tower was newly discovered; as also to send over the Irish Army; and for delivery of *portsmouth* to the French and Papists; for assistance wherein the Bishops were to raise a thousand Horse. And shortly after Mr. *Henry Percie*, Mr. *Fermyn*, Sir *John Sucklyn*, and Mr. *Davenant* were voted * guilty of another Plot, to bring up the Army, and force the Parliament: which wrought to purpose, by putting terrible *Fears* and *Jealousies* into the People.

* 24 Julii.

* 16 Aug.

Posture of
Defence.

And to make up all, a Letter * from the Earl of *Holland* was read, of new practises against the State. Whereupon, at a conference of both Houses, a select Committee was appointed to advise of putting the Kingdom into a *Posture of Defence*. Which being done, the next artifice they used was to perpetuate the Parliament; to the end that the name of that might the more plausibly carry them through in this grand work. To effect this therefore, they pretended that the great Sums of Money, which the Scots were to have, could not suddenly be rais'd; and that being to be borrow'd for their present riddance, Lenders would hardly be found, unless they saw a certain way to secure their moneys, which the danger of dissolving this Parliament would hazard.

Bill for per-
petuating the
Parliament.

* 7 Maii.

* 9 Junii.

Whereupon they brought * in a Bill to prevent the adjourning or dissolving thereof without the consent of both Houses. And to carry on the people with all assurance of their future happiness, and freedom from oppression, by Courts of Arbitrary Jurisdiction, they voted * and sent up certain Bills, for suppressing the Courts of *High Commission*, and *Star-Chamber*, and regulating

lating the *Council Table*: as also for bounding the Forests; preventing vexatious proceedings concerning Knighthood, and regulating the Clerk of the Market; besides that of Tonnage and Poundage.

All which his Majesty out of his abundant goodness; expecting that these unparallel'd Acts of grace, would have oblig'd them in a stronger bond of dutiful Allegiance, was pleas'd to pass, before his going into Scotland. And, as a witness to the candor of his intentions, admitted * divers Lords, then most popular; but since great Actors in this woful Tragedy, to be of his Privy-Council, conferring on three of them great Offices of Honour, Trust, and Benefit.

And now, supposing that he had given them as great a measure of content, as their hearts could desire; he took his journey into Scotland on the tenth of *August*, there to establish the peace of that Realm, in settling whatsoever should be thought meet for the happiness thereof. About which time the Armies were disbanded, * that had been so long delay'd, though the continuance of them was no less charge than 80000 *l.* a month; their work before being not brought forward enough: Some of the leading-members *, in plain terms declaring; that *yet they could not spare them, the sons of Zerviah being too strong.*

But no sooner was the King gone, than that the turbulent Spirits in the House of Commons set to work, in framing a bitter *Remonstrance* of the general Grievances of the Kingdom, to make his Majesties Government seem odious to his Subjects; which was ordered * to be brought into the House. Whereupon grew great debates and disputes, which lasted from three of the clock afternoon, the whole night following, and till ten of the Clock on the morrow. But, at length, many, who disliked and oppos'd it; partly by reason of their age, or infirmity of Body, being wearied out, and departing; others through sloth or timorousness leaving the House, it was voted by some few voices; divers of the factious party being fetcht out of their Beds to assist.

This *Remonstrance* being a compendium of all the mistakes and misfortunes, that had hapned since the beginning

1641.

* Lord Say
sworn Master
of the Wards
17 Maii.
Earl of Leicester made
Deputy of
Ireland
19 Maii.
Earl of Essex
made Lord
Chamberlain
29 Julii.
Oliver St.
John made
Sollicitor
General.
The King
went into
Scotland.
* 2 Aug.
* Will. Strode.

* 12 Aug.

The grand
Remon-
strance.

1641.

beginning of his Majesties reign to that hour; objected to him the Actions of some, and the Thoughts of others; reproacht him with such things of which he never knew, and reviled him to his people; complained also of the House of Peers, and ascribed all the Acts of Grace already passed in that Parliament, to their own wisdom in procuring; with intimation of their despair in settling the distractions of the Kingdom, by reason of the power of a *malignant-party*, and want of concurrence by the House of Peers, wherein so many Bishops and malignant Lords then sat.

This being done, their next work was to get the whole command of the *Militia*; which being had, nothing afterwards could be difficult to them. For the better effecting thereof, they therefore had again recourse to those shadows of Conspiracies and Plots, which had stood them in good stead before. The first * of them being a new pretended Treason by the Earl of *Craford* and others, against the Marquess of *Hamilton*, then in *Scotland*, and other Peers of that Realm; this being signified by Letters from their Committee in *Scotland*, dated 14 Oct. Whereupon, that the like here might be prevented, orders were directed to the Sheriffs of *London*, *Middlesex* and *Surrey*, for settling strong Guards of armed-men in places of moment.

Likewise the whole Trayned-Band of *Westminster* was brought into the Palace-Yard, on the morrow; and there attended all that day; giving this reason for that order; *viz. Because the mischeivous designs and conspiracies lately discovered in Scotland, against some principal and great men there, by some of the Popish-faction, gives just occasion to suspect, that they may maintain correspondency here, and practise the like in this Realm.*

In like manner the same Trayn-Band of *Westminster* was brought * into the Palace-Yard on the morrow, and attended all that day until the Houses rose. And the next day following Mr. *Pym* made a large Speech, * at a conference, to lay open the Conspiracy.

Neither wanted they the Pulpits to advance their designs; their *Lecturers* in several parts (being men neither of learning nor conscience) insinuating to the People all those falshoods and scandals, which might work in them

* 19 Oct.

* 20 Oct.

* 31 Oct.
Alderman
Penington
and others,
made a Com-
mittee for set-
ting up
Preaching
Ministers. 19
Dec.A. 1640.

them a dislike towards his Majesty; depraving the conformable-Clergy; charging them with Revolt from the Protestant Religion, with purpose to introduce Popery: * one of them preaching to the Brotherhood in the Artillery-Garden, expressing; that *for the defence of Religion and Reformation of the Church, it was lawful to take up Arms against the King.* As a preparative whereunto, a Bill * was brought into the House, for putting all the Forts and Castles, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom into such hands as they might confide in.

1641.

* Dr. Downing.

* Exact Col. P. 543.

C H A P. VIII.



IN this time the Rebellion in *Ireland* breaking forth, it will not be improper to say somewhat thereof: wherein, though I shall not charge our grand Conspirators here with having any hand, as to matter of council or contrivance with the Ring-leaders of that barbarous Insurrection: yet can I not at all excuse them from giving great occasion for it, and not without suspicion of Design, if all be true that I have seen in a brief discourse thereof publish'd in print in *an.* 1644. Which I shall leave to the better judgment of such as then lived, and well observed the Actions of those times.

* 23 Oct. The Rebellion in Ireland.

The substance of which Narrative is this; *viz.* That the Irish being a people born and bred in the Romish Religion, which they did glory to have derived from their Ancestors for no less than Thirteen hundred years, and wherein they had connivance ever since the Reformation, it could not be imagined, when they saw such a Storm approach them, by the harsh proceedings of the Parliament, then sitting at *westminster* against those of their profession in *England*, who were daily cavill'd withall; charg'd with sundry forged Conspiracies and Plots, to render them odious and distastful to the

1641.

* 22 Junii.

* 3 Julii.

world; the wardship and education of their children voted * to the disposal of others, their votes * as Peers in Parliament endangered, and the large Progress made in England and Scotland towards the extirpation of the Protestant Religion, as it then stood establish'd by Law in both Realms, under which they had enjoyed their estates, though upon certain penalties, with the charge whereof they were well acquainted; but they had cause enough to fear, that their own misery was not far off; especially discerning, that the Insolency of the Scots did daily increase toward them, whose large footing in their Kingdom, having an inveterate hatred towards the Natives, might endanger their shouldring them out.

* Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords Justices in that Kingdom, and Sir Adam Loftus Vice-Treasurer there (persons experimentally known to have much adhered to, and furthered the designs of these Rebellious contrivers in England) that an Army of a thousand Scots was to arrive in Ireland, to force the Catholics to change their Religion; and that Ireland could never do well without a Rebellion, to the end the remnant of the Natives might be extirpated: wagers being laid at the general Assizes, by divers of them, that within one year no Catholic should be left in Ireland.

Considering likewise the frequent Reports * given out in that Kingdom to extirpate their Religion and Nation: as also, that Orders were made by the Houses of Parliament in England, incroaching upon their priviledges of Parliament in Ireland; and that their Committee, after nine months attendance on his Majesty (who was graciously pleased to hear their grievances) being refer'd to the Houses of Parliament here (upon his departure from London towards Scotland 10 Aug. 1641) was constrain'd to return without any redress, through the prevalency of some leading Members; who before had (all they could) misinterpreted to his Majesty the proceedings and Actions of the Parliament in Ireland.

It was therefore not a little fear'd by some, that those provocations were purposely exercised to exasperate the Irish to take up Arms; that so, under colour of suppressing them as Rebels, they might be utterly destroyed and eradicated. Nor was it without suspicion by others, considering how eagerly that Act for confiscation of their Lands was prosecuted by those Members at Westminster at the very beginning of that Insurrection: Also how his Majesties going over in person, after the same brake out, was hinder'd (which in probability might have quencht that flame,) Moreover,

over, how they ingrossed that war into their own hands, thereby to have the power to employ any forces raised or levied for it, to assist in pursuance of their design upon this Kingdom, as they should see cause, as was evident * by those under the command of the Lord *Wharton* and others, which were in the Battel of *Kineton* against the King. And lastly, how averse they were to any peace or cessation with them, though never so necessary; as appears by those earnest and bitter incitements * used by their Commissioners in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, for the prosecution of that war.

It is likewise farther to be noted, that these high provocations, met with a concurrent opportunity of those eight thousand disbanded *Irish*, not permitted to be transported into *Spain*, and other parts, though desired by that King's Ambassador, and assented to by his Majesty;) who, being out of employment, were ready for any desperate enterprize: As also with the want of a Lieutenant in that Kingdom, by reason that the Earl of *Strafford* was so cut off, who had kept them in such exact obedience.

And lastly, what an Example they had from their Neighbours the Scots, who sped so well by their own Insurrection; that they, not only obtained their full demands, even to the introducing a new Religion, and new moulding the whole form of their Government, both in Church and State: but when they rebelliously invaded *England* with an Army, were treated as good Subjects, had three hundred thousand Pounds given them, with an Act of Pacification and Oblivion to boot.

Whereunto I shall add what a late Writer, in his *Short view* * of the life and reign of King *Charles the First*, hath expressed.

“Of this *Rebellion* saith he; for it must be call'd a
 “*Rebellion* in the *Irish*, though not in the *Scots*; the King
 “gives present notice to the Houses of Parliament, re-
 “quiring their Counsail and assistance for the extinguish-
 “ing of that flame, before it had consumed and wasted
 “that Kingdom. But neither the Necessity of the Prote-
 “stants there, nor the King's importunity here could per-
 “swade them to levy one man towards the suppression of
 “those Rebels, till the King had disclaimed his power of
 pressing

1641.

* See his Majesty's Answer to the two Papers concerning *Ireland*, printed with the full and perfect Narrative of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. p. 212.

* See the full Relation of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. p. 133. & 136.

* *Impr. Lond.*
 an. 1658. p.
 86.

1641.

“ pressing Souldiers by an Act of Parliament, and thereby
 “ laid himself open to such acts of violence as were then
 “ hammering against him. Which having done, they
 “ put an Army of Scots (their most assured friends) in-
 “ to the Northern parts of Ireland, delivering up into
 “ their hands the strong Town and Port of Carrick-fergus,
 “ one of the chief Keys of that Kingdom; and afterwards
 “ sent a small Body of English to preserve the South.
 “ Which English Forces, having done notable service
 “ there against the Rebels, were kept so short, both in
 “ respect of pay and other necessaries, by the Houses of
 “ Parliament (who had made use of the money rais’d for
 “ the relief of Ireland to maintain a war against their
 “ King) that they were forced to come to a Cessation, and
 “ chearfully returned home again to assist the King in
 “ that just war, which he had undertaken for his own de-
 “ fence.

C H A P. IX.



BUT notwithstanding all these instances,
 forbearing to give any censure therein,
 I shall now proceed, and trace them in
 farther practises for accomplishing their
 designed ends; and give instance in the
Militia; for obtaining whereof I find
 my self best guided by their feigned *Plots* and *Conspira-*
cies; the first of which was Mr. Pym's Letter, delive-
 red* to him at the Parliament House, by a Porter (from
 a pretended Gentleman on Horseback, in a gray Coat)
 which having in it a contagious Plaister, taken from a
 Plague-fore; the Letter it self also, being full of inve-
 ctives against Mr. Pym, gave occasion for publishing of
 a Pamphlet, intituled, *The discovery of a damnable Trea-*
son, by a contagious Plaister, &c. and afterwards of a
 Report* to the House, made by Mr. Pym; that there
 were divers Posts, come several by-ways from *Scotland*;
 and that the Papists had many meetings in *Hant-*
shire.

* 25 Oct.

* 30 Oct.

More-

Moreover, within few days following, one *John Davis* discovered * to the House, that the Earl of *Worcester* had large Stables under ground, at *Ragland-Castle*, and a number of Light-Horse in them; likewise Arms for an hundred and forty Horse and two thousand men, whereof seven hundred were then in pay; and Ammunition proportionable. And one *Thomas Beale*, of *White-Cross-Street*, declaring *, that he heard some, who were walking late in *Moor-fields*, discourse of their intentions to murder certain Members of the Parliament, and amongst others *Mr. Pym*; order was presently given, that the Lords, and some other Members, should have part of the Trained-Band of *Middlesex*, to conduct them to their Lodgings that night.

1641.

* 12 Nov.

Also the next day, upon the discovery of another Plot to kill some Noblemen (of which, one who lay in a ditch pretended to hear two Gentlemen speak) it was order'd *, that the Earl of *Worcester's* House and *Sir Basil Brookes* House should be guarded; all Papists disarmed; Soldiers raised with speed, to secure the Isle of *Wight*; and two Lords appointed to raise Forces; one beyond *Trent*, and the other on this side *Trent*. And within five days after this, there was a discovery of * another conspiracy by the Papists in *Cheshire*; viz. that certain of them were in Arms, at the Lord *Chomley's* House, and had attempted the surprizal of *Chester*. But advertisement being given, that the King was upon his journey from *Scotland*, and would be at *London* within three days, the hunting after any farther discovery of Plots was for awhile laid aside; and that scandalous *Remonstrance* * beforementioned (which was brought in the twelfth of *August*) was read * again in the House. Against the passing and publishing whereof, many worthy Gentlemen freely express'd their minds: Nevertheless, after long dispute and much ado, the factious party prevailed; partly by tiring out some (for they sat up all night) and partly by promises or threats to others; insomuch as it was carried by Eleven voices. So that, though there was the greatest shew of gladness by the Citizens of this his Majesties arrival; as that solemn reception * of him by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on Horsback, did import, who feasted him with the Queen

* 14 Nov.

* 15 Nov.

* 20 Nov.

* Exact Coli.

P. I.

* 22 Nov.

* 25 Nov.

The King returned from Scotland.

1641.

and Prince at *Guild-Hall*, the Companies all standing in their Liveries, to congratulate his safe coming home, as he rode through the streets; yet had he little joy thereof: for instead of that happy progress which he expected that the Parliament had made in the great affairs of the Kingdom, during his absence; he found the people not a little disturb'd with strange apprehensions; and Guards set upon the Houses of Parliament. Which so astonish'd him, that he forthwith sent * to the Lords, desiring, that for the prevention of farther jealousies and fears, the Train'd-Bands might be discharged.

* 26 Nov.

But no sooner did those Citizens take notice of that Message, then that great numbers of them, in person, offer'd * to attend the House of Parliament in their Arms. Nay so forward thenceforth were they upon all occasions to act their parts, for hast'ning that general confusion, which soon after ensued; that on * Munday following, a multitude of them made a hubbub in *Westminster-Hall*, crying, *Down with Antichrist and the Bishops*; adding, that *if they could not then be heard, they would have a greater number next day to back them*. And so they had; many of them coming tumultuously to the doors of the Parliament-House, crying *No Bishops*, and calling them *the limbs of Antichrist*.

30 Nov.
1 Dec.

And, on the same day, to accompany so good a work, they presented to the King by the hands of the Earl of *Holland*, their *grand Remonstrance* * of the Grievances of the Kingdom (which had been ordered to be brought into the House the twelfth of *August* past) thereby to blast all those gracious condescensions which they had obtained from him before. Whereunto his Majesty soon after made a full and clear Answer; and publish'd his Royal *Declaration* thereupon, for the satisfaction of all his good Subjects, to the end they might not be deluded by those undutiful, false, and scandalous aspersions cast upon his Government by that malicious Libel.

* Exact. Coll.
p. 22.

And soon after, for the better prevention of any more such dangerous tumults and uproars, at or near the Houses of Parliament, he directed his special Writ, according to the Statute, unto the Sheriffs of *London*,
to

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to place a Guard at *Westminster*. But the House of Commons deeming this Guard, thus legally placed by the King, no way conducing to their Design, presently voted it to be a breach of their priviledges, and an offence of an high nature; and thereupon, not only order'd, that the said Watch should be discharg'd; but that the Justices of *Middlesex*, for their obedience to his Majesties commands herein, should be question'd; whereupon Justice *Long* was committed * to the Tower.

* 11 Dec.

That there was a most factious party in the City of *London*, which were great Instruments in raising the ensuing Rebellion, is plain enough. Nor is it less observable, that they acted their parts therein, by colour of Authority; viz. by outing all the *Common-Council*, which were men of worth, and bringing men of desperate fortunes in their rooms. Wherein they had such furtherance, by the help of the multitude (who aim'd at their own advantage by any change of Government) that they then introduced *Fowkes*-----, *Ryley* the Boddies-maker, *Perkins* the Lord *Say's* Taylor, *Norington* the Cutler, *Mills* the Brick-layer, and divers other such mean fellows; instead of Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Roger Clarke*, Sir *George Bynion*, Mr. *Roger Gardner*, and several other worthy Citizens, whose loyalty, they well knew, could not be corrupted. These being the principal agents in all the Tumults; which stood them in much stead for accomplishing of their chiefest aims. And therefore plain it was to be seen what design they had, when they urged the passing of the Bill for not *Adjourning* or *Dissolving* of that Parliament without their own consents, having such a party in the City to back them upon all occasions.

Having thus dissolv'd the Guard, so appointed by his Majesty, there came * another Tumult of the Citizens to *Westminster*. Whereupon some Members of the House of Commons, making complaint of the danger, whereunto they were subject by those riotous people; and how that already they had been assaulted, and evil intreated by them, at the very door of the House; desired, that some course might be taken, for restraining and punishing them for the same. But

15 Dec.

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instead thereof, divers spoke in justification of them, and commended their affections; saying, *they must not discourage their friends, this being a time to make use of them all.* And Mr. Pym added *, *God forbid, that the House of Commons should proceed in any sort to dishearten the people, for obtaining their just desires in such a way.* And accordingly, there was a paper delivered by some or other, to the Minister that preach'd at *Christ-Church*, the Sunday following; desiring, that Prayer might be made to God to assist the Apprentices with strength to root out Superstition, and to extirpate the Innovations of the Bishops and Clergy.

* Exact. Coll. p. 532.

* 19 Dec.

After which matters were every day carried with a more high hand than before; the Tumultuous people having as apparent countenance from the House, as before they had private encouragement. Infomuch as the Lord Mayor of *London* came * to *Whitehall*, and acquainted the King, that he discerned, if Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, whom he had newly made Lieutenant of the Tower, were not removed, the Apprentices would rise and pull him out. So that his Majesty to prevent such an insurrection, took the Keys from Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and constituted Sir *Thomas Byron* in his room; with whom the factious Spirits were as ill satisfied, tho they knew not well what to object against him; till at last Lieutenant *Hooker*, the *Aquavitæ-man*, and *Nicholson* the Chandler, complained in the Common-Council; that since Sir *John Byron* came to be Lieutenant of the Tower, the Mint (to the great prejudice and dishonour of the Kingdom) stood still.

* 26 Dec.

* 27 Dec.

* 28 Dec.

Yea, so insolent were these tumultuous people grown; that upon the Kings *Proclamation* *, grounded upon a Penal Law, to dissipate them; in contempt thereof they came * early the next morning in greater numbers than ever, divers of them being arm'd with Swords and Halberts; and towards the evening assaulted the great Church at *Westminster*, threatening to pull it down: So that the Bishops thenceforth thought it not safe for themselves to come any more to the House. The News whereof so pleased those unruly people; that on the morrow they came again *, crying *No Bishops*, notwithstanding another *Proclamation* issued out by the King

* 29 Dec.

to

to restrain them. And in their return making a stand before *Whitehall*, said *, that *they would have no more Porter's Lodge there, but would speak with the King when they pleased.*

1641.

* Exact. Coll. p. 533.

Which rebellious uproar caused his Majesty forthwith to place a Guard, for his own safety, at the Court-gates. But the main cry of danger was by the House of Commons, as if they themselves had been the only men in peril of their lives; and therefore to make the greater shew of their own fears, they order'd *, that Halberts should be brought into their House, for defence of the Members; and then they made a noise of new discoveries of farther dangerous conspiracies; one by a Letter * from *France*, intimating great intelligence held betwixt *England* and *Rome*, and no small likelihood of dreadful plots in agitation against this Kingdom. Also of another Letter, at the same time, found in a Jesuit's Study, of great troubles which should befall this Realm. And, the more to amuse the people, they adjourn'd to sit in a Committee at *Guild-Hall*, to draw up a *Remonstrance* of the many dangers this Kingdom had undergone, within the space of three years. Where being met, another Letter (pretended to be brought from *Italy*) was read, discovering divers Plots by the Papists here. Whereupon they consider'd about drawing up of another *Remonstrance* *, laying open the peril of the *Spanish Fleet*; the coming over of the *Queen-Mother*; the *Pope's Nuncio*; as also several other Plots in agitation by the Jesuits and a Romish-party.

31 Dec.

31 Dec.

1 Jan.

Which subtil practices being set on foot by some particular persons of both Houses, through whose influence, chiefly, others were guided; caused his Majesty out of a desire to prevent the ensuing calamities, which he clearly foresaw, must by these means inevitably follow, to demand * the persons of the Lord *Kymbolton*, and five of the House of Commons, *viz.* *Denzill Hollies Esq.* *Sir Arthur Haslerig* Baronet, *John Pym*, *John Hampden*, and *William Strode* Esquiers, and to charge them with High Treason; who having private notice thereof, kept out of the way.

4 Jan.

See the Articles against them. Exact. Coll. p. 34.

But of this action they made such an advantage (tho no person then came within the doors of the House,

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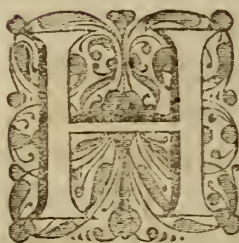
* 7 Jan.

except the King himself, and the Count Palatine, his Nephew) having so sure a party in the City to assist them; that some of the House of Commons took the boldness, the same day to come and discharge his Majesties Guards at *White-Hall*; and the Houses to * adjourn themselves, and to sit in a grand Committee at *Guild-Hall* in *London*. Where infusing fears into the people, that the King had a design of actual violence upon the City, the Sheriffs of *London* refused to publish his Majesties Proclamation for apprehending those persons.

* 8 Jan.

And to make farther experiment of the City's readiness to afford them their best assistance, upon occasion; they caused a false Alarm*, that the King, with fifteen hundred Horse, was coming in the night to surprize *London*. Which report wrought so effectually, that no less than forty thousand of the inhabitants put themselves in Arms, at an instant; the women also providing scalding water to throw upon the Cavaliers, bringing out Forms, Stools, and empty Tubs into the Streets, to hinder the Horse.

C H A P. X.



Having thus craftily represented this just endeavour of his Majesty for bringing these Members to a legal trial (who had private shelter at that time in the City of *London*) to be so hideous, as if it had been for a general massacre; they speedily raised an insurrection of many thousand of the Citizens; whom (together with a numerous rabble of Mariners and other desperate people) they brought * armed to *Westminster* on the Tuesday next following, both by land and water, with divers Sakers, and murdering Guns, in long Boats: and in that sort, with Protestations in their Hats, and on their Pikes, conducted the Lord *Kymbolton*, and the rest of those Members, to the Parliament-House.

And

The King, with the Queen, Prince and D. of York left *White Hall* and went to *Hampton-Court*. 10 Jan.
* 11 Jan.
12 Jan. The King went to *Windfor Castle*.

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And what intention some of them had to the person of the King, had he then been at ~~White-Hall~~, may easily be guessed, by their rude and desperate entrance thereinto then made; had not he (upon private advertisement of their purpose) removed to ~~Hampton-Court~~, the precedent Evening.

Unto which Insurrection, to give the fairer countenance, they had by their Emissaries sent into the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, and *Kent*; whence they procured no small numbers; which came the same day to the Houses of Parliament with petitions ready framed, on the behalf of the Lord *Kymbolton*, and the five Members. At which time they produced two Letters, pretended to come from a *Romish* hand, intimating much mischief design'd against the Houses and City.

And that these Countrymen might upon their return home, put their neighbours into strange apprehensions of danger; there was at that time * a report made in the House, that the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford*, were about *Kingston upon Thames*, with three or four hundred Horse. Whereupon order was given, that the Sheriffs of *Surrey*, *Berkshire*, and *Hantsire* should raise the *Posse Comitatus* of those Counties, to stand upon their Guard, and apprehend them; as also, that *Skippon*, Serjeant-Major of the City Trained-Bands, should forthwith have the command of certain Guards for to be set upon the Tower of *London*.

* 12 Jan.

There is nothing more certain, then that this business concerning the Lord *Kymbolton* and the five Members (as 'twas managed) much promoted their grand design. For having by their many pretended plots, and other devices, prepared the people with strange apprehensions of fears; and finding that they had won the Country, as well as the City, to an implicate belief of their being such blessed Patriots as never had been before; they then brought forth a most infamous *Declaration**, hatcht at their former meetings in the City; wherein they did imply, that his Majesty (when he came to the Houses, to demand the five Members) had a purpose to have cut all their throats; and therefore they * declared his coming thither, to be a traiterous design.

* 17 Jan.

* Exact. Coll.
p. 40.

1641.

design against the King and Parliament; and that his Proclamation issued out for their apprehension, was false, scandalous, and illegal; as also, that it was lawful for all men to harbour them; and that whosoever did so, should be under the protection and priviledge of Parliament.

* Ib. p. 49.

The King therefore, standing not a little amazed at these many and great distractions, which threatned inevitable mischief to the whole Realm; tho he had, by a Message * to both Houses, of the twelfth of *January*, for full satisfaction to all that might doubt, that his accusation of those Members was not agreeable to the priviledges of Parliament; nevertheless intimated, that *he would for the present wave his proceedings against them; and that when the minds of men were more composed, he would go on in an unquestionable way: assuring his Parliament, that upon all occasions he would be as careful of their Priviledges, as of his Life and Crown.* And by another

* Ib. p. 51.

Message * two days after, farther assur'd them, that *in case any doubt of his breach of their Priviledges did remain; he would be willing to clear it, and assure those, by any reasonable way, that his Parliament should advise him to do.* Likewise, in farther manifestation of his earnest and incessant desires, for preventing those calamities which he then saw approaching, by reason of these distractions, he did by a gracious Message *, of the twentieth of the same month, propose to both Houses, that *they would with all speed, fall into a serious consideration of those particulars which they themselves should hold necessary, as well for the upholding, and maintaining his just Regal Authority, and settling his Revenue; as for the present and future establishment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying of their estates and fortunes, the liberties of their persons; the security of the true Religion then professed in the Church of England; and the settling of Ceremonies, in such a manner as might take away all just offences. Which when they should have digested, and composed into one intire Body; that so himself and they might be able to make the more clear judgment of them; it should then appear, by what he would do, how far he had been from intending, or designing any of those things, which the too great fears and jealousies of some persons did seem to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal and exceed the greatest Examples of the most indulgent*

* Ib. p. 54.

Princes

Princes in their acts of Grace, and favour to their People.

1641.

Notwithstanding all which, upon that very twentieth of *January*, having received Letters from Sir *John Hotbam*; signifying ^{*}, that he had raised Soldiers by their Order, for the keeping of *Hull*, but was refused entrance thereinto by the Mayor; they forthwith sent another Order to command his reception, though the Earl of *Newcastle* had required admittance thither, to take charge of that place, and the Magazine there, by his Majesties authority. Nay, so diligent were they now to lose no time; that they procured the *Essexmen* to deliver a Petition to them; setting forth their fears and jealousies; with desire, that *the Tower of London* might be committed to safe hands; the Arms of the Trained Bands trusted with approved persons; and the Priviledge of Parliament asserted.

* 20 Jan.

Likewise another from *Colchester* against Bishops, and for liberty of Conscience; desiring that Church-discipline might be established according to the word of God, and their Town better fortified.

And well knowing how fair a countenance these Petitions (thus framed by themselves) carried, to further their designs; they caused more, from ^{*} *Devon. Somersetshire, Middlesex, and Hartfordshire*, for putting the Kingdom into a posture of Defence, and the Forts into safe hands; excluding Bishops, Popish Lords, &c. As also another from ^{*} the City of *London*; signifying their inability to lend an hundred thousand pounds (desired by the Houses) for the service of *Ireland*; by reason that the *Cinque-Ports* were not put into safe hands; the Kingdom not put into a posture of Defence; the Lieutenant of the Tower not removed; Priviledges of Parliament not vindicated; Delinquents not punished; and the Bishops and Popish Lords not put out of the House of Peers. Whereupon, it being the same day voted, that the *Cinque-Ports* should be secured; and the Tower of *London* put into such hands as the Parliament might confide in; the very next day ^{*}, they brought down the Apprentices and Seamen with the like Petition for putting the whole Kingdom into a Posture.

* 24 Jan.

Posture of Defence.

* 25 Jan.

* 26 Jan.

And being now resolv'd (as by their votes, and the drift of these Petitions is manifest) to hasten the Militia totally

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* 26 Jan.

Exact Coll.p.
59.

totally into their own power; to the end they might the more plausibly effect their design therein; they exhibited to his Majesty a Petition *; desiring, *that the Tower of London, with the other principal Forts, and whole Militia of the Kingdom, might be put into the hands of such persons, as should be by them recommended; suggesting withall; that * without this sure ground of safety and confidence, which he should hereby raise unto them, they could not be enabled to discharge their duties, in the considering of those important things, proposed to them by him in his Message of the 20th of January: Nor be so freed from fears and jealousies, as with chearfulness to proceed, laying a sure foundation of Honour, Greatness, and Glory to him and his Royal Posterity; and of Happiness and prosperity to his Subjects, throughout all his Dominions.*

The chief colour and pretence, given out to the people, for this Posture of Defence, being this, “that without the power thereof, in their own hands, to maintain the good Laws enacted; there was no expectation, but that they would be made fruitless to them, by the prevalency of evil Counsellors, and a malignant Party.

28 Jan.
Exact Coll.
p. 60.

Whereunto his Majesty answered *; that, “though the nomination of those, to whom the custody of the Forts, and Castles were to be committed, was an inseparable flower of his Crown: yet, that he would leave them to the Justice of his Parliament, if through misinformation, he had conferr'd such trust upon any undeserving person. And that when any particular course, for ordering the Militia should be digested by his Parliament, and proposed to him; he would return such an answer as should be agreeable to his honour; and the safety of his people: conjuring them not to be transported with Jealousies.

* 29 Jan.

To this indeed they replied *, that “they acknowledged it as a principal and inseparable flower of his Crown, to dispose the command of the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom: and that, by Law, the Militia was subject to no command but his authority, and what is lawfully derived from him.

* 31 Jan.

But, within two days following, a Petition being brought * into the House from *Suffolk*, calling upon them.

them to put the Kingdom into a Posture: and another from many thousands of poor Tradesmen in London (as they stiled it) urging the like; alledging a great decay of Trade, whereby they wanted Bread; and that they believed not any cause thereof to be in the House of Commons, but by reason of the Bishops and Popish-Lords, voting in the House of Peers: it was earnestly moved at a Conference (by Mr. Hollies) that the Lords would no longer delay, but now joyn with them, to petition his Majesty that the Kingdom might be put into a Posture. By which device, the Lords, who refused to joyn with them in their Petition of the six and twentieth of January, were now so brought about that they did * it.

1641.

2 Febr.

And to the end they might not want more popular countenance for their grand work, which was now in such forwardness; they got more Petitions from several parts, for putting the Kingdom for Posture. One from * the women about London; another from * Northamptonshire; a third from * Kent, which was brought by five or six thousand, that rode through the City in ranks to the Parliament-House. Whereby they gave the Lords thanks for concurring with the Commons in the Bill against the Bishop's votes, and putting the Kingdom into a Posture of Defence; desiring them to go on with the Commons in a thorough Reformation in Religion; and to remove evil Councillors. The like had they from the Counties * of York, Oxford, and Lincoln.

* 4 Febr.

* 5 Febr.

* 7 Febr.

* 9 & 10 Febr.

So that, having laid such a foundation, by ensnaring the people with their own Petitions; they made an order to enable some of the Aldermen and Common-Council of London, with Serjeant Major Skippon, to regulate the Militia of the City; voting new Lords-Lieutenants throughout the several Counties of England and waales. And to blow up the people into a perfect Rebellion, they appointed * weekly Lectures to be generally set up; which was accordingly perform'd by the most seditious and turbulent Spirits, that could be found. Procuring more Petitions, by multitudes of people from sundry parts; setting forth great grievances: and desiring that the factious party (for so they call'd the most loyal of the Nobility) might be expell'd the House of Peers. Also, that the Divine Wor-

The King went from Windfor to Hampton-Court. 9. Febr. 10 Febr.

Thence to Greenwich.

11 Febr. from Greenwich to Rochester.

* 12 Febr.

12 Febr. The King went from Rochester to Canterbury.

1641.

* 12 Febr.

* 16 Febr.

ship of God might be no longer prophaned; and that they might be better furnished with Arms to oppose forreign power. Such also came from * *Wales, Ipswich, Warwickshire, and Suffex* *; the Sheriff of that County, and at least fifteen hundred on Horseback, accompanying him therewith.

* 21 Febr.

And least the pretended great dangers (for prevention whereof all this stir was made) should be forgot, a Letter from * *Lancashire* was produced; discovering dangerous Plots by the Papists in that County; viz. the finding of ten Barrels of powder, to make Balls of Wild-fire, wherewith to burn divers chief Towns in this Realm. Whereupon another Petition was dispatcht

* 22 Febr.

* Exact Coll.
p. 81.

23 Febr.

The Queen with the Princess Mary, her daughter, embarked for Holland at Dover.

25 Febr. the King return'd to Canterbury.

* Exact Coll.
p. 88.

26 Febr.

From Canterbury the King came to Greenwich.

28 Febr.

Thence to Theobalds

* Exact Coll.

p. 90.

* 28 Febr.

Exact Coll.

p. 95.

* to his Majesty (then at *Dover*) for ordering the *Militia*. Whereby " they desired * such a speedy Answer, " as might raise in them a confidence (to use their own " words) that they should not be exposed to the practises " of those, whose endeavours were to kindle that combustion in *England*, which they had in so great a measure effected in *Ireland*: and which nothing could do " (as they said) but the granting that Petition. Which Petition, together with an Ordinance * of both Houses, setting forth, " a most dangerous and desperate design " upon the House of Commons; and many discoveries, " importing fears of rebellious Insurrections by Papists, " and other ill affected persons in this Kingdom, they then exhibited.

Whose answer * thereunto being; that, " for the City " of *London*, and other Corporations, which by any " antient Charters, had power of ordering the Militia, he " conceiv'd it unfit to alter their government: but, that " he could not consent to the indefinite time propounded " for this posture.

Whereupon they forthwith voted * this Answer " to " be a flat denial; and that his Majesties advisers thereto " were Enemies to the State, and mischeivous Projectors " against the defence of the Kingdom. Also, that " this " denial was of such dangerous consequence, that it would " hazard the peace and safety of all his Kingdoms, unless " some speedy remedy were applied by the Parliament.

* 1 Martii.

Exact Coll.

p. 92.

And immediately dispatch'd another Petition * to his Majesty (then at *Theobalds*) wherein " they protested, that " if

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“if he did not speedily pass his assent to the satisfaction
 “of their desires, they should be enforced, by authority
 “of both Houses, to dispose thereof; and that they did
 “accordingly so resolve to do.

Farther voting *, “that the Kingdom should be forth-
 “with put into a Posture of defence, by Authority of both
 “Houses; that the Navy should be speedily rigg’d: and
 “a Declaration * of their just Fears and Jealousies speedily
 “drawn up, with the grounds of their former votes, for
 “putting the Kingdom into a Posture, by authority of
 “both Houses, to clear the Parliament of all mistrusts.

And to carry out all this, under colour of the Peoples
 desires, new Petitions were brought from several Coun-
 ties; viz. one from * *Staffordsh.* pretending such dread of
 the Papists rising there, that every man was constrain’d
 to stand upon his Guard, not daring to go to Church
 unarm’d. Others from * *Worcestersh. Berksh. Norfolk, Nor-*
wich, Lynne, Royston, Salop *: all of them earnestly desiring
 this Posture of Defence.

And the very next day *, the Ordinance for ordering
 the *Militia* of the Kingdom, by authority of both Houses
 (sent to his Majesty 22 Febr.) was assented to by the Lords;
 and thereupon new Lieutenants were assign’d throughout
 all England and Wales.

And, having in a grand Committee at Merchant-Tay-
 lers Hall, contrived the *Declaration* (mention’d in their
 Votes of *March* the second) wherein they made a very
 great noise of a design to alter Religion in this Kingdom,
 and that the wars with *Scotland* and *Ireland* were
 framed to that end; they presented the same to his Ma-
 jesty at * *Newmarket* within few days after; voting * “the
 “King’s Commissions of Lieutenancies in the several
 “Counties illegal: as also, that * “there was an urgent and
 “inevitable Necessity, for putting his Majesties Subjects
 “into a Posture of Defence: and, that the Ordinances of
 “both Houses for the Militia, being obliging to the Peo-
 “ple, ought to be obeyed by the Fundamental Laws of
 “this Kingdom. And lastly, that the Earl of *Warwick*,
 “should be appointed Vice-Admiral of his Majesties
 “Ships.

And having now, by these their exorbitant courses,
 together with the Tumults, so much endangered his

* 2 Martii.
 Exact Coll.
 p. 96.

* Exact Coll.
 p. 97.

* 2 Martii.
 3 Martii the
 King went
 from Theob-
 balds to Roy-
 ston.

* 3 Martii.
 * 4 Martii.
 * 7 Martii.
 * 5 Martii.
 Ordinance
 for the Mi-
 litia.

7 Martii. The
 King went
 from Royston
 to Newmar-
 ket.
 14 Martii.
 Thence to
 Huntendon.

* 9 Martii.
 Exact Coll.
 p. 97.

* 15 Martii.
 The K. went
 to Stanford.

15 Martii.
 * Exact Coll.
 p. 112.

16 Martii. the
 K. went from
 Stanford to
 Grantham.

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* 16 Martii.
Exact. Coll.

p. 114.

17 Martii
the K. went
from Gran-
tham to
Newark.

18 Martii

thence to
Doncaster.* 23 Martii.
Exact Coll.

p. 123.

Majesties Royal person, that he was forced for safety of himself, and the Prince, to retire into the North; they voted *, “that they would go on with their former Votes concerning the *Militia*. Also, “that when “the Lords and Commons in Parliament should declare “what the Laws of the Land be; to Question it, was a “high breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

After this, within few days, they sent a Petition * to *York* (which was there presented to his Majesty by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and others) wherein they alledged, “that his Majesties denial to their petition for “disposing the *Militia*, was a great hinderance to their “other proceedings; and justified the Tumults at “*Westminster* by taxing his Majesty with denial of such “a Guard to them, as they might confide in; aspersing his Government, for many continued Acts of “violation of Laws, &c.

And to keep the people still awake, by alarming them with new dangers, they caused Letters to be read * in the House (which were said to come from *Amsterdam*;) intimating intelligence from *Denmark*, of a great Army, ready prepared there, to be transported for *England*, and to land at *Hull* upon some dangerous enterprize.

The like Letter pretended to come from *Newmarket*, then produced; and another from *France*. Whereupon, having receiv'd a Petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*, in which great Thanks was given to the House, for ordering the *Militia* of the City, as they had done; with their resolutions therein signified to obey the same: As also * another from the *Cinque-Ports*, desiring that those places might be strongly guarded and fortified, and the Kingdom put into a *Posture*; they ordered, that every of his Majesties Forts, and Castles, should be presently fortified with an Hundred men of the Trained Bands, next adjoining to them; and ten pieces of Ordinance to each place. Also, that no Forces should be admitted into *Hull*, without the consent of the Lords and Commons; and that * Instructions should be sent thither for the farther fortifying of that place.

Likewise, upon another pretended discovery, made by

* 18 Martii.

19 Martii.
The King
went from
Doncaster to
York.

* 21 Martii.

* 22 Martii.

by one Mr. *Cartwright* and the Speaker of the House of Commons; that they were advertised by Letters from France, of an Army preparing there, to come for England or Ireland; the Lords sent a message * to the Commons, to let them know, that they had designed the Earl of *Warwick* Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. Whereupon both Houses joyn'd in a Message * to the King, to inform him of the grounds and reasons of their sending out that Earl as Vice-Admiral, without his Majesties consent.

The King therefore discerning, that they had got the Royal Navy into their hands, thought it high time to make sure of his Magazine, which had been laid up at Hull, about two years before (part for the service of Ireland, and the rest for the security of the North) and accordingly rode from *Paris* thither, for the disposal thereof: But, when he came to the Gates of that Town, Sir *John Hotham* (a member of the House of Commons, being a confiding man, with the factious party there; and by their contrivance, got privately thither with Soldiers) refused * him entrance; affirming, that in so doing, he had the authority of Parliament to bear him out. For which insolent act he was declared traiterous by his Majesty, and by a special Message *, so signified to both Houses; with demand of Justice against him, according to the Laws. But, instead thereof, they forthwith not only publish'd a bold *Declaration* *, with Votes and order of assistance, in the name of both Houses of Parliament, justifying *Hotham* therein: but sent down the Earl of *Stanford*, and Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with four of the House of Commons, as a Committee to assist Sir *John Hotham* there; voting, that his Majesties declaring Sir *John Hotham* Traitor, was an high breach of the Privilege of Parliament, against the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land.

And now, that by their feigned Fears and Jealousies, with other subtle devices, they had sufficiently amused the people; and possess'd themselves of the Royal Navy, Forts, Ports, and Magazine; and, within a few days following set forth a *Declaration* *, signifying their purpose to put in execution their Ordinance for the *Militia*; they answered * that Message from his Majesty (of the 24th

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* 25 Martii.

* Exact Coll.
P. 129.* The King
denied en-
trance into
Hull. 23 Apr.
* 24 Apr.
Exact Coll.
p. 152.* 28 Apr.
Exact Coll. p.
160. & 162.* 5. Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 171.* 9 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 179.

of

1642.

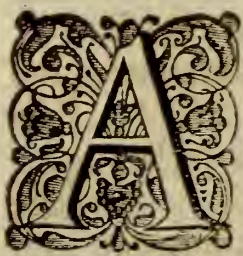
of *April*) touching *Hotham*, with sundry foul aspersions; taxing him with hearkning to wicked Counsels, which had practised to put the Kingdom into a combustion: and again, justifying Sir *John Hotham*; expressed their intentions to settle the *Militia* according to their Ordinance, for suppressing the wicked and malignant Party; desiring his Majesties return to be near his Parliament.

And, as the Citizens of **London** (out of their ambition to be a free State) were the first and cheif Instruments to set forward this grand work: so, in this of the *Militia*, they gave example to all other parts of the Kingdom, executing * the same in **Stinbury-fields** with twelve thousand men in Arms, ordered by Serjeant Major General *Skyppon*, the members of both Houses being present, to give countenance thereto; who thereupon voted *, that “having shew’d so much obedience to the Ordinance of Parliament concerning the *Militia*, they had done it according to the Laws of the land; and that they should have the assistance of both Houses of Parliament against any, that might oppose or molest them therein.

* 10 Maii.

* 12 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 190. 191.

C H A P. XI.



About this time therefore, the King discerning no small danger to his person, by reason of these hostile preparations and Actions (having not any Guard, but with a thin retinue residing at **York**) and withall observing, that in most parts of the Kingdom, the schismatical Party, under colour of putting themselves into a *Posture of Defence*, had provided Arms; as also trained and exercised themselves, contrary to the Laws of the land, sent * his Summons to the Gentry of *Yorkshire*, to attend him at **York**. Where being met *, he shew’d them divers reasons, why he conceiv’d it fit to have a Guard for his own Person, desiring their assistance therein. Whereupon most of them yeilding cheerful

* Exact Coll.
p. 191.

* 12 Maii.

cheerful obedience; he signified to them by his Letters *; that he should take it well, if they would personally attend him, in such sort followed and provided, as they should think most fit, for his better safety.

But before the knowledg thereof could possibly come to them at Westminster; having some private advertisement of what was intended; they publish'd a Declaration *, in the name of both Houses of Parliament, setting forth; *That it was against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; that any of the Subjects thereof should be commanded to attend his Majesty at his pleasure, excepting such as were bound thereto by special service. And, that, if the Trained Bands, or any other his Majesties Subjects, should upon any pretence be drawn together, in a posture of war; the Sherif of such a County ought to raise the power thereof to suppress them. And, having forthwith voted *, that the Magazine of each respective Shire in the Realm of England, and dominion of Wales, should be presently put into the power of such Lord-Lieutenants of those Counties as the Parliament did confide in; they publish'd * a Declaration, scandalizing his Majesties gracious Messages, Answers, and Declarations; taxing him with breach of his word and promises: as also with continued oppressions and violation of the Laws; countenancing the Rebellion in Ireland; and with intent to bring up his Northern-Army to awe the Parliament.*

And having so done, voted *, “ that the King (seduced by wicked Counfel) intended to make war “ against his Parliament; who, in all their Consultati- “ ons and Actions, had propos'd no other end unto “ themselves, but the care of his Kingdom; and the “ performance of all duty and loyalty to his person. Next, “ that whensoever the King maketh war upon “ the Parliament, it is a breach of the Trust reposed in “ him by his people, contrary to his Oath, and tend- “ ing to the dissolution of this Government; and that “ whosoever should serve, or assist him in such wars, “ were Traitors, by the Fundamental Laws of this Realm; the very same day sending down the Knights and Bur- gesses of Buckinghamshire, by special Order, to see their Ordinance for the Militia put in execution in that County.

1642.

* 16 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 192.* 17 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 193.* 19 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 194.

* Ib. p. 195.

* 20 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 259.

1642.

* 19 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 213.

And having proceeded thus far; setting * also forth another large *Remonstrance*, in justification of all their practices; in which they had this bold expression, *that now they had brought their work to such an height, and degree of success, that nothing seem'd to be left in their way, able to hinder the full accomplishment of their desires; unless God in his justice should send a grievous curse upon them;* within three days following, they sent a Petition to the King, in the name of both Houses, which was delivered * to him at *York*. Wherein they boldly reproacht him, *with his many fair promises, and pretences; and desired him to disband his Guard, it being a cause of great jealousy and danger to the whole Kingdom:* Otherwise they told him, *that they should employ their care and utmost power to secure the Parliament, and to preserve the peace and quiet of the Realm.* And shortly after, publish'd * a third *Remonstrance*, justifying their former Actions; farther reproaching him in every thing; and challenging the Obligations of his Oath (upon that ungrammatical construction of *quas vulgus digerit*) to pass all Bills which they should tender unto him: About this time also removing * the Magazine from *Hull* to the Tower of *London*.

* 23 Maii.

* 26 Maii.
Exact Coll.
p. 263.

* 30 Maii.

The King therefore, discerning what preparations they had made, in every respect, in order to the forming of a rebellious Army; did, by his Royal *Proclamation* *, bearing date the xxvijth of *May*, expressly forbid *all and every of his Subjects belonging to the Trained-Bands, or Militia of this Kingdom, to rise, march, muster, or exercise, by vertue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houses of Parliament, without consent or warrant from himself, upon pain of punishment according to the Laws.* And plainly discerning, through these their subtile practices, what advantages they made to themselves, upon the smallest pretences; as also by casting Scandals upon all his Actions; he summon'd the Gentlemen and Free-holders of *Yorkshire*, to come to *Hexorth-Moore*, upon the third of *June*. Where he declared unto * them, *the reason of his residing, at that time amongst them; being driven away from White-Hall by Tumults; with his purpose to maintain the true Protestant Religion, and Laws, and that the Guard, he there had, for the safety of his Royal person, consisting*

* Exact Coll.
p. 391.* 3 Junii.
Exact Coll.
p. 302.

of the chief Gentry of that County, and one Regiment of the Trained Bands, could give no just cause of fears to the people.

But, whilst he was thus zealous to satisfy his good Subjects, of his real Intentions; the Members at *Westminster*, (now confident of their own power) sent ^{*} down a Petition, with *Nineteen Propositions*, to his Majesty. By which they demanded no less in effect, than to yield up all his Regal power into their Hands. Unto which he soon after returned a full and clear Answer ^{*}, by the Marquess of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*.

* Nineteen Propositions sent to the King. 2 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 307.
* Exact Coll. p. 311.

To second which *Propositions*, within four days ensuing, they set forth a bold *Declaration* ^{*}, against his *Proclamation* of the xxvijth of May, affirming it to be void in Law; and (in opposition thereto,) requiring all Officers to muster, levy, rise, march and exercise, according to their Ordinance; assuring them, for so doing, of protection by both Houses of Parliament. And within few days after, sent out an Order ^{*}, in the name likewise of both Houses, with Proposals, “for the bringing in of Money and Plate; as also for “providing Horse, Horse-men, and Arms, in pursuance “of their solemn vow and Protestation, for suppressing “the Traiterous attempts (as they call’d them) of “those wicked and malignant Counsellors, who sought “to engage the King in a war against his Parliament: and “likewise with Instructions for the Deputy-Lieutenants “to proceed therein, themselves making Subscriptions accordingly, the very same day.

* 6 Junii.

* 10 Junii. Exact Coll. p. 339. Proposals for bringing in Money and Plate.

Nor were the *Lecturing-Preachers*, and others of that strain, less active every where in this desperate (and afterwards bloody) Scene; the chief of which, throughout all England, were then got into London, Westminster, and the Suburbs of both: it being very well known, both by their public Sermons, and seditious Pamphlets, what endeavours they sedulously used, to stir up all persons able of Body, to take up Arms; and others to give aid with their Purfes, towards the advancing *that Glorious work* (as they call’d it.) And for the better quickning the Members of Parliament therein, they forthwith repaired to each man’s particular House, or Lodgings, in and about those Cities, to excite and animate them thereto, (as some of those Members have since acknowledged;)

1642.

* 4 Junii.
* 6 Junii.
* 7 Junii.
* 14 Junii.

the drift and design of those Pulpiteers, therein, being the alteration of Church-government; and enriching themselves with the lands and possessions of the Bishops and their Cathedrals, as is very well known. Whose Rebelious documents had such success; that the Houses of Parliament, sent down divers of their most active Members, to execute their Ordinance for the *Militia*, in the Counties of *Leicester* *, *Lincolne* *, *Essex* *, *Kent* * &c. Who infused into the people strange fears and apprehensions of very great dangers, to the end that they might be the better prepared to rise in the ensuing Rebellion.

* 14 Junii.
Exact Coll.
p. 350.

But to return to the *Propositions*, for bringing in of Horse, Money, and Plate. Of this, so soon as the King had notice, he dispatch'd a Letter * to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*: intimating to them; "that, if they should give, or lend any money; or provide or raise any Horse or Arms, under pretence of a Guard for both Houses, grounded upon those scandalous votes; by which they had presumed to declare his intention to levy war against his Parliament; he should look upon it, as the raising of force against himself, and to be done in malice, and contempt of his authority.

* 11 Junii.
* Martin's
Echo. p. 17.

But this came too late: for the *Londoners* were so forward in their compliance with these *Propositions*; that the very same day they brought in great sums of Money; for which, by a special Order *, they had public Thanks returned. Which sums, if we may credit one * of their own Party, did (with their Plate, Rings &c.) in *London*, *Middlesex*; and *Essex*; amount to above Eleven millions of pounds; besides vast sums from the rest of the Counties, and otherwise. So that all the effect his Majesties Letter produced, was only an Order, * in the name of both Houses, that the Deputy-Lieutenants, throughout the Kingdom, should tender Propositions to the several Counties, for raising of Horse, for the service of the King and Parliament: and soon after that, a *Declaration* * of both Houses was issued out, whereby they justified their raising of Forces; alleadging the same "to be for maintenance of the Protestant Religion; the King's Authority and Person, in his Royal dignity; the free course
" of

* 21 Junii.
Exact Coll.
p. 375.

1642.

“ of Justice; the Laws of the Land, priviledge of Parliament &c. forbidding any Officers whatsoever, to spread that Paper (for so they stiled his Majesties Letter) justifying their Votes, “ that the King intended to levy “ war against his Parliament: intimating; that, “ neither “ his Majesties commands nor threats could withdraw “ or deter such as were well affected to the public, from “ contributing Money, Horse and Plate.

And so indeed it proved; for (as they had deluded the people) large proportions were daily brought in; the County of *Essex* contributing twenty seven thousand pounds, and upwards, and eight hundred Horse; *Hertfordshire* eight thousand pounds, and three hundred Horse, &c. as appears by the calculation thereof, made upon the twentieth of *August* ensuing.

The King therefore, taking into consideration these their violent practises; and that they had set up Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in all Counties, declaring his Commissions of Lieutenancy illegal; upon mature deliberation and advice (about this time) issued out *Commissions of Array*, into all parts of the Realm (which course had been anciently used by his Royal Progenitors, for prevention of Invasions, or suppressing of any Insurrections; and approved by divers Statutes:) and thereupon set forth a *Proclamation* *, informing all his loving Subjects, of the lawfulness and use of them; commanding their obedience thereunto. Which Commissions the Earl of *Derby*, in * *Lancashire*; the Earl of *Huntingdon* and Mr. *Henry Hastings* his Son (afterwards Lord *Loughborough*) in * *Leicestershire*, with others in those Counties, to whom they were directed, did first put in execution.

But hereupon the Members at *Westminster* published * a large *Declaration*, in the name of both Houses, representing these *Commissions of Array*, to be contrary to the *Laws of the Land*, destructive to the *Liberty and Property of the Subject*; yea so full of danger and inconvenience, that it would bring an heavier yoke of bondage upon them, than any that had been taken away that Parliament. Their factious Emissaries, employ'd in sundry parts of the Realm, perswading the people, that those Commissions were to reduce the Estates of all the Yeomanry of England,

Commissions
of Array by
the King.

* 20 Junii.
Exact Coll:
p. 372.

* 20 Junii.

* 22 Junii.

* 1 Julii.
Exact Coll.
p. 386.

1642.

to ten pounds a year; and to enslave them beyond expression. And lest those, who were thus seduced by these their subtil illusions, should receive any satisfaction from his Majesties gracious *Declarations*, whereby the uprightnes of his Actions, and candor of his Intentions might appear; they sent out Orders*, strictly to prohibit the publishing of them; promising Protection from the Parliament, to those who should refuse so to do.

* 4 Julii.
Exact Coll.
p. 449.

Moreover, because the King, out of his great sense of those imminent dangers, which daily more and more threatned his safety, desired a Subscription * of those Lords, and other loyal persons, then attending him at *York*, for levying Horse in his own defence; as also for safeguard of the two Houses of Parliament, and the Protestant Religion; they order'd *, “that ten thousand pounds of the money which had been brought in upon the Propositions, unto *Guild-Hall*, should be forthwith laid out to buy Horses; and that ten thousand Foot should be speedily raised in *London*, and the parts adjacent, to be employ'd according to the direction of the Parliament. As also *, that Arms should be taken out of the Tower, for their present occasions, to be disposed of, by authority of Parliament. Likewise, that the ten thousand men, so raised, should be forthwith listed under Officers, trained, entered into pay, and march into any part of the Kingdom, by direction and authority of Parliament. And of this Army, thus speedily to be raised, they appointed *, that the Earl of *Essex* should be General, with whom they voted, *that they would live and dye*.

* 22 Junii.

* 5 Julii.

Order for the raising of an Army by the Parliament.
* 7 Julii.

* 12 Julii.
Exact Coll.
p. 457.

Ib. p. 458.

Ib. p. 461.

Likewise, to the end that this great affair might yet carry a specious shew to the world, they set forth two more *Declarations* *, in the name of both Houses. Whereby they pretended “their whole endeavour to be for his Majesties Honour and Safety, the regaining the ancient Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the Kingdom, so much invaded; setting the Protestant Religion in peace and purity, &c. Taxing * the King with endeavour of a change in Religion and Government; as also with breach of his solemn Protestations and Imprecations; and that he had already begun a war
“against

“ against them, being seduced by Jesuitical Counsel,
 “ and Cavaliers, who had designed all to slavery and
 “ confusion; which gave them occasion thus to raise
 “ Forces, for defence of *Religion* and *Laws*.

1642.

And having given authority to the Earl of *Warwick*,
 to command his Majesties Navy at Sea; they made an
 Order * for him, to take provisions for the same out
 of the King's Stores at *Chatham*, notwithstanding his Ma-
 jesties command to the contrary. Likewise for the bet-
 ter increase of their Army, they made Orders * “ for
 “ encouragement of *Voluntiers*, within this Kingdom
 “ and dominion of *Wales*, to exercise and discipline them-
 “ selves, in a military manner; with promise of the
 “ Authority of both Houses, for their indemnity: As
 “ also, that * “ the Earl of *Essex*, should go on, to make
 “ all speedy preparation, for the raising of Forces, ac-
 “ cording to his Commission; appointing * *Commissio-*
 “ *ners* out of the Common-Council of *London*, to assist
 “ him in raising *Voluntiers*, within that City and the
 “ Liberties thereof. And lastly, that a *Declaration* * should
 be published, “ to satisfy the people, concerning their
 “ proceedings herein: as also to stir them up, to afford
 “ all speedy aid towards the raising of Forces, upon the
 Propositions, for the intent aforesaid, and for removing
 the evil-Counsellors from his Majesty.

* 15 Julii.

* 19 Julii.
Exact Coll.
p. 476.

* 23 Julii.

* 25 Julii.

* 25 Julii.

How forward and active the *Londoners* were to pro-
 mote this Rebellion, can hardly be imagined; people
 of all sorts pouring out their Treasure, as if it had been
 for the most advantageous purchase in the world; throng-
 ing in with their Plate and Rings; and not sparing their
 very Thimbles and Bodkins. Neither were they back-
 ward in the adventure of their lives; five thousand of
 them listing themselves under the Earl of *Essex*, the next
 day * in *Stour-fields*. Which, with the other *Volun-*
 tiers, then in readiness, amounted to near ten thousand
 men, being forthwith committed * to Officers, and di-
 stributed into Regiments, were ordered to be daily exer-
 cised, and to have constant pay.

* 26 Julii.

* 1 Aug.

But all these Forces and preparations, were raised and
 made for the King's safety, and preservation, as 'twas pre-
 tended: though at the same time, certain Provisions of
 Wheat and Wine, for his Majesties own Table, passing
 by

1642.

* 29 Julii.

by water towards *York*, were seized by Sir *John Hotham*; and that seizure approved of by the Houses at *Westminster*, with encouragement * to do the like, upon occasion.

* 3 Aug.
Exact Coll.
p. 491.

And, as they took all care to hinder the King's good Subjects, from the sight of his *Declarations*, and *Proclamations*, lest they should continue stedfast in their old obedience to his Majesty and the Laws (as is evident from their imprisoning the Lord Mayor of *London*, as also of the Mayors of *Salisbury*, and *St. Albans*, for the publishing of them, according to their duties) so were they not slack in spreading and divulging their own; as is apparent from their frequent dispersing them. And therefore, though they had often vented the like before: yet now again to remind the people of what was in hand, they set forth another bitter Declaration *; whereby they taxed the King with a design to alter the Government, both in Church and State; and that the time for effecting thereof was then come to ripeness, as did appear by the preparation of Arms, made by his Majesty (as they alleadged) Scandalizing him, with giving countenance to the Rebellion in *Ireland*: and therefore declared, *that they were necessitated to take up Arms, for the defence of all these, which must otherwise perish.*

* 9 Aug.
Exact Coll.
p. 503.

* 13 Aug.
Exact Coll.
p. 508.

The King therefore observing; that in pursuance of their *Votes* and *Declarations*, they had thus form'd a powerful Army; and that they had already besieg'd the Town of *Portsmouth*, did set forth a *Proclamation* *, declaring the Earl of *Essex*, and all his adherents, Traitors; with pardon to such as should return to their obedience within six days. But this gracious offer was so much contemn'd, that so soon as it came to their notice, they publish'd a *Declaration* *, in the name of both Houses of Parliament; containing many shameful invectives against his Majesty, declaring all such to be Traitors, that were Contrivers or Countenancers of this last *Proclamation* of *August* the ninth. And, that if his Majesty would disband his Forces, abandon those wicked Counsellors, and hearken to the wholesome advice of his great Council, they would endeavour to make him and his posterity, as great and rich as any Prince, that ever sway'd the Scepter.

1642.

C H A P. XII.



Ut what this specious offer meant, the King (by woful experience) being sufficiently sensible; and of all other helps, in small hope; publish'd another *Proclamation**, declaring his purpose, to erect his Standard-royal at *Nottingham*, upon the twentieth of *August*; requiring the aid and assistance of all his Subjects, on the North of *Trent*, and twenty miles Southwards, for suppressing the power of those *Rebels*, which were then on their march against him. And therewithall a *Declaration**, setting forth their evil practises, and proceedings from the beginning of that Parliament.

* 12 Aug.
Exact Coll.
p. 512.

But the *Rebels* (for so I shall now call them) having brought their work to this height; and for their better support therein, having seized on an hundred thousand pounds, of the money rais'd by Act of Parliament, for the service of *Ireland*: Having also deposed Sir *Richard Gurney*, Lord Mayor of *London*; as also committed* him to the Tower, and by their own authority set* up another; they sent Forces into several parts of this Realm, viz. into* *Kent*, putting them into *Cocham*-House; as also into the Block-house and Sconces at *Gravesend*, and *Chatham*, together with *Dover*-Castle.

* Ib. p. 514.

Into* *Leicestershire* they sent the Earl of *Stanford*, with Horse, Foot, and Canon. Into *Warwickshire* the Lord *Brooke*, and others, with six thousand Horse and Foot; and into* *Dorsetshire* the Earl of *Bedford*, with seven thousand Foot, six hundred Horse, and fourteen pieces of Canon: And special direction* into other parts; that their Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants, should speedily execute their Ordinance for the *Militia*, and declare to all men; that it had been and should be the endeavour of both Houses of Parliament, to provide for his Majesties safety. &c.

* 12 Aug.

* 15 Aug.

* 19 Aug.

* 20 Aug.

* 2 Sept.

* 18 Aug.

But, the more to incense the People, they issued out other *Declarations**, in the name of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; scandalizing* the King, "with laying the foundation of an arbitrary and tyrannical Government: and that, notwithstanding all his Vows and

* 20 Aug.

* Exact Coll.

p. 574-575.

1642.

“Protestations, to govern by Law, which had been dis-
 “perfed throughout the Kingdom, to blind and deceive
 “the people (as they alleaged) the most mischievous
 “principles of Tyranny, had been exercifed, that ever
 “were invented: with promise to all well affected per-
 “sons (as they term’d them) “ that should be prejudiced
 “by the Cavaliers, that they should have full reparation
 “of their damages, out of the Estates of all such per-
 “sons, as had withdrawn themselves to York to serve
 “his Majesty.

The King therefore, seriously weighing the perillous
 condition, in which himself and the whole Realm were
 thus miserably plunged, through the rage and malice of
 these desperate men: that he might leave nothing un-
 attempted, for preventing of those great calamities, which
 he clearly saw approaching; after he had thus erected
 his royal Standard, sent * a Message from *Notingham*, to
 those Houses at *westminster*, by the Earls of *Southamp-*
ton, *Dorset*, and others: whereby he propounded, “ that
 “ for composure of those unhappy differences, some fit
 “ persons might be enabled, to treat on both sides, in
 “ such manner, and with such freedome, as might best
 “ tend to an happy conclusion of them.

But this gracious offer, was receiv’d by them, with so
 much scorn and insolence (they then having a powerful
 Army on foot, with plenty of Money, and other accom-
 modations; and his Majesty destitute of all these) that
 the substance of their Answer was *, “ that if his Majesty
 “ would (forsake all his Loyal Subjects, then with him,
 and) “ return to his Parliament, he should find such ex-
 “ pressions of their fidelities and duty; as might assure
 “ him, that his safety, Honour and Greatness, was only
 “ to be found in their affections. And immediately pub-
 “ lish’d a *Declaration* *, setting forth; “ that the Arms, which
 “ they had taken up &c. should not be laid down, until his
 “ Majesty should withdraw his protection from such as
 “ had been voted, by both Houses, to be Delinquents;
 “ or that should be so voted; and should leave them to
 “ the justice of the Parliament.

Things being brought to this height, it will not be
 improper now to take notice how the *Scots* did behave
 themselves towards the King in this unhappy Juncture,
 whose

The King’s
 Message for
 Peace.

* 25 Aug.
 Exact Coll.
 p. 579.

* Exact Coll.
 p. 584.

* Ib. p. 585.

whose gracious condescensions to them, had been such as hardly any age can parallel. Wherein, it is to be considered, that they could not but discern what breaches had been made, upon his Majesty, and his just Rights, by those here, who sat at *Westminster*, and call'd themselves the Parliament; as also to what degree of strength and power they were grown, with the artifices whereby they attain'd thereto. Moreover, that though, by a Petition exhibited to the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council of that Realm, upon the last of *May an. 1642*, they had intimated *a desire to shun any just occasion, that might give offence to their gracious Sovereign* (as they then call'd him) *or of Jealousy to their Brethren of England*; and so, seemed to stand only as Spectators: yet, when they heard, that their Friends in *England* had put themselves in Arms, and were so powerful in strength every way, and his Majesty so weak; they then, not only shew'd themselves more open; but sent * a Form of their *Kirk-Government* to the Parliament at *Westminster*, as a Pattern for Reformation; with desire from the Assembly of that Kirk, that the same might be establish'd here: and a *Declaration* * “ of their “ affections to the Reformation in Kirk and State. Wherein they signified “ their expectation, that *England* would “ now bestir themselves, and extirpate the Prelatical Hierarchy, that the remainder of the work might be the “ more easy; offering their assistance for furthering thereof. Of which more anon.

That there was nothing wanting in his Majesty that could be expected from a most pious and gracious Prince, for prevention of those miseries, which this turbulent Generation afterwards brought upon these Realms, doth sufficiently appear by his sundry pathetick Messages to them, formerly sent. Nevertheless to acquit himself farther to God and the world; by another Message * of *Sept.* the eleventh he manifested to them “ what endeavours he had used by his many offers, but could not “ obtain any Treaty: And therefore now declared; that, “ being thus left to his necessary defence; relying only on “ the Providence of God, the justness of his Cause, and “ the affections of his good people; he should yet piously “ remember the blood that was to be spilt in this Quarrel, “ and cheerfully embrace a Treaty, when ever they should “ desire it.

1642.

The Scots send a form of their Kirk-Government to the Parliament at Westminster.

* 4 Aug.

* 26 Aug. Exact Coll. p. 598.

Another Message from the King.

* 11 Sept.

1642.

* 16 Sept.

But to this was returned, a most scornful and scandalous Answer *; taxing him, *with committing* (by his Soldiers) *oppressions, rapines, and murthers upon his good Subjects*; saying, *that they had offered him all Security, Honour, Service, Obedience, Support &c. and sought nothing, but that their Religion, Liberty, Peace of the Kingdom, and Safety of the Parliament might be secured from the open violence, and cunning practises of a wicked party, who had long plotted their destruction*: upbraiding him, *that Irish Traitors and Rebels were admitted to his presence, grace, and favour*: and telling him, *that if he would return to his Parliament without his forces, they would secure his royal Person, Crown, and Dignity.*

Being thus driven to these great Extremities (which was either to submit to their mercy, and forsake all those his loyal Subjects, who had faithfully adhered to him; or to expose his royal Person, with that small part of an Army he then had, to the uncertain chance of war:) and hearing that the Earl of *Effex* (the Rebells General) was gone out of *London*, in great State, upon the tenth of *September* (the cheif part of his Army being advanced to *Northampton*, before) he march'd from *Nottingham*, towards *Shrewsbury*, upon the thirteenth of that month, with what forces he then had; and at the Head of them, near *Wellington*, made a solemn *Protestation* * *to defend the Protestant Religion, establish'd in the Church of England; to govern by the known Laws of the Land; that the Liberty and Property of the Subject might be by them preserved with the same care as his own just rights; Also to maintain the just Priviledges of Parliament: And that he would expect no aid from any man, nor protection from Heaven, when he, willingly, should fail in these particulars.* Which pious intentions of his, thus declared, were of no small advantage to him at that time; his Army increasing daily, beyond expectation.

The Rebels therefore hearing which way the King moved, bent their course speedily towards him, making their Head-quarter, in and about *Worcester*, from the four and twentieth of *September*, till the nineteenth of *October* following. Near to which place (upon their approach) some few Troops of his Majesties, under the command of *Prince Rupert*, most happily defeated * a far greater

King march-
ed from Not-
ingham

13 Sept.

* 19 Sept.

Exact Coll.

p. 614.

The King's
Protestation
at the head of
his Army.

* 23 Sept.

greater

greater number of the Rebel's principal Cavalry; Colonel *Sandys*, Major *Douglas*, and other Commanders (with divers other) being there * slain, six Cornets of Horse taken, and all this, with the loss but of one man. Which being the first notable encounter, that his Majesties forces had with them, and so successful, did not a little amaze most of the Rebels party. Lest therefore the truth thereof, being divulged, should dishearten their friends in **London**, and other remote parts; they, not only caused divers printed Papers to be spread about, bragging of it for a special victory: but, that it might gain the more credit, ordain'd a public Thanksgiving * in **London**, for the same. And to hinder his Majesty from the assistance of his good Subjects, under one pretence or other (though they had cryed out against his raising an Army, by the help of *Papists* to destroy the Protestant Religion) they were not ashamed to make a public Order *, *that, if any Papist would bring in considerable sums to them, upon the Propositions, it should be accepted of.*

1642.

* At Wikefeild near Worcester.

* 27 Sept.

* 6 Oct.

As, by these subtile devices, they had rais'd the flames of Rebellion to this height; and deprived the King of all visible means here, for the quenching thereof: so did they use their utmost endeavours, to prevent any help, that might be obtained for him, from forreign parts; as appears by their negotiation with the States of the *United Provinces*; wherein they employ'd one *Walter Strickland*, with a special *Declaration* * to them; "complaining of "the *Prince of Aurange*, for countenancing the *Lord Digby*, in his making warlike Provisions in those parts, "for the King's use: and in favour of that Lord, and other wicked Counsellors, and Incendiaries; to have licensed experienced Officers and Souldiers, to resort in- "to this kingdom, in aid of his Majesty against the Par- "liament. Scandalizing the King also, "that his Coun- "cils were corrupted by a Jesuitical faction; and that he "had drawn his sword for the destruction of his people: desiring therefore, "that his Majesty might have no man- "ner of Supplies from thence: and, withall, insinuating, "how near a relation there was, betwixt that model, in- "to which they aimed to cast this Government, and the "State of those Provinces; and that therefore they ex- "pected assistance from them.

Exact Coli.
p. 635.

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NOR did they rest here, as is evident from those *In-structions* which were brought up by a Committee, to be sent into *Holland*, for this *Mr. Strickland*, upon the 29th of *February an. 1643*; by which he was to represent to the *States of those Provinces*, that the *Parliament of England* did only strive for *Reformation of that Religion and State they live in*: and therefore desired those *States*, that *They would now afford them their Brotherly assistance*, as they had formerly assisted *Them*. As also, that they would enlarge their union to other *Princes*, and lend them some money upon the public faith of both *Kingdoms*; and the rather because they made *Reformed Churches*, the pattern of their endeavours.

* 15 Oct.
Exact Coll.
p. 638.

Neither could they be silent at home; but the more to stir up the people, inculcated * to them; “that the King had raised an Army, by the help of *Papists*; the corrupt part of the *Clergy*; the *Delinquent Nobility* and *Gentry*, and some notable *Traitors beyond-Sea*: that they had liberty to rob and spoil all sorts of people; as also to exact *Money and Plate* from *Corporations*, by threatening *Fire and Sword* to the refusers: that he had hired a *Scotchman*, to murder *Sir John Hotham*: that, by violent oppressions he had exhausted the parts about *Strewsbury* and that the *Cavaliers* were hungry for the wealth of *London*, and the fruitful *Counties adjacent*: that, if he should prevail, there was no expectation, but that all would be exposed to the malice and rapine of his ravenous *Souldiers*, and all honest and religious mens throats cut. And therefore, that the means of curing and preventing these dangers, must be by *Loan*, and contribution to the *Earl of Essex's Army*, “which was not inferior in number to the *King's*; besides better armed, full pay'd &c. but above all, well encouraged and instructed in the *Cause*, by the labour of many *Godly*, and painful *Divines*; “and therefore, that all *Trained Bands*, *Voluntiers* &c. in all places, should assist the *Lord General*, &c. Whereunto they added these ensuing *Votes*; viz.

1. That such persons, as should not contribute to the charge of the *Common-wealth*, in this time of *Necessity*, should be held fit to be secured and disarmed.

2. That the *Fines*, *Rents* &c. of *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans* &c. and of such notorious *Delinquents*, who had taken

taken up Arms against the Parliament, or had been active in the Commission of Array, should be sequestred for the use and service of the Common wealth.

3. That the King's revenues should be brought into the severall Courts, and other places, where they ought to be paid in; and not issued out until farther order was taken by both Houses of Parliament.

And to sum up all, they set forth another *★ Declaration and Protestation*; wherein they did, "in the presence
"of Almighty God, protest and declare to this King-
"dom, and the whole World; that no private passion,
"or respect, nor evil intention to his Majesties person;
"no design to the prejudice of his just Honour, and Au-
"thority had engaged them to raise Forces and take up
"Arms &c. that they had professed their Loyalty by se-
"veral *Remonstrances*; that they had passed by ignomi-
"nious Slanders &c. that, for the avoiding of blood,
"they had directed the Earl of *Essex*, "by himself or o-
"thers, to cause an humble Petition, to be delivered to
"his Majesty to return in peace to his Parliament; that
"his Majesty had refused to yield safe conduct for the de-
"livery thereof; that he was engaged to the Popish-par-
"ty for suppression and extirpation of the true Religion,
"and exposing the wealth of this Kingdom to be plun-
"dered, and spoil'd by Cavaliers &c. contrary to his so-
"lemn Oaths, Protestations, and Execrations; and there-
"fore, that they resolved to enter a solemn Oath and
Covenant, to defend this Cause, "with the hazard of
"their lives, against the King's Army. And that they
"expected help from the Brethren of Scotland herein. His
Majesty therefore, having in a very short time, and be-
yond expectation, raised an indifferent Army (though
his wants of many accomodations were very great)
finding no means of Peace or Safety, but by the hazard
of Battel, which the Rebels eagerly fought; casting him-
self wholly upon the Almighty's providence and protec-
tion, began *★* his march from *Shrewsbury*, upon the
xijth of *October*. Which was no sooner known, but that
they fiercely pursued him, having order *★*, for that pur-
pose, from the Houses at *Westminster*, to march against
his Majesties Army, and fight with them; and to rescue the per-
sons of the King, Prince, and Duke of York.

* 22 Oct.
Exact Coll.
p. 663.

The first
mention of
the Covenant
in England.

* 12 Oct.
The King
march'd from
Shrewsbury.
* Exact Coll.
p. 632.

1642.

Battel of
Kineton 23
Oct. Com-
monly called
Edge-Hill
Battel.

So that, on Sunday the xxijth of *October*, being in view of the King's forces, they put their Army in order, near *Kineton*, in *Warwickshire*; and bid his Majesty Battel, by a signal thereof given with their great Ordinance, wherewith they made five shot at his Army, before any fire was given on the other part. But then began a sharp encounter, which continued near three hours. Wherein God so preserv'd his Majesty; that, instead of being utterly destroy'd by these violent Rebels, who reckoned all their own; their invincible Army (as they esteem'd it) was so bruis'd and shattered; that instead of farther pursuing the King, it retreated eight miles backwards, where the Souldiers secur'd themselves many days, by the advantage of the River *avon*, under the protection of the Town and Castle of *Warwick*.

Of which Battel, I purposely omit the Description. Nor shall I herein make any farther mention of the course of this war (it being a work fit to be handled by it self, by some more able pen) than in a breif Chronological way, to point at the times of the most memorable Battels and Seiges: as also to the Towns, Castles, and other fortified Places, first possess'd, or afterwards forcibly gained by either party: But instead thereof shall observe the wonderful providence of Almighty God: whereby, notwithstanding these matchless Conspirators, who had, by so many subtile artifices, arriv'd to that strength and power; and made seizure of his Majesties Forts, Ports; Navy, Magazine, and Revenue: (insomuch as the Lord *Say*, in a public meeting at *Oxford*, of the Gentry and others, thither summon'd by him, in *September* preceding, told them, upon his Honour, *that the King had neither Money, Power, nor Credit*;) his Subjects every where, being also not a little tainted with the most Antimonarchical principles, that by their seditious Preachers, or otherwise, could possibly be infused into them. Yet, that in the space of two months, he could be enabled to meet them in open Battel; having no Amunition, but what came to him from Forreign parts, through many perillous adventures; the Ports being block'd up by his own Royal Navy, then under their command: nor having Arms or Moneys, but what he obtained by extraordinary difficulties. From
this

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this day forward, purposing to make some brief Remarks upon the ensuing practises of these monstrous men, in carrying on that barbarous war, to the great devastation and spoil of this late flourishing Kingdom: And to shew how opposite all their Actions were to those plausible pretences, whereby they did at first most subtilly delude and ensnare a multitude of well-meaning people; *viz. Religion, Laws, Liberty, and property of the Subject; as also Priviledge of Parliament.*

C H A P. XIII.



TO the end therefore, that their party might not be disheartened, they always took care; not only to suppress any bad tidings, but to puff up the people with strange imaginations of Victories and Conquests, by producing of forged Letters, counterfeit Messengers, and the like; as was manifest by their commitment * of sundry persons to prison, which came from *Kinton-Battel*, and reported the very truth of the King's success there; *viz. Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Witney, and Mr. Banks*; who were all sent to the *Gate-house*, to receive punishment by Martial-Law. As also, * one *Mr. John Wentworth of Lincolns-Inne*, and * *Sir William Fielding Knight*; giving * twenty pounds to one man, by order of the House, who came, and reported, that most that were kill'd in the Battel, were of the King's side: and that the Earl of *Essex* commanded him to tell his friends; that he, with his own hands, carried away the King's Standard.

* 25 Oct.

* 29 Oct.

* 1 Nov.

* 25 Oct.

But to undecieve the world, as to the number on both sides slain, (which were then confidently given out to be five thousand) most certain it is, that upon strict enquiry from the adjacent Inhabitants, who buried the Bodies, and took particular notice of the distinct numbers put into each Grave, it appears that there were not one thousand complete there interred.

1642.

As the remaining part of the Parliament-Army, after this Battel, finding not themselves in a condition to encounter the King again without new Recruits, and therefore made a fair retreat no less than eight miles backward, (as hath been observed:) so did some of them before the fight, standing doubtful of the success, forbear to adventure themselves therein; amongst which the after-famous *Oliver Cromwell* was one (if some of the most eminent persons of his own party, who were in the fight, bely him not) who, being Captain of a Troop of Horse in the General's Regiment, came not into the Field, but got up into a Steeple within view of the Battel; and there, discerning by a Prospective-glass the two Wings of their Horse to be utterly routed, made such hast to be gone, that instead of descending the Stairs by which he came up, he swing'd down by a Bell-rope, and ran away with his Troop.

The King, soon after, holding a soft march towards *Oxford*, *Banbury*-Castle then garrisoned by the late Earl of *Peterborough's* Regiment of Foot; and *Broughton*-house (the cheif Seat of that great Rebel the Lord *Say*) yielded * upon Summons as he passed. But the Rebels, that they might not seem to receive a foil in this first great Action, the Citizens of *London* were summon'd * to *Guild-Hall*; where the Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Holland*, the Lord *Say* and *Wharton*, with *Mr. Storde*, made large Speeches to hearten them; telling their great Victory at *Winton*-Battel. But the conclusion was, to crown their work (as their phrase was) by farther and speedy Supplies of Men, Money, and all other assistance. To which shadow of their victory, to give the better gloss, a public Order * was made, that a gratulatory Present of five hundred pounds, should be sent from the Houses, to the Earl of *Essex*, for his good service already done in the war. And lest any of the deluded people should return to their obedience, upon his Majesties gracious *Proclamation* * of pardon; they ordered that * those *Proclamations* should not be published.

But, though all these Rebellious forces were hitherto rais'd by voluntary contributions, and free offers of many to engage themselves personally in this blessed *Cause*; most of the common sort, being really satisfied, that they should only

* 27 Oct.

* 27 Oct.

* 3 Nov.

* 24 Oct.
Exact Coll.
p. 673.
* 1 Nov.

only go and fetch up the King to his Parliament, out of the hands of his Evil Counsellors, and a few inconsiderable Cavaliers (for by that name they call'd all the Royalists) and then return triumphantly, without fighting: this unexpected brush at *Winceton-field*, could not silence those, who had lost their Husbands, Children, and Friends: Seeing therefore their farther Voluntary assistances came in but slowly; the Houses at *Westminster* made an Order *, that all Horses, within the City of *London* and the Suburbs, and five miles adjacent, should be speedily prest for the service of their Army: as also, that all Horses in the Tower, should be seized on; and no Coaches suffered to be kept there, except one for the Lieutenant.

1642.

* 10 Nov.

And, to puff up their General with such vain apprehensions, as might hearten him to persist in that his high employment (in regard he was then somewhat popular) they form'd a specious *Declaration* *, which they ordered to remain upon Record, in the Books of both Houses of Parliament, as a mark of Honour to the name and Family of the Earl of *Essex*, for the good service he had done to the Common-wealth, in the office of General, by the hazard of his life in the battel of *Winceton*.

* 11 Nov.
Exact Coll.
P. 743.

Likewise, for a firmer union of their forces, they made an Order, in the name of both Houses; that the Counties of *York*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Chester*, *Lancaster*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and *Duresme*, with the Town and County of *Newcastle*, should associate themselves, by raising Horse and Foot, to suppress and subdue the Popish and malignant Party: and that the Lord *Fairfax* should command in chief, throughout those Counties.

But his Majesty coming safe to *Oxford*, after a short stay there, march'd towards *London*; the noise whereof caused the Members at *Westminster* to bestir themselves for preventing his Majesties coming thither: whereupon all the power they could raise was sent out, to give him a stop; the Earl of *Essex*, with part of his Army to *Kingston upon Thames*, and the Lord *Brooke's* and Mr. *Hamden's* Regiments to *Brainford*: where the Royalists fell so sharply on them, that they took five hundred Prisoners, and sunk

1642.

12 Nov.

some of their Ordinance, intending to march forward on the next * day. But, having advertisement that *Essex* had drawn his Forces from *Kingston*, and joining with the *London-Auxiliaries*, lay in his way at *Turnham Greene*, he chose rather to make a safe retreat, than hazard his Army by a second Battel; and so by *Reading* came back to *Oxford*, where he took up his Winter-Quarters, making it his cheif Garrison.

The flame of war beginning thus to spread, each part strove to possess themselves of what strong Towns and Castles they could; as also to fortify such other places as might enable them to have command over the parts adjacent: The gaining whereof, and other Acts of Hostility on each part in places remote, as also the most considerable transactions of the Members at *Westminster* (who calling themselves *the Parliament*, sat there with strong Guards, to carry on this Grand Rebellion) being not possibly capable of a perfect Narrative in punctual order of time: to avoid confusion therefore, I have thought it most proper to place what is most remarkable, on the military part, at the end of each years; beginning with this of 1642: in which the war did commence.

To proceed therefore. The Rebels by this time discerning the King to get ground; partly by the increase of his Forces in sundry Counties; and partly by undeceiving many well-meaning people, who had been seasoned by divers Lecturing-Preachers and other corrupt Clergymen with disloyal principles; and now doubting the issue without farther help; sent * a *Declaration*, and Invitation to the *Scots*, for their assistance; granting Letters * of Mart to all Merchants; that would set forth Ships, to guard the Seas; and to take all Shipping bringing Arms, or other aid from forreign parts to assist the King; and to detain the same, as their lawful prize.

Furthermore, as *London*, and the Counties adjacent, gave example to all other parts of the Realm, in the first raising of this grand Rebellion; so were they the first over whom their great Masters exercised their power. Nor were the deluded people elsewhere, (who had likewise given the Reines into these men's hands for a few fair words) long spared: for upon the xxixth of *November* there issued out an Order * from both Houses, that

Committees

The Scots invited to their assistance.

* 18 Nov.

* 26 Nov.

* 29 Nov.
Exact Coll.
p. 763.

Committees should be named, throughout all Counties, to take care for provisions of Victual, for the Army raised by the Parliament; as also for seizing on Dragoon-Horses, and draught-Horses; and for borrowing of Money or Plate, to supply the Army upon the *public Faith*. Which Committees had thereby power, to send for and take such Provisions, Money, Plate, and Horse, as the owners did then neglect to bring in.

And having formerly order'd *, that the King's and Queen's Revenue, coming into the Exchequer should be detained, and employ'd for the public service; they seized * on thirteen hundred Quarters of Corn, which then were in the King's Stores. Also, for explanation of their former Ordinance, touching the contribution of Horse, Money, and Plate, upon the Propositions, they order'd that the Refusers should be distrain'd; and in default of Distresses to be found, their persons to be imprison'd, and their Families no longer to remain in London, Westminster, or the Counties adjacent.

Shortly after this, likewise they framed more Ordinances * of Association for divers other Counties; constituting * Commanders in chief of new forces to be levied within those Associations, beginning with *Buckingham, Bedford, Rutland, Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Huntington*; appointing the Lord Grey of Groby (son to the Earl of *Stanford*) Serjeant Major General there; planting Garrisons in every Castle and great Town throughout all those parts.

The like Association * for the Shires of *Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hartford, Essex*, part of the Isle of *Ely* and City of *Norwich*; *William Lord Grey of Warke*, being made Commander in Chief, throughout all those Counties.

And to put the people in hope, that this charge and trouble should not last long; they gave out, that his Majesties Forces were utterly broken and shatter'd; and read Letters * in the House, from their General, that he would pursue the King with all vehemency.

Soon after this also, they made an Ordinance *, for taxing all *Malignants*, and such as had not contributed upon the *Propositions*, for Money, Horse, and Plate, according

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diag to their abilities, that they should pay the Twenty-fifth part of their Estates. Under which name of *Malignants*, they brought in all that were worth any thing, if within their reach. But, in this Ordinance, it is to be observed*, that the Assessors were not to tax any Member of either House.

* They bind heavy burdens and greivous to be born, and lay them on mens shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.

Matth. 23.

v. 4.

* 27 Dec.

* 4 Jan.

Exact Coll.
p. 816.

* 7 Jan.

Exact Coll.
p. 825.

Neither could their oppressions at home suffice; but they countenanc'd the seizing of a Ship, call'd *Santa Clara*, out of the Port of *Santo Domingo*, in the King of *Spain's* Dominions, laden with Plate, *Cochinele*, and other Merchandise of great value; and by order* of the House of Commons, set up Bills upon the Exchange for sale thereof. And that no part of the Realm might be free from their oppressions, they constituted* Committees in the Counties of *Warwick*, *Stafford*, and City of *Coventry*, for associating of those Counties, and planting of Garrisons there: authorizing them to suppress and disarm Enemies, and persons ill affected: also for raising Horse, Money, Plate, &c. And soon after that, set forth a new *Declaration**, in the name of both Houses of Parliament; shewing the necessity of a present Subscription of Money, and Plate, for a farther supply of the Army. Suggesting, that his Majesties Popish-Army would proceed with Fire and Sword, to root out their true Religion, and all that professed it; if there were not a good provision of Treasure to maintain and support the Army rais'd by the Parliament.

* 23 Jan.

* 3 Febr.
8 Febr.

To which new Contributions, (for the better drawing on of others) they themselves also subscrib'd. And after ordered*, that such Citizens, as had refused to pay the twentieth part, should be removed to several Prisons; *viz.* *Darremouth*, *Colchester*, *Norwich* &c. giving authority*, that the Collectors, made by their Ordinance of the xxixth of *November*, for Assessments, should have power to break open Chests, Trunks &c. and to sieze Money, Goods, &c. for satisfaction of their Taxes. And at the same time appointed a Committee, for sequestering the lands and estates of all such persons as had assisted the King, in his just defence and preservation, according to their duty and allegiance; calling it a maintaining a war against the Parliament.

But all this being as yet not enough, they passed an Ordinance

dinance * to incite the City of **London** to a free contribution towards the sum of sixty thousand pounds, for the service of the Army; the Houses declaring; *that they were in good hopes it would be the last money they should have occasion to desire of the City in that kind.* And therefore, that they might be as good as their words, and not come often to them in a borrowing way, they passed another Ordinance * for imposing a Tax for the maintenancce of their Army throughout the whole Kingdom, of Thirty three thousand, three hundred forty eight pounds a week, whereof ten thousand pounds weekly was assessed upon the City of **London**, besides **Westminster** and the Suburbs.

1642.

* 20 Febr.

* 23 Febr.

And to the end that the well affected, who had gone forth in their Army rais'd for the defence of the Parliament, Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Subjects of **England** (for those are the words of the Preamble) should be the better encouraged to continue in their service, they passed another Ordinance * for assessing of all the Parishes in **England** to the relief of their maimed Soldiers, with the Widows, and Fatherless children of such as were or should be slain on their part.

* 9 Martii.

C H A P. XIV.



Now come to the military Actings of this present year 1642. In which I find, that the Marquess of *Hertford*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton* Knight of the Bath (afterwards *Lord Hopton*) had rais'd considerable forces on the King's behalf in the West: and that the Earl of *Newcastle* (afterwards Marquess) in the North, Colonel *Charles Cavendish* (brother to the Earl of *Devonshire*;) *Spenser* Earl of *Northampton*, and some other persons of quality had done the like in sundry other parts; so that with what strength his Majesty himself then had, after the taking up of his Winter-Quarters at *Oxford*, the Royalists had possessed themselves

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selves of *Banbury-Castle* in *Oxfordshire*; of *Reading*, and *Farringdon*, with the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Denington* in *Berkshire*: of *Chichester*, and *Arundel-Castle* in *Suffex*; of *Winchester* and *Basing-house* in *Hants*; of the Castles of *Devizes* and *Wardour* in *Wiltshire*; of the Castle of *Sherborne* in *Dorsetshire*: of some Port-Towns in *Devonshire*; of the Castle of *Pendennis* and other places in *Cornwall*; of *Taunton* and *Bridgwater* in *Somersetshire*; of *Sudley-Castle* in *Gloucestershire*; of the City of *Worcester*; of the the Town of *Shrewsbury* in *Shropshire*; of *Dudley-Castle* and *Close* of *Lichfeild* in *Staffordshire*; of *Ashby de la Zouch* in *Leicestershire*; of the City of *Chester*; of *Monmouth* in *Monmouthshire*; of *Lincoln*, and *Gaynesborough* in *Lincolnshire*; of *Lynne* in *Norfolk*; of the City of *Tork*, and Castle of *Pontfract* in *Yorkshire*; of *Latham-house* in *Lancashire*; and of *Newcastle* in *Northumberland*.

* 5 Dec.

* 19 Jan.

* 22 Jan.

* 22 Jan.

* 2 Febr.

* 21 Martii.

* 23 Martii.

As also, that by their activeness there were taken from the Rebels before the entrance of the ensuing year, these following places; viz. *Marlborough* in **Wiltshire* by the Lord *Wilmot* (Colonel *Ramsay* a Scot and five hundred of his men being there made prisoners) *Tadcaster* in *Yorkshire* about the same time; *Liskard*, * and *Saltaish* * in *Cornwall*; *Belvoir-Castle* * in *Lincolnshire*; *Cirencester* * in *Gloucestershire*; *Malmesbury* * in *Wiltshire*, and *Grantham* * in *Lincolnshire*. Whereunto may be added the safe landing of the Queen (12 Febr.) at *Burlington* in *Yorkshire*, with Arms and Amunition brought from *Holland* for his Majesties service.

On the Rebels part I am also to observe, that besides the Earl of *Essex*, their *Generalissimo*, they had divers other Petty-Generals; viz. *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* in the North; the Earl of *Stanford*, and Sir *William Waller* in the West; *Edward* Earl of *Manchester*, *Basil* Lord *Feilding* (eldest son to the Earl of *Denbigh*) Colonel *Brown* the *Woodmonger*; Sir *William Brereton* Baronet; Sir *John Gell* Knight; Colonel *Massej* &c. all active men in their respective stations.

As to the places of strength, throughout *England* (besides the Royal Navy, given up into their hands by *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, whom the King had made Admiral of his whole Fleet) they had the City and Tower of *London*; all the Eastern-Counties, with the Ports and Castles

Castles thereto belonging; the strong Town of *Hull* in *Yorkshire*, and in it all his Majesties Magazine of Arms, Artillery, and Amunition prepared for his Scottish Expedition; *Manchester* in *Lancashire* ----- in *Cheshire*; *Ludlow*, *Bridg-North*, and *Wemme* in *Shropshire*; *Stafford* in *Staffordshire*; the Cities of *Bristol*, and *Gloucester*; the Towns of *Leicester* and *Northampton*; the City of *Coventry*, with the Castles of *Warwick* and *Kenilworth* all in *Warwickshire*; the City of *Lincoln*; the Towns of *Nottingham* and *Derby*; and indeed what not, excepting those places I have mention'd, wherein the Royalists had first set foot. Besides which, they took by force the City of *Winchester* *; *Leedes* * in *Yorkshire*; the City of *Chichester* in *Suffex* about the same time; and *Sudeley-Castle* * in *Gloucestershire*.

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* 13 Dec.
* 22 Jan.
* 13 Febr.

Not much of Action in the Field, or otherwise, can be expected until the ensuing Spring of the year; so that all I find of note, was only that at *Liskard* * near *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, where Sir *Ralph Hopton* routed a strong Party of the Rebels in those parts, and took above twelve hundred Prisoners.

* 19 Jan.

Likewise that attempt upon *Litchfield-clofe* in *Staffordshire*, made by *Robert Lord Brook*, wherein he lost his life; the manner whereof is not a little remarkable, which (in short) was thus. This Lord being strangely tainted with fanatic Principles, by the influence of one of his near Relations and some Schismatical Preachers (though in his own nature a very civil and well humour'd man) became thereby so great a zealot against the establish'd Discipline of the Church, that no less than the utter extirpation of Episcopacy, and abolishing all decent Order in the service of God would satisfy him. To which end he became the leader of all the power he could raise for the destruction of the Cathedral of that Diocess of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. In order whereunto, when he had march'd within half a mile of *Litchfield*, he drew up his Army; and there devoutly pray'd a blessing upon his intended work: withall, earnestly desiring, that God would by some special Token manifest unto them his approbation of that their design: which being done, he went on, and planted his great Guns against the South-East Gate of the Clofe, himself stand-

1643.

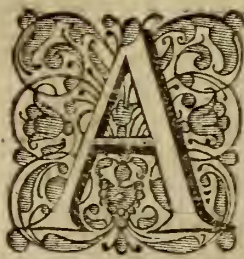
ing in a Window of a little House near thereto, to direct the Gunners in their purposed Battery: but it so hapned, that there being two persons placed in the Battlements of the chiefeſt Steeple, to make ſhot, with long fouling Guns at the Cannoniers: upon a ſudden accident which occaſioned the Souldiers to give a ſhout, this Lord, coming to the door (compleatly harneſſed with Plate-Armour cap a pe) was ſuddenly ſhot into one of his Eyes; but the ſtrength of the Bullet ſo much abated by the glance thereof on a piece of timber, which ſupported a Pen-tiſ over the Door, that it only lodg'd in his Brains, Whereupon he ſuddenly fell down dead. Nor is it leſs notable, that this accident fell out upon the ſecond day of *March*, which is the Festival * of that ſometime famous Biſhop *St. Chad*, to whoſe memory *Offa* King of the *Mercians* firſt erected this ſtately Church and devoutly dedicated it.

* 2 Martii.

The next thing whereof I ſhall take notice, is; that on the nineteenth day of the ſame month of *March*, was that ſeierce Skirmiſh * at *Dopton-Heath*, in the ſame County of *Stafford*, where the right loyal and valiant *Spencer* Earl of *Northampton* encountring Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *John Gell*, though he had the better of the day (being unhappily fallen from his Horſe amongſt Coney-Burrows) was barbarouſly murdered.

* 19 Martii.

C H A P. XV.



AS to this year's Actions, conſidering that money is the Sinews of war, the firſt thing of note, in order to the gaining thereof, which the Members at *Westminster* did, was the ſequeſtring * of *Delinquents* (i.e. the Royaliſts) eſtates. And finding the poor Country-people very weary of the war, and apt to run away; having alſo had ſo much experience of the Cities forwardneſs in all things tending to their ſervice: to the intent, that upon any ſudden occaſion they

* 31 Martii.
Scobell's Coll.
cap. 4. P. 37.

they might draw out considerable numbers thence, they passed * an Ordinance, that the Committee for the *Militia* of London, and the Suburbs, should raise new Regiments of Voluntiers, for the better security thereof. So likewise for the better support of two other of their Generals; viz. Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, they passed an Ordinance * for engaging the *Public Faith* to such as should lend either Horse, Men, or Money unto them in that service.

1643.

* 12 Apr.

* 25 Apr.
Scobell's Coll.
p. 40.

But by this time the private Discontents and repinings, which these large Exactions caused, beginning to make the great Masters in this Tragic Scene to doubt a revolt in the people (considering how frequently the King, by fundry gracious *Proclamations* of pardon, and all other good means had wooed them:) To carry on the work therefore the more smoothly, they were constrained, after the example of their Brethren the *Scots*, to make an *Engagement*, by a solemn Oath, for continuing their assistance therein. And in this, as the Citizens of London (who in all other occasions had been their principal Instruments) did readily tender their service by Sir *Henry Mildmay*; who reported to the House, that they would lend the fourty thousand pounds demanded (for now they were borrowing again) provided, that the *Holy League* and *Covenant* before spoken of, might be made and imposed upon the whole Kingdom.

The Holy League and Covenant proposed by the Londoners.

* 4 Maii.

And rather than their *Blessed Cause* (as they call'd it) should suffer, it was moved * by the Sub-Committee at *Sadler's Hall* in *Breadstreet*; that all persons, who were willing to promote their own Safety, should spare one meal weekly, towards the provision of Horse and Arms, for the new rais'd Auxiliaries about London. Also because they found some slackness in the people, to bring in money upon the *Propositions*, they appointed * Committees in the several Counties to tax such for their *fifth and twentieth part*, as had not contributed or lent accordingly: and passed another Ordinance * for taking Horses for the service of the Parliament.

* 7 Maii.
Scob. Coll.
p. 41.* 10 Maii.
Scob. Coll.
ut supra.

It is not unworthy of note, that this thrifty contrivance for *sparing one meal a week*, was the usher to that then formidable Imposition, called *Excise*, never before heard of by many thousands in this Kingdom: which the

1643.

trivers at Westminster durst not shew the people, till they were sufficiently tamed under the yoke of other Exactions; knowing full well how displeasing it would be to them. Nay so fearful were they themselves, after they had form'd their first Army, lest the people should apprehend any suspicion thereof (which might then have endangered a Revolt) that, when it was but whispered by some, what they foresaw would happen; they made an Order * in their House of Commons, for punishing such Malignant persons, as had cast aspersions upon that House, that they intended to assess any man's Pewter, and lay Excise upon that and other Commodities. But now, that they saw the people, by degrees, so patiently submit to many other burdens; they began to debate*, in their House of Commons, how fit and necessary it would be for them to impose Excise, upon Wine, Beer, Tobacco, and such petty Commodities. Whereupon Mr. Pym, by his Letter to * Sir John Hotham, signified; that they had proceeded in the Excise to many particulars, and intended to go on farther; but that it would be necessary to use the people to it, by little and little. And because this Ordinance, before-mention'd, for taking Horses, for the service of the Parliament, should not pinch upon their friends; they passed another * by which they appointed certain persons to levy such Horses, for the service of the Parliament; but with special direction, that the Horses taken from the well affected, should be valued, and repaiment secured upon the Public faith.

* 8 Oct. an.
1642.

* 25 Maii.

* 30 Maii.

* 29 Maii.
Scobell's Coll.
p. 41.

* 30 Maii.

Having thus laid such a sure foundation for the support of more Forces, they then sent out a Declaration * to their Lord Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of Kent, Canterbury, and the Cinqueports; that they should associate and raise an Army of a thousand Foot-Voluntiers, and one or more Troops of Horse; and to appoint a Major General, and give Battel to any Forces, not raised by authority of both Houses.

But the Oath, formerly mentioned by Sir Henry Mildmay, being by this time framed, was now thought fit to be set on foot, as of high concernment to oblige all those that were well affected, and for the better discovery of other well-wishers to the Cause: a work therefore of this high consequence, being not fit to be brought into the world

world naked; they had a Committee, who made report ^{*} of a treacherous Conspiracy, discovered upon the last day of *May* (being the Fast-day) *viz.* of a pretended design to destroy the Parliament, and well affected party of the Kingdom; to subject Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Subject; to establish Popery, and to set up an arbitrary Government: for prevention whereof, both Houses and the whole Realm should enter into a solemn Covenant, never to lay down Arms, so long as the Popish-party (for so they called the King's forces) were on foot; and Papists and Delinquents protected from the Justice of the Parliament; but to assist the Forces, rais'd by authority of the two Houses of Parliament, against the Forces rais'd by the King.

1643.

* 6 Junii.

The Holy League and Covenant framed.

Which solemn *Oath and Covenant*, thus drawn up, was then taken ^{*} by both Houses; and within ten days following throughout all the Parishes of London. And because the poor Country-people might, throughout England, be all caught upon one day; they passed an Order ^{*} of both Houses, that a *Public Thanksgiving* should be made throughout the whole Kingdom, on Thursday the thirteenth of *July* following, for the discovery of the late *Plot*; at which time this *Oath and Covenant* should be tendered to every man, in the several Parishes.

* And taken by both Houses 15 Junii.

* 17 Junii.

Also to secure the Pulpit-men the more cordially to them, and to make them the more active, in stirring up the people, upon all occasions; they made an Ordinance ^{*}, for calling an *Assembly of Divines*, in order to the setting up of the *Presbyterian Government*. Which *Assembly* was to consist of ten of the House of Lords, and twenty of the House of Commons, whose names are therein express'd; and the rest Ministers, all of the *Presbyterian gang*, excepting three or four (whom, though for the more credit of that Convention they nominated, there was little reason to expect any of their company.) The Preamble of which Ordinance runs thus---- *Whereas amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this Nation, none is or can be more dear unto us, then the purity of our Religion. And for that, as yet, many things remain in the Liturgy, Discipline, and Government of the Church, which do necessarily require a farther and more perfect Reformation, than as yet hath been attained. And whereas it*
hath

* 12 Junii. Scob. Coll. p. 42. Ordinance for calling an Assembly of Divines.

1643.

Episcopal
Government
abolished.

hath been declared and resolved, by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the present Church-government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellours, Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, depending upon the Hierarchy, is justly offensive and burthensome to the Kingdom; a great impediment to Reformation, and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the State and Government of this Kingdom; and that therefore they are resolved, that the same shall be taken away; and that such a Government shall be settled in the Church, as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and neerer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other reformed Churches abroad &c. be it ordained &c.

'Twas no marvail indeed, that they at westminster bestir'd themselves so hard: for by this time the success of his Majesties Armies was such; that he had (by God's blessing) regained the greatest part of the North and West parts of this Realm; and did daily so increase in strength; that, to uphold their Cause, they bethought themselves of calling in their Brethren the Scots for aid. Wherefore, having prepared a Declaration *, to discover another dangerous Plot, to extirpate the Protestant Religion in England, Ireland, and Scotland; they agreed *, that some of their Members (*viz.* the Lork Grey of Wark, Sir William Ayrmin, and Mr. Darley) should go into Scotland, to desire help from thence; and prepare Instructions * for them, with Letters of Credence: with promise that they should have allowance * for the charge of such forces, as they should send; and that the debts they already owed them should be paid out of the lands of the Papists and Prelatical party, in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Bishoprick of Durham. Which Commissioners did accordingly set forwards * upon the xxith of July.

But about this time, the Earl of Essex (their General) made complaint to them by Letters *, for want of Horse, Arms &c. and proposed to them a Treaty for peace. Whereunto answer was soon made, by the resolution * of their House of Commons (who debated the same) that, by their late Vow and Covenant they had bound themselves never to lay down Arms, so long as the Papists

(for

* 4 Julii.

* 6 Julii.

* 13 Julii.

* 15 Julii.

Commissioners sent into
Scotland, to
invite the
Brethren to
their aid.

* 21 Julii.

* 10 Julii.

* 11 Julii.

(for so they call'd the King's forces) which were then in Arms against them, should have protection from the Justice of the Parliament; sending him word, that they would recruit his Troops according to his desire. And to complement their Western General (Sir *William Waller*) whose heartiness to the *Cause*, futed so well with theirs, they ordered * five thousand pounds to be sent down to him, and given as a Largeſs to his Souldiers, the more to encourage them in that service.

1643.

* 12 Julii.

But the certain charge of their Rebellious Armies did so vastly increase, as was truly foretold by Mr. *Green* (Chairman to their Committee for the Navy, upon the sixth of *December* before) viz. that the maintenance of the Lord General's Army, would, for the ensuing year, amount to above a million of Money; that of the Navy having been two hundred and forty thousand pounds for the year passed; and that without delay, they must of necessity, settle a round and constant Tax for maintenance thereof: they therefore passed an Ordinance for *Excise*, or new Impost; upon Wine, Beer, Ale, Cider, Perry, Raisins, Figs, Currans, Sugar, Spices, wrought and raw Silks, Furs, Hats, Laces, Lether, Linnen of all sorts, Thread, Wier &c. and for sweetning its relish with the people, gave it out, that part of its income should pay Debts, for which the *Public faith* was engaged.

Ordinance
for Excise.

Moreover, to raise men as well as money (their Western-Army, being then destroy'd * at *Round-way-down*) the Citizens had a meeting at *Grocer's Hall*, where they made new Subscriptions *, to set up Sir *William Waller* again. For the better furthering whereof, there were new Petitions * framed, from *London*, *Westminster* and *Southwark*, and presented to the House of Commons; that all the Kingdom might rise, as one man, against the Common Enemy: and that the Parliament would give power to a Committee, to list so many of the Petitioners, as were willing to go out in their own persons: as also to take the Subscriptions of others, for the raising a considerable Body of Horse and Foot: and that the like course might be taken throughout the Kingdom by a confiding Committee.

* 13 Julii.

* 20 Julii.

* 20 Julii.

In pursuance whereof, both Houses made an Ordinance *, for raising seven thousand Horse in *London*, *Middlesex*, and the Counties adjacent, to be commanded by

* 24 Julii.

by.

1643.

by the Lord *Kymbolton* (afterwards Earl of *Manchester*) and of Eleven hundred Horse, in the Counties of *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Northampton*, and *Hertford*; to be commanded by Sir *John Norwich*: In *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* Eleven hundred, by Sir *Miles Hobart*: In *Surrey*, *Suffex*, *Southampton* and *Berkshire* fourteen hundred, by Colonel *Richard Norton*. And all these, thus to be rais'd, to resist the Insolencies of the King's Army.

* 27 Julii.

Certain it is, that though the Committee, which were sent to bring in the *Scots*, went but lately thither; yet the Brethren there, having had former advertisements, how great a necessity here was of them; to the end their Friends should not faint, hasted over a *Declaration* * hither: whereby they signified; "that whereas
"the Kingdom of *England* had a long time suffered by
"the Popish, and malignant Counsels about his Majesty;
"and that the miseries in *England*, were but preparations
"to theirs; they therefore did resolve to assist the Parli-
"ment of *England*. And high time it was: for their forces in most parts going by the worst, it put them upon new contrivances every day. So that Sir *William Waller* was fain to come * again to the House, and take the *Covenant*, a second time, to encourage some, that had not taken it before.

* 1 Aug.

And though the Committee, which met at Merchant-Taylor's-Hall, for raising the people of the land as one man, did give direction * to the Aldermen, and their Deputies in every Ward; with the Ministers, Common-Council-men and others, to promote the work, *as being the last Refuge of the people* (for so they expres'd) *and no vain bait or allurement*: yet saw they so little fruit of this great endeavour, that they were constrain'd to effect that by their power, which they could not do by perswasion: and therefore ordered * the raising of two thousand men in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridgsbire*, every man to have a months pay in his pocket. And for a speedy supply of more, they passed * two Ordinances; One, that the Committee for the *Militia* of *London*, with the Deputy-Lieutenant's and Committees of Parliament, in every County throughout the Kingdom, should have power to raise, levy, and impress such numbers of Souldiers, as should be appointed by both Houses of Parliament.

* 3 Aug.

* 10 Aug.

The

The other * for pressing no less than twenty thousand men, with so many Gunners, Trumpets, and Chirurgeons, as should be thought fit, for the six associated Counties of *Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridg, Hertford, and Huntington*, with the City of *Norwich* and Isle of *Ely*, to be rais'd within the said Counties, for the service of the Kingdom and Parliament.

And, notwithstanding all this, being in a declining condition, by reason that their moneys were spent, their men wore out, and no small discontents amongst themselves; in order to some recruit, they made an explanation * of their old *Ordinance, for Sequestration of Delinquents*, with certain enlargements; wherein is set forth, who were to be reputed *Delinquents*, over and besides such as were described in the former Ordinance; with power to examine upon Oath, for discovery, as also Rewards to Discoverers. And likewise passed another * Ordinance (relating to a former) *for the speedy raising of a body of Horse*, for the Preservation, Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom, to resist the Insolencies, and outrages, committed by the Souldiers of the King's Army (those being the words thereof.) By which they farther ordained, that Tenants should pay the Assesments out of their Landlords estates, and defalk them out of their Rents. But that which they then chiefly look'd on, being the assistance of the *Scots*, whereon they principally depended, as their last refuge: to keep up the hearts of their then drooping party, they made it their business therefore to cry up loudly, the aid of these their *dear Brethren*. For which respect, it will not (I suppose) be impertinent, to make here a short digression in shewing by what means they were dealt with, in order to this their *second Invasion*.

1643.
* 16 Aug.

Scob. Coll.
p. 49.
19 Aug.

* Ib. p. 52.
25 Aug.

1643.

C H A P. XVI.

Particulars
&c. delivered
to the Con-
vention of E-
states in
Scotland by
the English
Commissio-
ners 19 Aug.
1643.
* 24 Aug.



After the English Committee was arriv'd in Scotland, and had made large promises to the Brethren of an advantageous journey (*viz. the lands of the Church by the extirpation of Episcopacy*) the Scots well resenting so beneficial an offer, did set forth a *Proclamation* *, whereby, pretending the *King's Person, their Religion, and Priviledges of Parliament* to be in no small danger; for preservation of these, they required, that all persons, in that Realm, of what sort, quality or degree soever, between sixteen and sixty years of age, should forthwith fit themselves with fourty days Victual, Amunition, Arms, and all other warlike Provision, under penalty of confiscation of their whole Estates, and to be punished as Enemies to *Religion, King, and Kingdoms*. And, having set forth a plausible *Declaration* *, shewing the reasons of such their intended assistance to the Parliament of England, against the Papists and Prelatical party (as they therein express'd) they passed an Act * in their convention of Estates, for putting that Kingdom into a *Posture of Defence*; naming therein the principal Colonels and Officers, for that purpose. To accomplish likewise their chief design of enjoying the Church-Lands, they fram'd a new Oath, called the *solemn League and Covenant*. Which was forthwith sent over into England, and read * in the House of Commons at Westminster; thence to be transmitted to the *Assembly of Divines*, for their approbation; and being by them approved, was remitted * to the House of Commons.

A new Cove-
nant framed
in Scotland.
* 26 Aug.

* 31 Aug.

And, that the grand Contrivers at Westminster might the more ingratiate themselves with those their Brethren of Scotland, they passed an *Ordinance, for demolishing all Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry* (as they intituled it.) In which was particularized the removal of all Communion-Tables, from the East end of the Chancels in every Church; as also for taking away the Rails which defended them; levelling the Chancels, where the East part.

part was higher, with removing of Tapers, Candlesticks and Basins. 1643.

For the speedy raising of more Moneys, they likewise passed another Ordinance *, for fourteen thousand pounds, to furnish one or more Magazines of Arms and Amunition; and for raising of Horse &c. Which sum was to be levied within the Hamlets of the Tower, City of Westminster, Burrough of Southwark, and other places of Middlesex and Surrey, within the lines of Communication.

* 4 Sept.

Hitherto, it was only pretended, that those new Regiments of Voluntiers, rais'd by the Ordinance of April the xiith, for the better security of the City of London, should not go out of the Lines of Communication. But, as Mr. Pym in his Epistle to Sir John Hotham, concerning Excise, wrote; that they must be used to it by little and little: so now, they began to shew them what they must trust to; and passed another Ordinance *, to enable the Committee, for the Militia of London, to command forth, one or more Regiments, of the Trained-Bands, or Auxiliaries, within the Liberties of London and Westminster, to go forth under the command of Sir William Waller; and upon occasion to be assistant to the Lord General.

* 6 Sept.

And herein I cannot but observe an excellent expression made to the House of Commons by Mr. Oliver St. John (sometime his Majesties Sollicitor General, but then a dear Member and special Contriver in this great work) in answer to Mr. John Pym: (who seemed to stand strict, for observing the Ordinance of April the xiith) alleaged, that though those men, by that Ordinance raised only for the defence of the City, were not to go out of the line of Communication: yet now that they were rais'd, they (meaning the Parliament) might dispose of them whether they pleased, without asking their consents.

And, whereas the first Ordinance for Excise, was but only for maintenance of the Army, and paiment of Debts due by the Common-wealth; they passed another *, wherein was a consideration added, for securing of Trade, which occasioned the enlargement thereof, upon such Commodities, as had not been formerly tax'd; besides an alteration of the rates. Which Commodities were Strong-waters, Medicinal-Drugs, Haberdashers-ware, Upholsters ware, Salt, Sal-

* 11 Sept.
Scob. Coll.
P. 54.

1643.

* 13 Sept.

lets, *Sope*; all sorts of *Woollen-cloth*, *Paper*, *Skins*, and *Glasses*.

Having also thus taught the new Auxiliaries the force of an Ordinance of Parliament, they passed another *, for the pressing of five thousand men, in the Cities of **London** and **Westminster**, with the Counties adjacent, to go under the command of Sir *William Waller*.

And to hasten on the march of their Brethren the *Scots*, to their aid and assistance; the Members of the House of Commons, with great formality, and no less seeming devotion, entred * into that unhappy Combination, called the *solemn League and Covenant* (so fram'd in **Scotland**) in **St. Margarets-Church** at **Westminster**. Which, under the specious veil of Reformation, was that fatal Engine, whereby not only the Hierarchy in the Church, was by them soon after destroyed; and the patrimony thereof, with the Lands and Revenues of the Crown, swallow'd up by those pretenders to Godliness; but the sacred Person of the King most inhumanly murdered *; and this ancient and long flourishing Monarchy, so far as 'twas in their power, wholly subverted and destroy'd, as to the whole world, is most notorious.

In the Preamble whereunto, they had the confidence to say, that this their *League and Covenant*, was according to the commendable practise of these Kingdoms, and the Example of God's people in other Nations: Whereas, there is not only no mention of any such things by our Historiographers; nor in the History of any other Realm, that I have ever seen, excepting that of the *Holy League* in **France** (whereof I shall take farther notice, ere I finish this work:) but Mr. *Philip Nye* (one of their mighty Champions for the Cause, and an especial assertor of this *Covenant*) hath expressly affirmed * in print: that *it is such an Oath, as for matter, persons, and other circumstances, the like hath not been in any age, or Oath we read of, in sacred or humane stories.*

And it is also observable; that whereas in the Preamble, they farther affirm; that *they did it to preserve themselves and their Religion* (which must needs be intended, the known Religion, publicly profess'd, and by Law establish'd in the Church of **England**) *from ruine and destruction:* they immediatly "vow to reform Religion, here in **Eng-**
"land, according to the pattern of the Kirk of **Scotland**,
"and to extirpate Episcopacy, and all Ecclesiastical Offices depending

* 25 Sept.
The solemn
League and
Covenant
(fram'd in
Scotland) ta-
ken by the
Members at
Westminster.
Archbishop
Laud's life.

p. 510.
* See the Re-
monstrance
of the Army
in order to
the King's
Trial, dated
at **St. Albans**
16 Nov.
1648.

* Covenant
with Narra-
tive. p. 12.

“ depending thereon: Notwithstanding they knew full well; First, that the King was by his Coronation Oath, sworn to maintain and defend the Bishops and the Churches under their charge: Secondly, that all the Clergy of England, had testified their approbation of Episcopal Government, by personal Subscriptions thereto: and Thirdly, that, by a *solemn Protestation*, made and framed by themselves, in that very Parliament; and recommended by them, to be taken by all the people of England, they had oblig’d themselves; “ neither for hope nor fear, or other “ respect, to relinquish the true Protestant Religion, express’d in the Doctrine of the Church of England.

But all this Pageantry, in their thus taking of that *solemn League and Covenant*, could not allay the loud clamours of the people, occasion’d by the great pressures, and daily exactions, under which they miserably groaned: the Members therefore were constrain’d to betake themselves to another way, for the easing them; at least in shew: and this was by an Ordinance * for selling the King’s, Queen’s, and Princes revenues, and the arrearages thereof: as also to another *, for felling and cutting down Woods within sixty miles of London, in all Forests, Chases, and Parks, belonging to the King or Queen; or to any Arch-bishop, Bishop, Dean, and Chapter &c. Papist, Delinquent, Malignant &c. to be disposed of for supply of the City of London.

Which seeming favour, was for no other purpose, than that they might afterwards, bring the greater load upon them, as they did ere long. For within few days, upon a jugling Report * made to the House, of a Pope’s Bull (translated into English, with a Declaration upon) it which was pretended to be newly sent into England, for the more effectual prosecuting of the Catholic war here; a Committee of the House of Commons, and of the Assembly of Divines, came to a Common-Hall in London, to consult with the Citizens, for the speedy raising of an hundred thousand pounds, for the advance of the Scottish Army; to be lent for that service, and repay’d when moneys were procured from forreign parts, upon the *public faith* of both Kingdoms.

And to obtain more men, as well as money, there issued out another Order *; that the Committee for the

1643.

* 21 Sept.
Scob. Coll.
p. 54.
* 2 Oct.

* 5 Oct.

* 6 Oct.

* 7 Oct.

1643.

Militia of London, should have power to appoint six Regiments of their Trained-Bands, and one of their Auxiliaries: as also one Regiment of Horse and Dragoons, to march out with their Commanders, and joyn with the Earl of *Effex's* Forces. Likewise an Ordinance for the pressing of five thousand Souldiers more, to be sent to the Islands of *Jersey*, and *Guernsey*, under the command of the Earl of *Warwick*; those Trained-Bands being appointed to meet * in *St. James's* Fields; and from thence to march unto such place, as the Earl of *Effex*, or his Officers should appoint, and in default thereof, their Shops to be shut up; themselves depriv'd of Trade, and liable to expulsion out of the lines of Communication. And about the same time, they passed another Ordinance *, for assessing the Twenty fifth part, upon all Members of Parliament, who then were, either in the King's Army, or otherwise absent; their estates to be let, in case of not payment.

* 18 Oct.

* 9 Oct.
Scob. Coll.
P. 57.

And having lately sped so well, upon credit of the *public faith*, they adventured again upon the same security; recommending * to the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Effex*, and *Lincoln*, with the City of *Norwich*, the aid of the Lord *Fairfax*, in Men, Money, Plate, Horse, and Ammunition; passing an *Ordinance* for repayment of what should be lent for the speedy bringing in of the *Scots*, to their assistance; and securing it in the mean time by the before-mention'd *public faith*.

* 18 Oct.

But the reputation of the *public faith*, was now grown so low, that moneys came not in, either quick enough, or in such large sums as were expected (it being left arbitrary to the Creditors what they would lend :) another Ordinance therefore was passed, for raising the full sum of sixty six thousand, six hundred, sixty six pounds, thirteen shillings, four pence, within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and Counties of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Middlesex*, *Effex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suffex*, *Cambridg*, *Isle of Ely*, *Huntington*, *Northampton* and *Rutland*, with the Cities of *Norwich* and *Canterbury*, for the better enabling their Brethren of *Scotland*, to assist in the Common-cause of *Religion* and *Liberty*.

Which Ordinance had such a succesful effect, that it accelerated the conclusion of the Treaty at *Edenborough*, then

on

on foot, betwixt the Commissioners, sent into Scotland, from the Members sitting at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Convention of the Estates of Scotland, for aid from their Brethren of that Kingdom; insomuch, as upon the xxixth of November, the Articles were there signed *; whereby (*inter alia*) in the first place it was agreed, that the *Covenant* represented to the Convention of Estates, and general Assembly of Scotland; and formerly sent to both Houses of the Parliament of England (for by that name, those members, then sitting at Westminster, stiled themselves) should be sworn and subscribed by both Kingdoms, as a most near Tie and Conjunction between them, for their mutual defence against the Papists, and Prelatical faction, and their adherents in both Kingdoms; and for pursuance of the ends, expressed in that *Covenant*.

And next, that an Army to that purpose should be forthwith levyed, consisting of eighteen thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and one thousand Dragoons effective; with a futable Train of Artillery, to be ready at some general Rendezvouz, near the Borders of England, to march into England for the purposes aforesaid, with all convenient speed; the same Foot and Horse to be well and compleatly arm'd and provided of Victuals, and Pay for forty days. In contemplation of which aid from Scotland; and that those their Brethren might not want encouragement in that their necessary assistance, Mr. *William Strode* made a motion in the House; that all those who would neither contribute, nor take the *Covenant*, should have a price put upon them, and be sent to Sea; that something might be given for them, who would give nothing of themselves.

And shortly after, by other Ordinances *, the Customs upon all Merchandizes were advanc'd a tenth part, under pretence of defending the Towns and Ports of *Plymouth*, *St. Nicolas Isle*, with the Towns of *Pool* and *Lime*, and places adjacent. As also additional Articles * to the Ordinance for the *Excise*.

Besides this, the sum of three thousand pounds a month was assessed * upon the associated Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*; *Cambridgshire*, &c. towards the maintenance of the Lord General's Army. Likewise thir-

1643.

Articles of the Treaty at E-denborough for bringing in the Scots Army.

* 29 Nov.

* 20 Nov.

* 28 Nov.

Scob. Coll.

p. 59.

* 13 Dec.

teen.

1643.

* 25 Dec.
Scob. Coll.
p. 60.

teen hundred pounds, toward the support of Sir *William Waller's* Forces, which were raising in *Kent*. And about the same time, they made void * the places and Offices of all Clerks, in any of the Courts at *Westminster*, who had in any sort adher'd to the King.

* 9 Jan.
Scob. Coll.
p. 60.
* See the Letter to his Majesty from the Lord Chancellor and divers Lords of that Realm, dated at *Edinburgh* 1 Junii. 1643. wherein they promise not to raise any forces, without special warrant from the King.
* His Majesties Declaration to all his Subjects of Scotland.

But amongst all their Impositions and Taxes, there was none that came in so amply and insensibly as the *Excise*; wherewith the Vulgar, were by that time, in some sort acquainted. And therefore (according to Mr. *Pym's* principle) the Houses pass'd another Ordinance*, for a new Excise upon Flesh, Victuals, and Salt; ever heartning on the people with hopes of ease; and now most especially, because the *Scots* Army was ready to march; which was represented to be so formidable, as that it would put a sudden end to the work. Which Army (according to a Declaration they then set forth; wherein they did cast divers scandals upon his Majesty, and justified that most perfidious Action) invaded this Realm upon the xvth day of *January*, passing the *Tweede*, at *Barwick*; notwithstanding their frequent reiterated *Oaths**, *Promises*, and *National Covenant*; viz. that * *whenever his Majesties Honour and Interest should be in danger, they would, as one man (obliged by the Laws of God and man) apply themselves to his succour and defence.*

9 Jan. 1643.

C H A P. XVII.

The Scots second Invasion

See the Supplication of the Noblemen, Barons, Burgessees, &c. exhibited to the Marquess of Hamilton (his Majesties Commissioner an. 1638. Wherein, by way of explication of their National Covenant, they acknowledg, that the quietness, and stability of their Religion and Kirk depends upon the safety of the King's Majesty as God's vice-gerent.

See the Supplication of the general Assembly at *Edinburgh* 12 Aug. 1639. Whereby it appeareth, that the whole Kingdom was sworn with their means and lives, to stand to the defence of their dread Sovereign, his person and authority, in every cause which may concern his Majesties Honour, with their friends and followers, in quiet manner, or in Arms, as they shall be required by his Majesty.

See Act 5. of the second Parliament of King Charles, concerning the ratification of the Covenant; by which, their universal Protestation, and promise, under a solemn Oath, and Hand-writing, upon fearful pains and execrations is ap-

And now, that I come to this their second Invasion: forasmuch as the main end of this Narrative is, historically to shew the growth and effects of *Presbytery* in *England*, which had its chief rise and production from *Scotland*; it will not be improper to take notice; that, though by their first

first Invasion in *an.* 1639, they had not only made way for the setting up that Discipline here: but before their departure laid a seeming sure foundation, for the firm and perfect establishment thereof: yet, such was the success that the King had against those fiery spirited men, that he was then become totally master of the field throughout the West, and many other parts of this Kingdom; divers of their strong-Holds being likewise gained; and consequently in a very hopeful way, to have reduced that perverse Generati-

on to an absolute obedience; with whom no fair invitation and condescension, on his part (though with all earnestness frequently sought) could prevail, to make them return to their due allegiance by kindness and love.

But it so fell out, that this their *second Invasion* (the first fruit of their *solemn League and Covenant*) with so numerous and powerful an Army, raised chiefly by the influence of their *Preachers* in that Realm; and brought in with the *Prayers* of the *Boutefeus* here; the Pulpits daily ringing with loud cries and groans, for *hastening the slow feet of their dear Brethren to their aid*, became fatal to his Majesty. For the Marquess of *Newcastle* who lay then in *Sunderland* with his Army, consisting of about 7000 men, which he had raised in the North, being thereupon constrain'd to make his retreat towards *York*, left all those parts to the rapine and spoil of the *Scots*.

The Scene being therefore, by this means thus unhappily chang'd; his Majesty who foresaw the Cloud approaching) having by *Proclamation* dated 22 Dec. called

parent; viz. to defend the King's person and authority, with their goods, bodies and lives, against all Enemies within the Realm, or without; as they desire God to be a merciful defender to them, in the day of their death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

See the Petition presented to his Majesty Jan. 1642, manifesting the promise of the whole Clergy, in their National Assembly, to keep the people under their charge, in obedience to his Majesty and to his Laws; confessing it a duty well-beseeming the Preachers of the Gospel.

See the Petition of the Nobility, Gentry, Burroughs, Ministers and Commons, to the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council of that Kingdom; wherein they acknowledged his Majesties zeal for maintaining the true Religion: and that to call in question the same, after so many reiterated professions and asseverations, could not be but an unchristian distrustfulness, and in them the height of disloyalty and ingratitude; confessing themselves bound in duty to God, by whose great name they had sworn to defend and maintain the person, greatness and authority of their dread Sovereign, as God's Vicegerent, to the utmost of their power, with their means and lives in every cause, which might concern his Honour; professing themselves fully satisfied and persuaded of his Majesties royal zeal and resolution; and that malice and detraction, could not prevail to make the least impression in their loyal hearts, of jealousy and distrust; or their intending any thing to the prejudice of that Brotherly and blessed conjunction of the two Nations: attesting God (the searcher of all hearts) of their dutiful intentions towards his Majesty their dread and native King, strictly bound thereto, by all the ties of Nature, Christianity, and Gratitude.

1643.

22 Jan.

all the Peers of this Realm, which had any sense of Honour, and likewise all those Members of the House of Commons, that upon the Principles of Loyalty and duty, had faithfully adhered to him in these his distresses, to attend him at *Oxford*, upon the xxiith of *January*; did there represent unto them, this their *second Invasion*; desiring their speedy advice and assistance, both what was to be said or done therein, as well in reference to *This*, as *That* Kingdom.

27 Jan.

Whereupon, those worthy persons so assembled, notwithstanding they saw, that many of his Majesties gracious offers of Treaty for peace, to the Lords and Commons then sitting at *Westminster*, had been rejected: and taking into consideration, that those Lords and Commons, had upon pain of death prohibited the address of any Letters or Message to them, otherwise than by their General (the Earl of *Essex*) they did, by a special Letter, bearing date the 27th of the same month of *January*, recommend unto him, their most earnest desire, that he would faithfully, and industriously cooperate with them, in a right sense, of the then past, present, and more threatening future calamities of this Kingdom; by obtaining that some persons might be appointed, on either part, and a place agreed on, to treat for such a peace, as might redeem it from desolation. Which Letter was signed by the Prince, the Duke of *York*; as also by forty three Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Vicounts and Barons of the House of Peers, and cxviii members of the House of Commons there present; many others, by reason of distance of place, sickness, and employments elsewhere in his Majesties service, and for want of timely notice of that Proclamation of Summons, not being then come thither.

But the effect which this their Letter produced, was; in the first place, to be cryed throughout the Streets of *London* in scorn, as *the Petition of the Prince and Duke of York for peace*: and a meer frivolous answer, or Paper, in form of a Letter, directed to the Earl of *Forth* (then General of the King's forces) wherein was inclosed a printed paper, called a *National Covenant of the Kingdoms of England, and Scotland*; and two other Papers; the one called a *Declaration** of both the Kingdoms, and the other, a *Declaration* of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In

Dated 30 Jan.

1643.

In that their General's Letter, it was pretended; that because there was no address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor acknowledgment of them, it could not be communicated to them; whereas it was notoriously known, that he did so far impart it, as that a Committee of theirs advised and fram'd the answer: Besides, it plainly appears, by the penning thereof, that they all concurr'd in the Resolution therein mention'd; whereby 'tis clear enough, that this was but an excuse, or shift, to avoid any Treaty. And what could that printed *Covenant*, and two *Declarations* inclosed, signifie; but to shew, that before they would admit of a Treaty, all the Lords and Commons, assembled at *Oxford*, must join in that *Covenant* with them, for the absolute extirpation of Church-government here (without, nay tho against the King's consent) submit the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of themselves, and all others, who, according to their allegiance, had assisted his Majesty, to the mercy of those members, then sitting at *Westminster*; as also to admit of, and justify that invasion of the *Scots*, according to the plain sense of their Declaration.

But, notwithstanding all this, the Lords and Commons at *Oxford*, continuing still solicitous for an happy peace; for avoiding delay or cavil about Names or Titles, or descants upon words, humbly besought his Majesty to send Messengers with Instructions to desire a Treaty for peace. Whereunto he readily assenting, two persons were by him nominated, and a Letter written to the Earl of *Essex*, for their safe conduct. Which Letter had in substance this Answer; *viz.* that if they would first agree, that those Lords and Commons sitting at *Westminster* were *the Parliament, and the King's only Council*, that those Gentlemen should have a safe conduct.

This being therefore taken into consideration, it was thought fit to desire his Majesty to write his royal Letters to the Earl of *Essex* himself; and therein to inclose a Letter, superscribed, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster*. Which his Majesty accordingly did; and thereby desired, *that a convenient number of fit persons, might be appointed and authorized, to meet with all convenient speed, at such a place as they should nominate, with an equal number of fit persons, appointed and authorized by him, to treat*

3 Martii.

1642.

of the ways and means for settling the present distractions of the Kingdom, and procuring a happy peace.

9 Martii.

In answer whereunto, they insisted, that themselves (thus sitting at Westminster) were the Parliament, convened, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and that those loyal persons (members of the Parliament) who were come to his Majesty at Oxford, according to his royal Proclamation, had deserted their Trust, and levied war against the Parliament: and in sum, did intimate, that what they should do herein, must be with the concurrent advice of the Commissioners for the Kingdom of Scotland, according to their late solemn *League and Covenant*; calling his Majesties earnest endeavours for Peace, but *Professions*; and their own feigned pretences, *most real intentions*; letting fall, by way of menace, that his Majesty could not be the least and last sufferer.

Hitherto, as a consequence of this *second Invasion by the Scots*, I have given a brief touch of his Majesties farther incessant endeavours, for obtaining a happy peace, with these violent spirited men, by an amicable Treaty. Which taking no effect by reason they then saw such a likelihood, through the aid and assistance of those their *dear Brethren*, to carry all, powerfully before them; I shall look back a little, and take notice, not only, how their heavy oppressions upon the people, by many farther grievous Impositions, were carried on: but how they proceeded in their advancing the *Scepter of Jesus Christ*, in this Realm (for so they called their *Presbyterian Discipline*.) Wherein I observe, that within six days, next after this their Invasion, the Members at Westminster passed an Ordinance* for regulating the *University of Cambridge*, by Edward Earl of Manchester, then their Chancellour (that is to say, for turning out all loyal persons, from their Headships, and Fellowships, in any of the Colleges there:) and for removing scandalous Ministers (*id est*, all orthodox men) throughout the several associated Counties of *Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntington and Lincoln*.

That the Welch, also might be the sooner brought under the yoke; they soon after made another Ordinance*; whereby they impower'd Sir *Thomas Middleton* Knight, to take Subscriptions for raising of Forces in the six Counties of *North-wales*; and give the *public faith* for such moneys as should be raised to that purpose.

C H A P.

* 22 Jan.
Scob. Coll.
p. 61.

* 20 Febr.
Scob. Coll.
ut supra.

Anno 1643.

CHAP. XVIII.

HAVING thus taken notice of the Transactions in their Parliament at **Westminster**, I come now (according to my designed method) to the Militarie-business of this year 1643. In which I find, that the King, having gained ground in the North and West, his farther success in sundry parts was not unfutable thereto: for Sir *Hugh Cholmley* of **Whitby**, in *Yorkshire*, who at first had been a most confiding man, thought it now time to declare (a) for the King. So likewise did Captain *Brown-Busbell*, Governour of **Scarborough** Castle in that County, who then delivered it up for his Majestie. And, within few days after, their great Northern Champion *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* was routed (b) by the Earls of **Newcastle** and **Cumberland** at **Bramham-mooze** in that County, which great defeat so startled the Members at **Westminster**, that they forthwith solicited the ayd of their Brethren the Scots. In the neck of this also Prince *Rupert*, upon a sharp encounter near **Bermicham** (a seditious and populous Town in *Warwickshire*) with a strong party of the Rebels, commanded by Colonel *Greaves*, worsted (c) them, with the loss of the Loyal *William* Earl of **Denbigh**, who there received his death's wound. Soon after that also, another party of them, commanded by *John*, son and heir to the famous Sir *John Hotham* (their trusty Governour of **Hull**) was routed near **Ancaster** in *Lincolnshire*: And **Litchfield-close**, which they had got after the unsuccessfull attempt thereof by the Lord *Brooke*, was without much adoe rendred to Prince *Rupert* by Lieutenant Colonel *Russell*.

a 26. March.

b 29. March.

c 3. April.

Subsequent to these I shall onely enumerate the rest in order of time;

James Earl of **Northampton** routed (d) another stout party of them, at **Hiddleton-Cheney** in **Northamptonshire**. And, about ten days following, Sir *Ralph Hopton* obtain'd a clear victory (*) over

d 6. May.

* 16. May.

Anno 1643. the **Debonshire** and **Cornish** Rebels at **Stratton** in **Cornwall**; the Earl of **Stanford**, and Major General **Chudleigh**, being Commanders in chief of them. In which Battle were taken seventeen hundred Prisoners, thirteen brass piece of Ordnance, seventy Barrels of powder, and store of other provisions; by reason whereof the greatest part of the West, except **Plymouth** and some other Port-Towns, was reduced to obedience; and in consideration of this signal service the said Sir **Ralph Hopton** soon after (*viz.* 4. Sept. 1643.) was advanced to the dignity of Lord **Hopton** of **Stratton** afore said.

18. June. The next month also ensued Prince **Ruperi's** Victory (*f*) over the Rebels at **Chalgrabe**-field in **Drfordshire**, Commanded by Colonell **John Hampden**, who there received his deaths wound; that being the very field wherein he first put in Execution the Parliaments Ordinance for the *Militia* of that County, as a president to the rest of **England**, and the Earl of **Newcastle**, taking (*g*) **Hoboley**-house in **Porckshire** soon after, defeated (*h*) the Lord **Fairfax** at **Adderton Heath** in that County.

22. June.
30. June. At the beginning of *July* likewise, a party of Horse and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel **Middleton**, coming to surprize Sir **Charles Lucas** in his Quarters, at **Padbury** near **Buckingham**, were by him routed (*i*): And the Earl of **Newcastle** valiantly assaulting **Bradford** in **Porckshire**, took (*k*) it by storm, Sir **Thomas Fairfax** (who was Governour there) fleeing thence by night; whereupon **Hallifax**, and **Denton**-house (Sir **Thomas Fairfax** his seat) were quitted by the Rebels.

1. July. **Burton** upon **Trent** also in **Staffordshire**, was taken by the Lord **Fermyn**, upon the Queens passage from **Burlington** in **Porckshire** towards **Drford**.
2. July. Near which time was the great fight (*l*) at **Landsdorton** in **Somersetshire**, where the Lord **Hopton** had the better of the Rebels, though the Valiant Sir **Bevill Grenevill** was there slain. The Lord **Wilmot** and Earl of **Carnarvon**, likewise, routed (*m*) Sir **William Waller** and Sr. **Arthur Hasebrigg** at **Roundwaydorton** in **Wiltshire**.

Prince

Prince *Rupert* also, having taken (n) **Burleigh-**
house in **Rutland**, marcht to **Bristol**, and after a short
 Siege of that City, had a surrender (o) thereof from
 Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the then Governour: In
 the next month likewise was **Dorchester** in **Dorset-**
shire rendred (p) to the Earl of **Carnarvon**; and
 the Isle of **Portland** reduced (q) to His Majesties obe-
 dience.

Hereupon **Weymouth**, and **Belcombe** in *com.*
Dorset submitted.

These great successes encouraged the King to come
 (r) before the City of **Gloucester** (the most considerable
 Garrison in all that part of the Realm) which so start-
 led the Earls of **Bedford** and **Holland**, and the Lord
Paget, that they came (†) in to the King; but not long
 after, being less apprehensive of danger, fell off again
 to their own party. Soon after this, **Weberley** in
Worshshire was taken (t) by the Earl of **Newcastle**;
Biddiford, **Appleford**, and **Barnstaple** in *com.* *De-*
von. were also rendred (u). The City of **Exeter** was
 likewise taken (x) by Prince *Maurice*; and Sir *William*
Waller (one of their active Generals) routed (y) at
Winchester.

Near **Auburne** also in **Wiltshire** a strong party
 of them was worsted by (z) Prince *Rupert*: But
 soon after this, the Earl of **Essex**, with his whole Ar-
 my (a) met his Majesty near **Newbery** in **Berkshire**;
 where, after much slaughter, neither could boast of
 the victory, though the Earls of **Carnarvon**, and
Sunderland, with *Lucius* Viscount **Falkland**
 (then one of the Kings principal Secretaries of State)
 there lost their lives: the noise whereof did not a little
 avail the Rebels, it giving them much reputation with
 all their party.

In *October* (the next month) **Dertmouth** in *De-*
von-shire was rendred (b) to Prince *Maurice*: and
 shortly after **Hawarden-Castle** in *Flint-shire* yielded
 (c) to the King's obedience. **Arundell-Castle** also
 in **Sussex** was rendred (d) to the Lord *Hopton*;
Beeston-castle in *Cheshire* taken (*). Likewise **Lap-**
ley-house (f) in *Stafford-shire*; **Grafton-house** (g)

Anno 1643.

n 24. July.

o 26. July.

p 2. Aug.

q 5. Aug.

r 10. Aug.

† 20. Aug.

t 28. Aug.

v 1.& 3. Sept.

x 4. Sept.

y 6. Sept.

z 17. Sept.

a 20. Sept.

b 6. Oct.

c 4. Decem.

d 9. Decem.

* 12. Decem.

f 21. Decem.

g 25. Decem.

Anno. 1643. in *Northampton-shire*: and *Crew-house* (*b*) in *Che-*
shire.

Towards the end of *January* also, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* and *Colonel Milton* were routed (*i*) by *Prince Rupert* at *Drayton* in *Shropshire*: *Hopton* (*k*) *Castle* in *Shropshire*, and *Wardour* (*l*) *Castle* in *Wiltshire* were likewise taken. And upon the relief (*m*) of *Newark* in *Nottinghamshire*, besieg'd by *Sir John Meldrum* a *Scot* with seven thousand men, *Gaynesborough*, *Lincolne*, and *Sleaford* (all in *Lincolnshire*) were quitted (*n*) by the *Rebels*: And (*o*) *Sturton-castle* in *Staffordshire* about this time taken.

¶ These being the most remarkable *Actions* on the *King's* part for this year 1643. I come now to observe what success the *Rebels*, who were not idle, had the same year.

In April therefore, the *Earl of Essex* came (*p*) before *Reading* in *Berkshire*, and soon obtain'd it by surrender (*q*), *Colonel Feilding* being then *Governour* thereof.

Siege being also laid to *Wardour-castle* in *Wiltshire*, it was rendred (*r*). So likewise was *Donmouth* in *Donmouth-shire*: And at *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, His *Majesties* forces encountring the *Rebels*, were worsted (*†*). Soon after which *Taunton* and *Bridgewater* (both in *Somersetshire*) were also delivered (*t*) up to them.

But, notwithstanding all this, they were not without their fears; and therefore dispatcht (*v*) the *Lord Grey* of *Warke*, together with *Mr. Henry Darley* and *Sir William Armine* (both trusty *Members* of their *House of Commons*) by special order, into *Scotland*, earnestly to sollicite the dear *Brethren* of that *Realm* to their assistance.

Shortly after this, they took (*x*) *Gaynesborough* in *Lincolnshire*; and attempted (*y*) *Basing-house* in *Hantsire* without effect. But in *September* the *Earl of Essex*, with more help from the zealous *Londoners*, approaching (*z*) *Gloucester* with a great strength, caused the *King* to raise the *siege* which he had laid to that rebellious place. In the same month also was

Lynne

Lynne in *Norfolk* yielded (a) to the Earl of **Manchester**; and shortly after, the City of **Lincoln** taken (b) by him forcibly. **Arundel**-castle in *Suffex* likewise, in *January* following yielded (c) to Sir **William Waller**. Whereupon, being recruited with more forces, he was constituted Major General of **Bent, Surrey, Suffex, and Hantshire**: But that which proved to be *instar omnium* was that grand Invasion of the Scots, which on the 22d. of *January* crossed (d) the River **Tyne** with their numerous Army, to the assistance of these Rebels: (as hath been already observed:) For at that time all the North of **England**, beyond **Trent**, excepting **Hull** in *Yorkshire*, and some few inconsiderable places, being by the Marquess of **Newcastle** (for so he had been lately made) reduced to the King's obedience; as also the West by Prince **Rupert**, and Prince **Maurice** (His Majesties Nephews) excepting **Poole** and **Lime** in *Dorsetshire*, and **Plymouth** in *Devonshire*; the Members sitting at **Westminster** became so startled, that some of the leading-men prepared for quitting the Realm.

But this great ayd from **Scotland** much revived their drooping Spirits: for winter being over, they fram'd an Ordinance (*), that Sir **William Brereton** in *Cheshire* should have authority to take Subscriptions for raising more forces in that County: and soon after imposed (f) a new *Excise* upon *Allom, Coperas, Monmouth-caps, Hats* of all sorts; *Hops, Saffron, Starch*; all manner of *Silks* and *Stuffs*; and on several other commodities made or growing in **England**, not formerly charged.

And, having by their many and great grievous Taxes, thus largely provided for welcoming in the Scots; those their dear Brethren advanced Southwards, and with the Earl of **Manchester** laid siege to the City of **York**. The loss of all the North, being by this means thus in great peril; and Prince **Rupert** coming with the chief of all His Majesties forces to the relief thereof; he was encountred (g) with the greatest strength that the English Rebels then had, the joynt forces under the command of **Ferdinando Lord Fairfax** and the

Anno 1643.

a. 16. Septem.

b. 20. Octob.

c. 3. Jan.

d. 22. Jan.
The Scots
Invasion.

Anno 1644.

* 26. March.
Scab. coll. p.

65.

f. 8. July.
Ibid. p. 73.g. 2. July.
The Battle
at *Marston*
moore.

Anno 1644.

Earl of **Manchester**, with the whole Scottish Army commanded by *Lesley*, which drew off from their siege of **Pork**: whereupon, in a bloody Battle, fought at **Marston-mooze** (about four miles from that City) though at first he utterly routed the Scots and the Earl of **Manchester**, yet following the chase too far, presuming the day his own; through the onely conduct of *Cromwell* then Lieutenant General to **Manchester**, with a fresh body of Horse, the rest of the royal Army, after a valiant and sharp dispute, being much overpowered, was totally shattered and vanquisht: So that he was constrain'd to quit the field, and march Southwards with what Horse he had left; exposing **Pork**, hopeless of relief, to the power of the Enemy: which, by reason thereof was (*h*) delivered up to *Cromwell* within few days after.

^h 13. July.

But of this fatal Action the King (then far remote) knowing nothing at present, (His royal Heart incessantly minding the preservation of his people from further spoil by the wars,) sent (*i*) to the Members at **Westminster**, desiring, as formerly, that they would appoint such and so many persons as they should think fit, sufficiently authorized by them, to attend him upon safe-conduct given; and there to conclude how all things in question might be fully settled.

ⁱ 4. July.
The King's
Message from
Evesham.

Which gracious Message, though not then regarded (so much were they elated with that their success at **Marston-mooze**;) yet, after that grand defeat of their old General (the Earl of *Effex*) in **Cornwal**, which hapned (*k*) on the first of *September* next following; His Majesty then reminding (*l*) them of that his Message from **Evesham**; they did vouchsafe, within two months following, to send (*m*) him certain *propositions*; but such as did still apparently manifest their confidence to carry on the work by power, through the ayd of the Scots, with whom they had entered into so firm a combination for assistance by their solemn *League and Covenant*: For, by these *propositions* (amongst others) they had the boldness to make these following Demands, *viz.* that the King should swear

^k 1. Septemb.^l 5. Septemb.
from *Tave-*
stoke.^m 23. Nov.

to sign that Instrument, called *the solemn League and Covenant*; adding, according to the example of His Royal Father of happy memory (for so they had the face to say; though Mr. Nye had exprest, *that it was such an Oath, as for matter, persons, and other circumstances, was never in any age before*) And, not onely so; but that an Act of Parliament might be passed, for to injoyne the taking of it, by all His Majesties Subjects within His three Kingdomes. Next, that a Bill should be passed, for the utter abolishing of *Episcopacy* (without which Government it is well known, that no National Church ever was, since the Apostles times:) And, that their Ordinance, for the calling and sitting of their *Assembly of Divines*, should be confirm'd by Act of Parliament. Also, that an Act should be passed for confirming their Treaty, for bringing in the Scots-Army into **England**; and for establishing that their disloyal *Declaration*, made by themselves and the Scots, bearing date 30. Jan. 1643. whereby Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* (His Majesties Nephews) *James* Earl of *Derby*, *William* Marquess of *Newcastle*, *John* Earl of *Bristol*, with divers other of his Nobility; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Ely* (then their prisoners) with a multitude of other worthy persons, both of this Kingdome, and of **Scotland**, were excepted as to life, and their estates doom'd to pay publick Debts.

Likewise, that a great number more (whose names are there exprest) together with all those Loyal Members of Parliament, which attended his Majesty at **Oxford**, should be removed from His Majesties Councils, and never to come within the Verge of the Court, but by their permission.

Then, that all Judges, Serjeants, Councillors, Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates and Proctors, in the Law-common, or Civil, who had adhered to the King, should be made incapable of any practice, publick or private: and all Clergy-men whatsoever, who had also adhered to the King, to be incapable of any preferment or imployment in the Church or Commonwealth.

Moreover,

Anno 1644.

Moreover, that the Forces by Sea and Land, for the Kingdomes of **England** and **Scotland** should be settled by Act of Parliament in Commissioners nominated by both their Houses of Parliament: and, that the education and marriage of the King's children; as also the making Peace or War with any foreign Princes, should be with the advice and consent of Parliament.

Furthermore; that, by Act of Parliament the Deputy or chief Governour of **Ireland**, be nominated by both Houses of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament by Commissioners, to continue during the pleasure of both Houses. And that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Commissioners of the great Seal or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, for the Kingdomes of **England** and **Ireland**, should be nominated by both Houses of Parliament, to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; and in the Intervals of Parliament by the before-mention'd Commissioners. The like for the Kingdome of **Scotland**; adding the Justice-general, and in such manner, as the Estates in Parliament there, should think fit.

Divers other *Propositions* also they then sent, no less unreasonable than these, which, for brevities sake, I omit. So that (in short) the summe of all was no less than that His Majesty should condescend to the utter destruction and overthrow of the Religion by Law established in the Church of **England**, which he had sworn to maintain; and whereunto all the reverend Clergy of the Realm had likewise subscribed; sacrifice the Lives and Estates of divers of his most faithful subjects to the avarice and ambition of these men; subject all those loyal persons learned in the Laws Common, and Civil to their malice; Give up the power of the Sword, totally, into the hands of his greatest Enemies; therewith, not onely to oppress his good subjects at home; but (according to their own pleasure) to molest and annoy his Friends and Allies abroad; and

and prostitute the Education of his dear Children with their disposal in Marriage to the vile affections and humours of this hypocritical Generation.

¶ That their confidence, likewise, in carrying all before them, with power and force, through the aid of the Scots, might the more appear; I shall now represent unto you *Presbytery Triumphant*, for a while: For within six days after they had sent these insolent propositions to the King, they voted (*f*) down the reverend *Liturgy* by Law establish'd in the Church of **England**. And, for a farther encouragement to those their dear brethren, on whose assistance they did so much relie, which emboldened them to make those high demands, they passed an Ordinance (*g*) for raising the Sum of sixty six thousand six hundred sixty six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, for their supply by way of Loane, from such persons, as should not voluntarily or proportionably lend, according to their estates. Which Loane was to be paid out of the Sequestrations of Delinquents.

Anno 1644.

f 26. Nov.

g 2. Decem.
Scob. coll. p.
75.

But to make the more specious ostentation to the world, that all their Actions wholly tended to the Glory of God, the publick good and nothing to their own private interests; they farther voted, (*h*) that no member of either House, should during that war, enjoy or execute any office or command, military or civil, which had been granted or conferred on them by either House; or by any Authority, derived from either House; and that an Ordinance should be drawn up accordingly.

h 9. Decem.
The self-de-
nying Ordinance.

Next they passed an Ordinance for the utter abolishing the Pious *Liturgy* (commonly called *the Book of Common Prayer*) compiled by divers reverend Divines, (of which some died Martyrs;) and for the establishing a *Directory* (as they call'd it) for the worship of God, in the room thereof: whereby every conceited person was left at liberty, unto his own frothy fancy, in framing certain Prayers whereunto the Congregation were to say Amen: a thing so absurd and destructive to the true and real service of God, as that there needs no observations upon it. And

The Book of
Common
Prayer Abolishd.The Directory
Establishd.

Ann 1644.

ⁱ 4. Jan.

the day following, to glorify their doings the more, they adorn'd (*i*) their House of Commons, with that whole suit of Hangings, which were placed in the Quire of the Collegiate Church at **Westminster**, and some other taken out of the King's wardrobe.

And, having proceeded against the Arch-Bishop of **Canterbury** (whose memory, as a stout Champion for the Church of **England**, against her fierce assayers, the Romanists on the one side, and Schismatics on the other; and for his many other great and pious works, much befitting a person of that place, will be precious to succeeding ages) by arraigning him before themselves, upon articles of high Treason (as they call'd them) wherein they charg'd him with labouring to overthrow the Fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdome; subverting the Religion establish'd, to set up Papistry and Superstition; they did, by an Ordinance (pass'd the very same day with that for abolishing the Book of *Common Prayer*) condemn him to suffer death as a Traytor; for the quicker dispatch whereof, they brought down the Lords to sit with the Commons; and afterwards beheaded (*k*) him on Tower-hill.

^k 10. Jan.

Arch-Bp. of
Canterb. be-
headed.

After which they admitted of a Treaty with certain Commissioners nominated by the King, upon those *Propositions*, so sent by them; as hath been observed. Which Treaty being by them limited to twenty days, began at **Uxbridge** on Thursday the 30th. of *January*.

Treaty at
Uxbridge.

To take notice here, of the particular passages in this treaty, considering that they are so exactly set forth in print, (*l*) will not be needfull. The truth is; that though these Grandees at **Westminster**, did then make shew to incline unto a happy composure of all things, by that amicable expedient (to the end, that by this plausible pretence, they might the more captivate the people) they really intended nothing less; as may appear, not onely by those unjust and insolent demands, whereupon they did so stiffly insist; which amounted to the utter subversion of the Religion by Law establish't; getting the power of the sword into their own hands; and carrying on the war in **Ire-**
land,

^l Impr. Oxon.
1645.

land, according to their depraved wills and pleasures: Anno 1644.
 but by that seditious and impudent Sermon (*m*), m Ibid. p. 31.
 preach'd in **Urbidge** Church, upon the first day of
 that Treaty (it being the Market-day there) by Mr.
Christopher Love (after executed by themselves on
 Tower-Hill) who, besides many passages therein, scan-
 dalous to the King's person, and derogatory to his
 Honour, stirring up the People against the Treaty,
 and sharply incensing them against his Majesties Com-
 missioners, said; that *they came with Hearts full of bloud,*
and that there was as great a distance betwixt that Treaty
and peace, as betwixt Heaven and Hell. For which ma-
 licious expression, though complaint was made, and
 Justice demanded, no redress could be had. Besides,
 when the King's Commissioners desired (*n*) to treat n Ibid. p. 144
 with them concerning his Majesties speedy return to & 145.
Westminster, they utterly refused so to do, though
 they had ever given it out to the world, that the sole
 reason for raising their Armies was to bring the King
 to his Parliament.

CHAP. XIX.



S to the military passages of this year, the
 chief on the Kings part were these. **Long-**
ford=house in *Com. Salop.* was rendred (*o*) o 3. Apr.
 by the Rebels to Prince *Rupert*. As also
Longe-castie (*p*) in the same County. Likewise p 6. Apr.
Stapport (*q*) in *Cheshire.* q 25. May

Lathom=house in *Lancashire*, being besieged by
 Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was relieved (*r*) by Prince *Rupert*: r 27. May
 whereupon **Leberpoole** and **Bolton** (both in that
 County) were soon taken (*t*) by him. t 28. May

Bozstall=house in *Oxfordshire* taken (*t*) by Colo-
 nell *Gage.* t 12 June.

Colonell *Shuttleworth* defeated (*u*) at *Blackburn* in
Lancashire by Prince *Rupert.* u 20. June

Anno 1644.

* 30. June.

Sir *William Waller* with his forces routed (x) at **Cro-predy**-bridge in *Oxfordshire*, the Earls of **Northampton**, and **Cleveland** being both in that action: And *York*, after nine weeks siege by the Scots, the Lord *Fairfax* and Earl of **Manchester** assisting them, reliev'd (y) by Prince *Rupert*.

y 3. July.

z 15. August.

* 1. Septem.

In the next month **Lestithiel** in *Cornewall* being then taken (z) by the King, the Earl of *Essex* forsook his Foot, and (*) fled in a Cock-boat from **Foy** to **Plymouth** with the Lord *Roberts*; the foot, then under the command of Major general *Skippon*, delivering up their Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, and engaging themselves thenceforth never to bear Arms against the King. **Wasing-house** also, being again besieged by the Rebels, was reliev'd (a) by Colonel *Gage*.

a 14. Sept.

b 25. Octob.

c 7. Novem.

d 17. Nov.

The Earl of *Northampton* likewise rais'd (b) the siege of **Banbury**-Castle, which had continued from the 19th. of *July*. And the next month following, the King rais'd (c) the siege of **Donington**-Castle in *Berkshire*: as also that (d) of **Wasing**.

* 23 Febr.

f 1. March.

But as to further success on the King's part, within the compass of this year 1644. I do not find any thing of note, saving the defeat (*) given to Colonel *Rosfeter* near **Melton**-**Moubray** in *Leicestershire*, by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in his passage from **Oxford** towards **Pontfract**: And his relief (f) of **Pontfract**-Castle, then besieged by the Lord *Fairfax*.

e 29. March.

¶ I now come to the Actions on the Rebels part in this year 1644. wherein they had the better of the day: viz. in the Fight (g) at **Branden**-**Heath**, near **Aylesford** in *Hantsire*, where Sir *William Waller* worsted the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *John Stuart* being there mortally wounded.

h 2. July.

In the Battle (h) at **Marston**-**moore**, in *Yorkshire*, the victory was chiefly gain'd by the valour and skilfull conduct of *Cromwel* Lieutenant general to the Earl of **Manchester** (as hath been already observed) with the Earl of **Manchester**'s Horse, in the left Wing, drawn out of the Eastern association: shortly after which the

i 23. July.

City of *York* was delivered (i) up to him on honorable

rable terms by Sir *Thomas Glemham* then Governour there: And in *October Newcastle*, after a long siege of many months, given (k) up to the Scots.

Anno 1644.

k 19. Octob.

In which month happened also the second Battel (l) at *Newbery* in *Berkshire*; where great slaughter was on both sides. In which it was observed, that none of the Rebels fought more fiercely, than those, who at the delivering up their Arms in *Cornwal* (as hath been already mentioned) did then engage never more to fight against the King.

l 27. Octob.

The second Battel of Newbery.

Upon the ill success of this Battel (for so the members at *Westminster* esteem'd it) the Parliament party having double in number to the King) it was that the Earl of *Effex*, their General became suspected of carelesness or discontent: so that much debate happened amongst them concerning that point: The *Independent* party therefore, having a design to be rid of him, to make the more specious ostentation; that all their Actions wholly tended to the Glory of God, and the publick good, and nothing to their private Interest (being then more predominant than the *Presbyterian*) prevailed in making a Vote; * that no Member of either House, should during that war, enjoy or execute any office, or command, Military, or Civil, which had been granted or conferred on them by either House, or by any authority derived from either House, and that an Ordinance should be drawn up accordingly.

* 9. Decemb. The self-denying Ordinance.

By which device that party did not only lay aside this their great General, but outed many eminent *Presbyterians* from divers beneficiall offices, both in the Treasury, Garisons, and other considerable employments placing in their stead those of their own party. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was constituted (m) General of all their forces, and a new modelling of the Army voted, (n) but with no small difficulty, the *Presbyterians* much opposing it; so that the *Independents* were necessitated to make use of their old trick in getting petitions out of severall Counties, ere their Ordinance to that purpose could pass.

m n 31. Dec.

In pursuance of which vote, his Commission (but the clause in the solemn League and Covenant for

preservation of his Majesties person omitted therein) Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with great formality received, Col. *Oliver Cromwell*, though a member of the House of Commons, being then made his Lieutenant general, with whom they did specially dispense in that point of *Self-denial*. Which being accomplish'd, and the whole party not a little elated by this second Invasion of the Scots to their aid, they began to cry (o) aloud for Justice upon delinquents: whereupon Sir *Alexander Carew*, one of the Knights of the Shire for **Coꝛnwall**, tasted sharply thereof. For this Sir *Alexander* having been a most confiding man, and in that respect constituted Governour of **Plymouth**-fort, at length discerning the greatest part of the West reduced to his Majesties obedience, began rationally to consult his own safety, and to make his peace with the King, by the delivering up of that strong hold: but his intention therein being discovered before the business could be fully effected, he was condemn'd to death by a Council of War held at **Guildhall** in **London**, and on the twenty third of *December* beheaded (p) on Tower Hill, with the very same Ax, by which the noble Earl of *Strafford* lost his life. Which notable accident is not fit to pass without a special remark: for most certain it is, that upon voting the Bill in the House of Commons for putting that great man to death, the most Loyal Sir *Bevill Greneville* (the other Knight for **Coꝛnwall**) sitting by Sir *Alexander*, and much abhorring that unjust procedure against a person, whose life the known Laws of the Land could not touch, express'd himself thus to Sir *Alexander*; *Pray Sir let it never be said, that any Member of our County should have a hand in this fatal business; and therefore praye give your vote against the Bill.*

o *Heath's Chron.* p. 68.

p *Ibid.* 23. Decemb.

q *Ibid.* p. 18.

To whom Sir *Alexander* instantly replied; *If I were sure to be the next man that should suffer upon the same Scaffold, with the same Ax, I would give my consent to the passing of it.* How exactly this was verified is sufficiently known.

Nor is it less worthy of note, that about this time also they reckoned with their trusty Governour of **Hull**,

Hull, Sir *John Hothum*, and likewise with *John* his eldest son, who had been Prisoners in the Tower of **London** from the month of *July* 1643. (though formerly much magnified for refusing to give the King entrance there, as hath been already observed *) whose great crimes were, that when they discern'd the Earl of **Newcastle** powerfull in the North; the Queen also safe landed at **Burlinton**, with Arms and Ammunition, and the strength of the Rebels not a little declining in all parts; and therefore deeming it best to make their peace with the King in time, they privately treated with the Earl of **Newcastle**, or his Agents for the delivery up of that Garison, but so unwarily as that their design was discovered: whereupon they had sentence of death passed upon them on the seventh of *December*, by the Earl of **Manchester** and others, then sitting at **Guild-Hall** in **London**; which was accordingly executed (r) on his son, upon the first of *January* next ensuing, and on himself the morrow following: And, not many days after (being thus flesht with blood) they brought the Arch-Bishop of **Canterbury** to the same block †, as hath been already observed.

Anno 1644.

* cap. 8.

r 1. Jan.

See the King's observation thereon in his *Eikon Basilike* cap. † 10. Jan.

Anno 1645.

Soon after which (the Tide running swiftly on their side) **Shrewsbury** was surprized by their forces: nothing of moment thenceforth being acted by the Royallists other than a defeat (a) which Colonel *Massey* received by Prince *Rupert* near **Ledbury** in **Herefordshire**, and the taking (b) of **Leicester** by the King, which proved fatal to him, as we shall see anon, all going thenceforth to wrack on his Majesties part.

a 22. April.

b 31. May.

For, at the very entrance of this year **Donington**-castle was yielded (c) up to them. - Soon after which *Cromwel* having defeated some of the King's forces near **Ship-bridg** in **Oxfordshire**, and upon summons got (d) **Blechington house**; within few weeks after General *Fairfax* came (*) with his whole Army before **Oxford**, whereupon **Godstow-house** was quitted (f) by the Royallists, **Evesham** in **Worcestershire** taken (g); and **Gaunt-house** (in **Oxfordshire**) yielded (h) up.

c 25. March.

d 24. April.

* 22. May.

f 23. May.

g 26. May.

All h 1. June.

Anno 1645.

All this while *Fairfax* continuing before **Oxford** : but hearing that the King was somewhat considerable after the taking of **Leicester**, he raised his siege and march'd towards him. Both Armies therefore meeting near **Nabesby** in **Northampton-shire**, upon their first encounter (*i*) the King had the better : but Prince *Rupert*, having routed the one Wing of the Rebels Troops, follow'd the Chase so far, that the Foot being left open to the other, were by the conduct of *Cromwell* put into a total confusion : by which means *Fairfax* became master of the Field, and regained (*k*) **Leicester** within four days.

i 14. June.

k 18. June.

Whereupon he marched to the Relief of **Taunton** (in **Somersetshire**, then besieg'd by General *Goring*) taking (*l*) **Highworth** in **Wiltshire** in his passage.

l 27. June.

m 28. June.

To accompany these sad misfortunes **Carlisle** in **Cumberland** (that great and strong Garison) was delivered (*m*) up to the Scots, after two and forty weeks siege : And General *Goring* having Intelligence of *Fairfax* his advance towards **Taunton**, drew off, and was worsted by him near **Langport** in **Somersetshire**.

After which nothing but loss and ruin every day ensued, as will appear by these following instances, which I have thought fit here briefly to enumerate;

n 21. July.

Pontfract castle delivered (*n*) to General *Poyntz*, after three months siege; that Garison thence marching to **Retmark**.

o 23. July.

Bridgwater taken (*o*) by General *Fairfax*, after his Victory at **Langport**.

p 25. July.

Scarborough likewise, after a long siege by Sir *Matthew Boynton*, delivered (*p*) up to him by *Sr. Hugh Cholmley*, upon honourable conditions.

q 31. July.

The City of **Bath** also, within few days following, was likewise rendred (*q*).

r 15. August.

Soon after this, the Scottish Army marching Southwards (making miserable spoil in their passage) took **Canon-Frome** a Garison of the King's in **Herefordshire** and then (*r*) fate down before **Hereford**. Where having lost many of their men, they drew off, on the second of **September**, and returned Northwards.

Sherborne

Sherborne=castle also (which had been stoutly defended by Sir *Leves Dize*) was taken (†) by storm; Anno 1644.
† 17. Aug.
Punney=castle (in *Somersetshire*) thereupon yielding to Colonel *Rainsborough*.

Whithin few days ensuing, General *Fairfax* therefore came before (†) **Bristol**; and on the tenth of † 21. Aug. *September* had it delivered up to him.

In the next month the King's forces at **Rowton-beath** in *Cheshire* received a great defeat (u), wherein † 22. Sept. the Lord *Bernard Stuart* lost his life. Hereupon the Lord *Digby*, with the remainder of the Horse was sent towards **Scotland**, there to joyn with the Noble Marquess of **Montrosse**.

The Castle of **Devises** was soon after taken (x) x 26. Sept. by *Cromwell*: The Castles likewise of **Raby** in the Bishoprick; **Skipton** and **Sandall** in *Yorkshire*, were then also delivered (y) up. y 1. Oct.

Basing=house taken (z) by Sir *Hardres Waller*, and Colonel *Mountagu*, and in it the Marquess of **Winchester**, it being his chief seat. **Tiverton** in *Devonshire* taken by *Fairfax*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* being then Governour there. z 14. Oct.

Hereupon, though it was winter time, the Rebels laid siege to the City of **Exeter** at a distance (that being the chiefest place of strength in all the West) About this time also **Fairley**=castle in *Wiltshire*, and **Lacock**=house were given up. Likewise **Chepstow** castle in *Honmouthshire*; and **Berkley**=castle in *Glocestershire*: The Lord *Digby* also marching toward **Scotland** (to joyn with *Montrosse*) was defeated (a) at **Sherborne** in *Wiltshire* by Colonel a 15. Octob. *Copley*, and Colonel *Lilburne*; whereupon he was constrain'd to flee into the Isle of **Man**, and thence into **Ireland**.

Soon after this **Bolton** castle (in *Wiltshire*) yielded (b). Likewise **Beeston** (c) castle in *Cheshire*. b 5. Nov.

Shelford=house also in *Nottinghamshire* was taken by storm, Colonel *Stanhope* (son to the Earl of **Chesterfield**) being Governour of it, and there slain. c 16. Nov.

Lathom=house in *Lancashire*, which had stoutly held out two years siege by the magnanimous Countess of **Derby**

Anno 1644.

d 4. Decem.

* 17. Decem.

Derby was then likewise rendred (*d*). The City of **Hereford** was also surprized (*) by Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Morgan*, by a Stratagem of a counterfeit Constable coming with Countrymen to break the Ice in the Trenches, having an Ambuscado near at hand.

f 17. Jan.

Wormleighton-house in **Warwickshire** burnt (*f*).

g 19. Jan.

Dartmouth storm'd and taken (*g*) by General *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Pallord* being then Governour there.

h 2. Feb.

Welboir castle yielded (*h*) to Generall *Poyntz*, Sir *Gervase Lucas* the Governour and his Officers being conveigh'd to **Litchfield**.

i 3. Feb.

The City of **Chester**, which had endured a long siege, and thrice attempted to be reliev'd, was by the Lord *Byron* the then Governour yielded (*i*) upon Articles to Sir *William Brereton*, who commanded in chief, as Major general in those parts.

Whence he went to **Litchfield**=close, which also soon after rendred upon the like Articles.

k 16. Feb.

In the same month of *February*, **Exrington** in **Devonshire** was taken (*k*) by storm; **Lanceston** (*l*), **Saltash** (*m*), and **Liskard** (*n*) (all in **Cornwall**) quitted. Likewise (*o*) **Hount-Edgcombe**, and **Foy**. Whereupon the Prince, with the Lord *Culpeper* and other persons of quality set sayle to the Isles of **Scilly**.

l 25. Feb.

m 28. Feb.

n 29. Feb.

o 3. March.

p 14. March.

The Lord *Hopton* therefore discerning no hope of aid, accepted of fair conditions, and disbanded (*p*) his Army; St. **Havos**-castle, being (as a conclusion) given up thereupon. Whence with the Lord *Wentworth* he hasted into **Scilly**.

q 21. March.

Hereupon Sir *Jacob Astley* (created Lord *Astley* about two years before) with whom, being an old and expert souldier, the remaining part of the King's foot forces were left, marching to joyn with the Horse about **Farringdon** in **Berkshire**; being set (*q*) upon near **Stow on the wouds** in **Gloucestershire**, by *Raynsborough*, *Fleetwood*, and Sir *William Brereton* was so much overpowered by their conjunct strength; that he with all his men, after a sharp dispute and some loss were made Prisoners; this being the last encounter that the Royallists were able to make with those in-

solent

solent Rebels. Soon after which the Garison of *Asby de la Zouch* in *Leicester-shire* was delivered up by the valiant Lord *Loughborough*; which closed up the military Actions for this present year.

Anno 1644.

CHAP. XX.



Shall now return to the Grandees at *Westminster*, and take notice of the effects, which these their great successes in the Camp, did this year produce in their Counsels, and further practices: In the observation whereof, I find that the *Presbyterian* party thereupon grew so highly elated, that nothing less was by them Resolved on, than *the setting Jesus Christ on his Throne* (as their phrase was) that is to say to make an absolute establishment of their *Church Discipline*. As a preparatory whereto, they passed another Ordinance (p) for the publick use of their *Directory*, with a Penalty upon such as should use the *Common Prayer*; and forty shillings forfeiture upon every one each time officiating, that did not use that *Directory*: as also that all the *Common-Prayer-Books* should be carried in, to the Committees of each County, by them to be disposed of as the Parliament should direct.

Anno 1645.

p 23. Aug.
Scob. Col. p.
97.

The King therefore discerning the increase of his peoples calamities, again endeavoured to remedy them by renewing his desires of Peace: and to that end, under his own Royal Hand wrote a Letter (q) to the Speaker of their House of Peers, desiring a safe-conduct, for the Duke of *Richmond*, and some others, whom he purposed to send with *Propositions* to the Members at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners there, from the Parliament of *Scotland*, for the foundation of a happy and well grounded Peace.

Message
from the
King for
peace.

15. Decem.

Whereunto obtaining no Answer, he added a second(r); Importuning them earnestly to hearken to that his desire. And having no Answer to that neither, he

15. Decem.

Anno 1645.

† 26. Decem.

sent a *third* (†); whereby he offered, upon engagement for his freedome and safety, in going and returning, to come himself to **London**, or **Westminster**, for the space of forty days, and there to treat personally with them; offering to commit the *Militia* of this Realm, unto certain persons, to be nominated by himself and them, equally, for such a time, and with such powers and limitations, as were delivered in by a paper, upon the Treaty at **Urbridg**.

After which *third Message*, he received their Answer to his second; which was the refusal of a safe-conduct to the Duke and those other, who were design'd to go; saying that they then had certain *Propositions* and *Bills* under consideration, which they purposed to tender unto his Majestic, for the settling of a safe and well grounded peace (as they call'd it) which after agreement upon them by the Scotch-Commissioners, they resolv'd to present unto him.

The King not satisfied with this, sent a *fourth Message* (†); whereby he earnestly pressed their embracing his offer for a *personal Treaty* with them at **Westminster**. And after expectance of an Answer thereto, for the space of full twenty days; and hearing nothing he sent them a *fifth Message* (u) to the same purpose enlarging his offers, for his People's quiet, in sundry particulars. But whilst this message was upon the way towards them, came an answer to his fourth, absolutely negative as to his admittance for coming to them; still telling him of the *Propositions* and *Bills*, which they were preparing to send.

Which Answer being wholly unsatisfactory, and apparently manifesting their avernsness to peace; he sent a *sixth* (x) *Message* to them, incessantly importuning their speedy Answer to his former; and within few days after a *seventh* (y), wherein he expressed somewhat in confutation of those frivolous Arguments, which they had used against his *Personal Treaty* with them; continuing his desires thereof.

Certain it is, that as they grew in strength and power, so their Insolence, which thus prompted them to decline all good expedients for accommodation, increased

increas'd more and more. Nevertheless, his Majestie not totally despairing, but that by farther condescensions, he might move this hard-hearted Generation, sent unto them his *eighth Message* (2) whereby acquitting himself from having any hand in some passages of the Lord *Herbert of Ragland* (then called Earl of *Glamorgan*) in **Ireland**; which he well knew that they would be apt enough to scandalize him with; he offer'd; that, in case they would admit him to come to **London**, in order to a personal Treaty with them, he would leave the management of the War in **Ireland**, wholly to themselves: as also the nomination of the Persons to be entrusted with the *Militia*, with such power and limitations, as were express'd in the Paper delivered by his Commissioners in the Treaty at **Arbridge**, for the Term of seven years, as had been by them desired. Likewise the nomination of the Lord Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges. And, for Religion, to give liberty, that all those, who were unwilling to communicate with the Church of **England** in the Service already establish'd by Act of Parliament, should not be urg'd thereto: provided, that all other Protestants, behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, in and towards the Civil Government, should have the free exercise of theirs: tendring also unto them a general Act of Pardon and oblivion.

Which gracious Message, so full of condescension, produced from them, nothing in effect, but Scorn and Contempt. For though the King caused the Lord *Herbert* for that his misdemeanor in **Ireland**, to be arrested upon suspicion of Treason, and imprisoned; they traduced his Majestie with under-hand-compliance therein, affirming, that he had given that Lord a private Commission, with command to manage it with all secrecie: and that it contain'd such odious and shamefull things as himself blusht publickly to own, or impart to the Marquess of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there. And, whereas he had in his said Message most graciously tendred them all that the most wicked and guilty persons could desire or wish,

Anno 1645.

• 26. Feb.

• 23. March.

viz. Liberty for their Consciences, safety for their Persons, security for their Estates, greatness for their desires, and peace to enjoy all, nothing would be accepted: insomuch, as after a full months expectation of some return upon those his offers; and hearing nothing; by His *ninth Message* (a), he pressed them for some Answer; but all to no purpose: For like as a Shadow pursued, they still fled from him, whereupon, after the stay of one month more, he sent them His *tenth Message* (b): wherein, taking notice of the duty he owed to God, and sense of his peoples miseries (that no means might be left unattempted, which could conduce to a safe and well-grounded peace) he offer'd unto them, that in case he might have the Faith of both their Houses of Parliament, for the preservation of his Honour, Person, and Estate; and liberty given to all his faithfull Subjects, who had adhered to him, to go to their own Houses, and there enjoy their estates peaceably, without compelling to take any Oath, that was not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdome, or other molestation; he would immediately disband all his Forces, dismantle his Garrisons, return to his two Houses of Parliament, pass an Act of Oblivion, and free pardon there; and doe whatsoever else they should advise him to, for the good and peace of the Kingdome.

• 22. Octob.
Anno 1642.

But these great Masters, who (to captivate the people, before they had got sufficient power into their hands) had, by their most solemn (c) Protestations and Declarations, which are publisht in Print to the world; profess'd in the presence of Almighty God, and for the satisfaction of their consciences, and discharge of that great Trust which lay upon them (as they then exprest) made their solemn *Protestation and Declaration, to this Kingdome and Nation, and to the whole World; that no private passion or respect; no evil intention to His Majesties person; no design to the prejudice of His just Honour and Authority, engaged them to raise Forces and take up Arms, &c.* And again---we profess from our very Hearts and Souls, our Loyalty and Obedience to his Crown; readiness and resolution to defend his Person, and

and support his Estate with our Lives and Fortunes, to the utmost of our power, &c. Moreover—we profess we desire nothing from his Majesty but that he would return in peace to his Parliament—And again, We profess in the sight of Almighty God, which is the strongest obligation that a Christian, and the most solemn publick Faith which any such State, as a Parliament can give; that we would receive him with all Honour; yield him all true obedience and subjection, and faithfully endeavour to defend his person and estate from all danger; and to the utmost of our power to establish to him and his people all the blessings of a most glorious and happy reign.

Nevertheless so obdurate were their Hearts, being then rais'd to an height of confidence, that they should, by the power of Conquest, utterly destroy him, that they disdain'd to vouchsafe him any answer at all thereto.

CHAP. XXI.



HE torrent of Rebellion thus violently bearing all down before it, what Garrisons remained were necessitated soon after also to submit; viz. the port Town of **Barnstaple** in **Devonshire** upon (d) the seventh of *April*, and the Fort there some few days after. **Ruthin**-castle also (in **Flintshire**) then yielded (*) to Colonel **Mitton**: **Cozse**-castle in **Dorset-shire**, about the same time being given up.

The City of **Exeter** likewise, Sir **John Berkley**, Knight, (afterwards Lord **Berkley** of **Stratton**) being at that time Governour thereof, who deliver'd it (f) upon honourable Articles, wherein amongst others, the most loyal Sir **John Stowel** Knight of the Bath, was included, though afterwards dishonourably and barbarously used. Soon after which **Saint Michael's-mount** in **Cornwall** was taken (g) by Colonel **Hamond**. **Dunster** (h) castle also in **Somerset-shire**, and

Anno 1645.

Anno 1646.

d 7. Apr.

* 8. Apr.

f 13. April.

g 15. April.

h 25. April.

Anno 1646.

i 26. April.

and **Woodstock-house** (i) near **Oxford** then also submitting.

All the **West** therefore being thus cleared, except **Pendennis-castle**, there could be no less expected than a siege of **Oxford**.

d The King's Letter to the Marquess of Ormond, dated at Oxford 13. Apr. 1646.

His Majesty therefore considering, that having used (d) all means possible, by his frequent gracious Messages, (wherein he had offered unto them all they had before desired; and that he expected nothing, but what themselves, since the beginning of those unhappy wars, had offered, to procure a personal Treaty with them) for a safe and well grounded peace: And, having, in stead of a dutiful and peaceable return to those his Messages, received no Answer at all; or such as argued nothing would satisfy them, but the ruine not onely of himself, his posterity and friends, but even of Monarchy it self. Considering likewise, that his field-forces were shattered, and reduc'd to nothing; his Garrisons almost all lost, or besieged; and that a strong Army, under the command of **Sir Thomas Fairfax** (their then General) was advancing towards **Oxford**, there to besiege him, together with the Duke of **York**, all the great Officers of State, and many other of his most eminent and faithfull Subjects. In this his most sad, and unhappy condition, revolving, whether he had better cast himself upon the **English-Army**, or the City of **London**, or rather his native Subjects the **Scots**, who had at that time besieg'd **Newwarke** upon **Trent**, with a great and numerous Army: Having (*) received very good assurance (as he then believ'd) that himself and all that did adhere to him, should be safe in their Persons; Honour and Consciences in the **Scotch Army**. And that they (the **Scots**) would really and effectually joyn with him, and such other as would come in unto him, and joyn with them for his preservation; and would employ their Armies and Forces to assist him to the procuring of an happy and well-grounded peace, for the good of his said Majesty and his Kingdomes, in the recovery of his just rights (Necessity being then his Councillour) he adventured (f) upon their fidelity, who first began his troubles, trusting that God might make them a means honourably to compose them: and there-

* Ibid.

† Eikon basilike.

thereupon went (g) out of **Oxford** disguised, in the night time, with two persons onely accompanying him; viz. Mr. *John Ashburnham* (one of the Grooms of his royal Bedchamber) and one Mr. *Hudson* a Divine, his Guide. From **Oxford** they first rode to **Henley** upon **Thames**; Thence to **Wainford**: Thence near to **London**, and so to **Harrow** on the Hill; there being then a general muster of the City forces in **Hide Park**, where he was expected, the Earl of **Essex** being at that time in the Field, and his Majestie almost perswaded to adventure himself into their hands. But relying wholly on the Scots, who had promised so fair (as before is observed) he waded those thoughts, and rode to **St. Albans**; so to **Harborough** in **Leicestershire**, where he expected the French * Agent (who had so treated with the Scots on his behalf as I have already observed) with some Horse to meet him, and conduct him to **Southwell**, the then Head quarters of the Scottish-Army. But missing him there, he thence passed to **Stanford** (on the edge of **Lincolnshire**) and so to **Dobonham** in **Norfolk**: whence Mr. *Hudson* was sent to the Agent; and upon his return went directly to **Southwell**, where he arrived (a) the 5th. of **May**; and put himself into the hands of *Alexander Lesley* their General; resolving (i) to use his best endeavours, by their assistance, and with the conjunction of those forces in **Scotland**, under the Marquess of *Montrose*, and such of his well affected Subjects of **England**, as would rise for him, to procure, if it might be, an honourable and speedy peace, with those who had hitherto refused to give ear to any good means tending thereto.

Anno 1646.

27. April.

* Monsieur de Montecreal.

a 5. May.

i K. Letter to the M. of Ormund ut supra.

b 2. May

c 11. May.

Being thus gone, siege (b) was immediately laid to **Oxford** by General *Fairfax*, soon after which, several other places of strength were surrendred by the King's special direction; viz. **Newark**, the eleventh (c) of **May**, which had been besieg'd by *Poyntz* and *Rosseter* (the Scots assisting) from **December** before.

The Castle of **Wanbury** likewise, after a siege of ten weeks by Colonel *Whalley*.

Anno 1646.

^d 13. May.

The King
removed to
Newcastle
upon *Tine.*

And on the thirteenth of *May*, the Scots, having not patience to attend the voluntary surrenders of any more places of strength, began (*d*) their march towards **Newcastle** in **Northumberland**, taking the King along with them. Where being arrived (and quartering their Army thereabouts) they instantly pressed his Majestie to send Orders to the Marquess of **Ormund**, in **Ireland**, and all other the Governours of his Garisons in **England**, to give up all the Towns and Castles then remaining, to such as should be appointed to receive them for the Houses of Parliament: Telling him, that otherwise, they neither could, nor durst continue him in their protection.

To which necessity his Majestie was constrain'd to submit: but nothing was by them more earnestly insisted on, than that the Marquess of **Montros** should lay down Arms; who, with a small strength at first, had acted in **Scotland** to admiration: for, besides many victories of less note, he had twice beaten the Marquess of **Argyle** out of the Field; follow'd him home, and wasted his Country with Fire and Sword; and vanquisht *Bayley*, one of their best Souldiers: made himself also Master of the Castle of **Edenborough**, releasing divers of his Friends, who had been seized on, and imprisoned there, when he first took up Arms. But instead of those Aids which he hoped for, he was unexpectedly set upon by *David Lesley*, who was sent from the Scottish Army in **England** with six thousand Horse to oppose the farther progress of this most valiant persons fortune. However, he began to make head again, and was in a way of fair success, when he receiv'd the Kings command to disband; (*viz.* 31 *May* 1647.) To which he readily conforming, took Ship, and put himself into a voluntary Exile. After which time of this their perfidious dealing with the King, 'tis observable that they never prospered. But I proceed briefly to point out the times of surrender of the rest of his Majesties Garrisons.

* *May.*

In the same month (*e*) of *May* **Dudley**-castle in **Staffordshire** was delivered up to Sir *William Brereton* by

by Colonel *Leveson* : and soon after (f) **Carnar-**
von Town and Castle to Major General *Mitton*, and Anno 1646.
 f 1. June.
 Major General *Langhorn*, the Lord *Byron* being then
 Governour there. Likewise **Ludlow** (g) (in *Shrop-*
shire) to Sir *William Brereton* : and **Bozstall**-house
 near **Oxford**. g 9. June.

Oxford it self also soon followed, (h) Sir *Thomas*
Glemham being then Governour : As also **Farringdon** h i 24. June.
 (i) in **Berkshire**, Sir *George Lisle* being Gover-
 nour.

Next **Lichfield**-close (k) in **Staffordshire** : Then k 16. July.
 the City of **Worcester** (l), besieg'd by Colonel l 23. July.
Whalley, and Colonel *Raynsborough*, Colonel *Washing-*
ton being Governour : Also **Wallingford** castle (m), m 28. July.
 Colonel *Blague* being Governour. **Gotherich** Castle
 (n) likewise in **Hereford** shire and **Pendennis**-castle n 31. July.
 in **Cornwall**, whereof *John Arrundel* of **Trerise** was
 Governour ; **Conway** Castle in **Flintshire** being
 storm'd by Major General *Mitton*.

In the next month, after a long siege by General
Fairfax, Sir *Trevor Williams* and Colonel *Langhorn* ;
Ragland-castle in **Honmouth** shire, was yielded (o) o 19. Aug.
 to them : And soon after the Isles and Castle of
Scilly were given up : (p) As also (q) the Castles p 16. Sept.
 q 20. Octob.
 of **Denbigh** and **Holt** : Whereupon Generall *Fair-*
fax advanced (r) triumphantly towards **London**. r 11. Nov.

And on the first of *February* next following, the
 Scots, having effectually received the whole Sum
 of two hundred thousand pounds, for which they
 sold the King ; they marcht (†) over **Tweede** into † 1. Febr.
Scotland.

His Majestie having thus cast himself upon the
 loyalty of those (touching whose large professions
 and protestations to him, I have already taken notice)
 let us now behold the blessed Fruits of *Presbytery*, by
 the subsequent Practises of these Zelots ; which doth
 amply make good, what King *James* long since de-
 clared (k) of that Sect ; viz. that no deserts could ob- k Basil. Do-
 ron. p. 42.
 lige ; nor Oaths, or Promises bind them. For, notwith-
 standing those their solemn Oaths and Protestations,
 they most perfidiously acted contrary to them ; hast-

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ning thereby that farther ruin, which soon afterwards befel the Church of **England**, and at length terminated in the wofull murder of their native Sovereign, as is notoriously known to the World, carrying on all this, under the colour and veile of their *Solemn League and Covenant*.

1 6. May.
perfect Di-
urnal p.
1166.

In order whereunto, the first thing observable, is a plausible Letter (*l*), directed to the Committee of Estates, at that time residing with the Scotch Army; wherein they tell them; that *their earnest desire, being to keep a right understanding between the two Kingdomes, did move them, to acquaint them, with that strange providence, wherewith they were then surpris'd, together with their carriage and desires thereupon; and to endeavour to improve his Majesties being there, to the best advantage for promoting the work of Uniformity, for settling of Religion and Righteousness, and attaining of Peace, according to the League and Covenant, and Treaty, &c. affirming, that they had a Witness from Heaven; and that there was nothing more in their desires, than in all their resolutions and proceedings; to adhere to the Covenant and Treaty.*

m 18. May.

¶ What hopes this specious Letter might give his Majestie for promoting his earnest endeavours, for such an happy peace, as he desired, is hard to say; considering what relation it had to the *Solemn League and Covenant*: but his former assurances in order to his coming to them (as I have already observed) being such as they were; he became so confident thereupon; as that, shortly after, he sent unto the two Houses at **Westminster**, his xi th. Message (*m*), whereby because they had made so great a noyse of settling Religion; *That*, together with the *Militia*, and the War of **Ireland**, being the chief things insisted on, in their former *Propositions*; he recomended to them the advice therein of those Divines in both Kingdomes, whom they had assembled at **Westminster**: And for the *Militia* offred, that he would be content to settle it, as they themselves proposed in the Treaty at **Urbidge**; *viz.* that all persons, who should be trusted therewith might be named by the two Houses of Parliament, for the space of seven years; and after that time, to be

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be regulated as should be agreed on by his Majestie and his two Houses of Parliament. And touching **Ireland**, that he would do whatsoever was possible for him, to give full satisfaction to them. And that, if those his free offers would not serve; then he desired, that al such of their *Propositions*, as were then by them agree'd on, might be speedily sent to him; he being resolved to comply with them in every thing that might conduce to the happines of his subjects; and removing all unhappy differences, which had produced so many sad effects. Farther offering, that all his forces should be forthwith disbanded; and **Oxford** with the remainder of his other Garrisons, rendered into their hands, upon honourable conditions; and dismantled.

But to this gracious Message (as to his former) they turn'd a deaf ear; there being, then, another Game to be play'd; which was the getting of the King's person out of the Hands of the Scots; suspecting (as they had cause) that those their *dear Brethren* would make no little advantage thereof. Notwithstanding the Votes (f) at **Westminster**, that *he should be disposed of, as they should desire and direct.*

f perfect Di-
urnal. p.
1163.

Concerning which Votes at **Westminster** and debates of both Houses thereupon, it will not be amiss, here to take notice: how they alledg'd (g) that *the Scottish Army in England was theirs; id est, under their pay. Also that the King ought to be near to his Parliament, whereby they might have recourse to him, and obtain such things, as should be most necessary for the Kingdomes. Likewise, that by Covenant they were sworn to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament: but to detein the King from his Parliament was altogether inconsistent with the Covenant.*

g Ibid. p.
1170 &
1171.

Of which Votes the Scots seem'd to take little notice; but in stead thereof, and for diversion, amused the Members at **Westminster** with several Letters, which they caused to be written to them; one (h) from the general assembly of the Kingdome of **Scotland**: wherein they told them; that *their success against the Enemy (id est, the King's Forces) did lay a*

h 18. Jnue.
Ibid. p. 1236.

Anno 1646. strong obligation upon them, to improve the power put into their Hands, for the advancement of the Kingdome of Christ, and bringing forth the head-stone of his House: And therefore did earnestly intreat and beseech them in the Bowels of Christ, to give unto him the glory due to his name, by a timeous establishment of all his Ordinances in full integrity and power, according to the Covenant, &c. Saying, that the Searcher of Hearts knew how they desired to keep their Covenant, &c. concluding with their desires to the Parliament, to endeavour all the ends of the Covenant.

ⁱ *Ib.* p. 1237. The other (i) to the Assembly of Divines, sitting at **Westminster**, wherein they expressed their Thanks for their constant endeavours and labours, in the work of setting up the Ordinances of Christ; desiring, that they would go on in the sedulous promoting of that blessed work.

^k *Ibid.* The third (k) was to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of the City of **London**, which (because 'tis penned in so divine a stile) I have here transcribed.

Right Honourable,

Your late and seasonable Testimony given to the truth of the Gospel; and your affection to the peace of the Kingdoms, manifested in your humble Remonstrance, and Petition to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, hath so revived the remembrance of your former faith and zeal, and proclaymed you the worthy seed of so noble Ancestors in that famous City; as we cannot but acknowledg with all thankfulness, the Grace of God, bestowed on you, and stir you up to take notice; how, since you were precious in the Lord's sight, you have been ever honourable. The Lord hath ever loved you; given men for you, and people for your life. What an honour was it, in the days of old, when the fire of the Lord was in Sion, and his furnace in your **Hierusalem** (even in Queen Mary's days) that there were found in you men that loved not their lives unto the death. What a glory in after-times, when Satan had his Throne, and
Anti-

*Antichrist his seat in the midst of you, that there were still found, not a few that kept their Garments clear. But the greatest praise of the good hand of God upon you, hath been this; that amidst the many mists of Error and Here-
 sie, which have risen from the bottomless pit, to bespot the face and darken the glory of the Church, while the Bride is a making ready for the Lamb, you have held the Truth, and most piously endeavoured the setting of Christ upon his Throne. We need not remember how zealous you have been in the cause of God; nor how you have laid out your selves, and estates, in the maintenance thereof; nor how many acknowledgments of the same you have had from the Honourable Houses; nor how precious a remembrance will be had of you in after Ages, for your selling of all to buy the Pearl of price. Wee onely at this time do admire, and in the inward of our hearts do bless the Lord, for your right and deep apprehensions of the great and important matters of Christ in his Royal Crown, and of the Kingdomes in their Union, while the Lord maketh offer to bring our Ship (so much afflicted and tossed with tempest) to the safe harbour of Truth and Peace. Right memorable is your zeal against Sects and Sectaries; your care of Reformation, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches. Your earnest endeavours and noble adventures, for preserving of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Kingdome, together with his Majesties just power and greatness; and your high profession, that it is not in the power of any humane authority, to discharge or absolve you, from adhering unto that our solemnly sworn League and Covenant; or to inforce upon you any sense, contrary to the Letter of the same.*

Besides your other good services done to the Lord and us, in strengthening the hands of the reverend Assembly of Divines, and of our Commissioners in their asserting the Government of Christ (which, the more it is tryed, will be ever found the more precious Truth) and vindicating the same from the Usurpation of man, and contempt of the Wicked.

These all, as they are so many testimonies of your piety, loyalty, and undaunted resolution to stand for Christ; so
 are

Anno 1646. are they, and shall ever be, so many obligations upon us your Brethren, to esteem highly of you in the Lord; and to bear you on our Breasts before him night and day; and to contribute our best endeavours to improve all opportunities for your encouragement. And now we beseech you in the Lord (*Honourable and well-beloved*) go on in this your strength, and in the power of his might, who hath honoured you to be faithfull. Stand fast in that Liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free: And, in pursuance of this Truth, we are confident you will never cease to study the peace and nearer conjunction of the Kingdomes; knowing, that a threefold cord is not easily broken. Now the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved and honoured you, and given you everlasting consolation, and good hope through Grace, comfort your Hearts and stablish you in every good work.

Subscribed in the name of the general Assembly
by Robert Blair Moderator.

^l 27. June.
Weekly Ac-
compt, num.
29.

Moreover in another Letter (*l*) from the said Assembly of the Kirk of **Scotland**, to the Assembly of Divines at **Westminster** they told them, how they did congratulate with the Lord's people in all their successes; and did impatiently desire to have their Brethren here, and themselves joyned nearer to Christ, and to one another in all his Ordinances, and especially in Presbyterial Government.

^m 25. June
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1219.

But in the neck of these Letters, 'tis worthy observation, that the Marquess of **Argyle**, and Scottish-Commissioners, delivered a paper (*m*) to the Members at **Westminster**, representing the Necessities of their Army; desiring therefore, that their Quarters in the North might be enlarged, and a considerable supply of mony dispatcht to them.

Most certain it is, that though these sanctified men (both English and Scotch) did seem to be so firmly united by their grand Combination, called the *solemn-league and Covenant*; as that, in humane reason few there were that thought they could afterwards have differed; the gayning of the King's person into their
Hands,

Hands, began now to make it manifest, that this seeming sacred Tye, was but a mere juggling device, originally forged and set on foot for the better carrying on their sacrilegious temporal ends. For, from that very time, however they conceal'd themselves, with all the subtilties imaginable, their animosities against each other did daily increase (as 'twill hereafter appear) Nevertheless, to make a specious outward shew, of their continued accordance; they agreed together, in sending certain *Propositions* (n) to the King (which they had been no less than eight months in hammering) in order to a well-grounded Peace, (as their phrase was:) whereunto they required his Answer within four days.

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ⁿ 25. June.
Propositions
sent to the
King at
Newcastle.

How monstrous and unreasonable these were, the tenor of them will sufficiently shew, (they being publickly printed) in brief, that he should ratify *the solemn-league and Covenant*, abolish Episcopacy; invest the subject with the power of the *Militia*; and exempt from pardon several Lords and other considerable persons, that during the war had adhered to him. Whereunto His Majesty most piously and prudently made this return; That they importing so great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdome, it was very difficult to return a particular and positive answer to them, before a full debate, wherein their necessary explanation, true sense, and reasons of them were rightly weighed and understood. To which end he desired to come to **London**, or any of his Houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and the security of the two Houses of Parliament, and Scottish-Commissioners. Where, by his personal presence, he might not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt himself and his people; but have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him, which he then conceived to be destructive to his just regal power, in case he should give a full consent to those *Propositions*, as they then stood: Engaging himself to give his cheerful assent to all such Bills, as should be really to the good and peace of his people; and to prefer the happiness of this Kingdome before his own particular. And,

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as a farther means to work a confidence in them of his own sincerity in these things, he offered again to trust them with his own person: conjuring them, as they were Christians and Subjects; and as they were men who desired to leave a good name behind them, so to receive and make use of that his Answer, that all issues of blood might be stopped; and those unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

But, as his former gracious and frequent offers, so this, could not then find any acceptance at all with them; by reason that it tended to the composure of those lamentable distractions, which tended to the utter ruine of the King and Realm; their aims at first, and continued resolutions still being to share the spoyle, which by their strength and power they had most unjustly got. Nay, in stead of any kindness or comfort, which he might rationally expect from their many and most solemn promises and protestations, they perpetually tormented his pious Soul, with incessant importunities, to take their hypocritical *Covenant*; and sent for several of their most rigid Preachers (o), to terrify him with their Kirk-censures upon his refusal thereof.

o Perfect Di-
urnal. p.
1233.

In which sad and disconsolate condition, I shall for a while leave him; and take a short view of the transactions, betwixt the Members sitting at **Westminster**, and those at **Edenborough**, with their respective Commissioners.

The principal work being now done, here in **England**, by the help of the Scots; the Grandees here (as well as others) began to be weary of their dear Brethren: and for the sooner riddance of them, passed a Vote (p), that a Message should be sent to the Scottish Army; *that, in regard they were not usefull in this Kingdome, for the present; and that the payment thereof would be a great burthen thereto, they should with all convenient speed, return into their Country.*

p 11. July.

But the Scots (never intending to be loafers by their journey hither) knowing full well how to make the best use of those advantages they then had, gave their dear Brethren very good words; telling (q) them in their

q Weekly
Accompt,
Num. 29.

their answer to the demands made in pursuance of that Vote; that their earnest desires were, the settling of Religion, and Church Government; which, as it was the principal ground of their engagement in this Cause, so would the perfecting of it be their chiefest joy, and Glory of both Kingdomes: it being the constant resolution of that Kingdome, against all opposition, to strengthen and cherish the Brotherly kindness between the Kingdomes: and, Peace settled with Truth, and those things performed by the Honourable Houses, which by Treaty they were obliged unto, to recall their Army, with as great alacrity, as they were ready to send the same into **England**, for the assistance of their Brethren.

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And in another Letter, speaking of the Arrears due to their Army, they had these words (r) ---*This* ^{*Ibid.*} Kingdome lyeth under the burthen of great and vast expence, in raising and entertaining of Armies; and hath with the lives of many precious men, set their own Houses on fire, to quench the flame of yours. And seeing, by the seasonable assistance afforded by this Kingdome to you, and by the late successses wherewith God hath blessed your Armies, you are in a great measure freed of your troubles, and are in a far better capacity to pay the moneys, due to our Armies in **England** and **Ireland**, than you were at any time since the beginning of these Wars; we demand of the honourable houses, to make payment of the summs of money duly owing to this Kingdome.

¶ The state of things standing thus, made the Game now to be play'd betwixt these great Masters, not a little difficult to each; the chief business of the then predominant party at **Westminster**, being to gain the person of the King into their own hands: and in case he should not (upon the matter) totally quit his Regal power to them, by taking their Covenant, and assenting to those their destructive propositions before-mentioned; then to keep him close prisoner, and exercise the same power without him.

And the design of the Scots, not onely to use the like Regal-power in **Scotland**, but to get a large sum of mony to boot: considering, that having the King in their hands, the Grandees there were able to

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make their own terms on the behalf of themselves, as to Riches and Honours. There was therefore no means unessayed by each, for accomplishing their respective ends: But the Arguments and debates about this business, continuing no less than six months, before all things were fully agree'd, I shall reserve my observations upon them till then; and in the mean time take notice of what else did occur that is most remarkable, in order to the carrying on their main work; and divide the same into two parts; the one touching their attempts upon the King, in relation to the *Covenant* and *Propositions*: the other towards the advancement of the *Scepter of Jesus Christ*; for by that title they called their *Presbyterean Doctrine* and *Discipline*.

As to the first; About the beginning of *September*, *James Duke Hamilton*, *Lindsey Earl of Crasford*, the *Earl of Cassiles*, and some others, from the Estates of **Scotland**, came (†) to **Newcastle** to the King; and there earnestly solicited him to take the *Covenant*, and sign the *Propositions*. To second which motion, there was a petition presented to His Majesty from the general Assembly of the Kirk of **Scotland**, for *Reformation of Religion*, according to the *Covenant*, and *uniformity of Church government*; denouncing God's anger upon him, and the hazard to lose the Hearts of his good subjects, in case he assented not thereto.

† Perfect
Diurnal p.
1303. &
1304.

Soon after which, *Mr. Andrew Cant*, *Mr. Robert Blayre*, and *Mr. James Douglass* came (t) thither also to press him to the same purpose. To torment him likewise yet more, one of these violent men (I mean a rigid *Presbyterean-preacher*) besides many rude and uncivil expressions (v) in his Sermon there before the King; called for the *52. Psalm* to be sung by the congregation, which beginneth thus--*Why dost thou Tyrant boast abroad, thy wicked works to praise?* Whereupon His Majesty instantly stood up, and called for the *56. Psalm*, beginning thus--*Have mercy Lord on me I pray, for men would me devour*: Which the people readily sung, waving the other.

† Ib. p. 1317.

† Ib. p. 1419.

○ Nay, the fierceness of these Scottish-presbyters against

gainst His Sacred Majesty was such; as that upon certain *Proposals* (x), made to those of them, who were Commissioners from the general Assembly, *viz.* *If the King shall come into Scotland, and that the Kingdome of England shall exclude him of the Government there, for his leaving them without granting the Propositions; Whether or not it would be lawful to that Kingdome to assist him for the recovery of the Government, he not granting the Propositions, concerning Religion, and the Covenant, and not giving a satisfactory answer to the remanent Propositions.*

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* Ib. p. 1434.
& 1435.

Their Answer.

The *Quære* presupposeth the King's coming into this Kingdome, which case (for the reasons expressed in our late warning) we humbly conceive should not be put into the *Question*: and therefore desire your Lordships to go about all means for the present preventing of it, as a matter of most dangerous consequence to Religion, this Kirk, and Kingdome, and to the King himself and his posterity.

But, if the *Question* be stated simply, without supposing such a case in these termes. *If the King be excluded from Government in England, for not granting the propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant; and for not giving a satisfactory Answer to the remanent propositions; whether, in that case it be lawfull for this Kingdome to assist him, for the Recovery of the Government: Or, if it be not lawfull, being put to it, we cannot but answer, in regard of the Engagement of this Kingdome, by Covenant and Treaty, Negative.*

1. Resolv'd upon the *Question*, That the Kingdome of *Scotland*, shall be governed as it hath been these five years last past; all means being used, that the King may take the *Covenant*, and pass the *Propositions*.

2. Resolv'd, that the taking of the *Scottish Covenant*, and passing some of the *Propositions*, doth not give warrant to assist him against *England*.

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3. Resolv'd, that upon bare taking the *National Covenant*, we may not receive him.
 4. Resolv'd, that the Clause in the *Covenant*, for defence of the King's Person, is to be understood in defence and safety of the Kingdomes.
 5. Resolv'd, that the King shall not execute any power in the Kingdome of **Scotland**, untill such time, as he hath granted the *Propositions*, concerning *Religion* and the *Covenant*; and given satisfactory answer to both Kingdomes in the rest of the *Propositions*, presented to him by both Kingdomes at **Newcastle**.
 6. Resolv'd, that if His Majestie refuse to pass the *Propositions*, he shall be disposed of according to the *Covenant* and *Treaty*.
 7. Resolv'd, that the union be friendly kept between the Kingdomes, according to the *Covenant* and *Treaty*.

By what hath last been instanc'd, tis easy enough to be discern'd, that the bargain so long in driving on, was by this time concluded, in reference to the person of the King (I mean the certain price for which the Scots did sell him) which prompted them so eagerly and frequently to press his taking their *Covenant*, and consent to those destructive *Propositions*, which they well knew, he could never do, without apparent hazard to his Soul: and that he had manifestly confuted the Arguments of Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, whom they brought to convince him therein. I shall therefore need to say no more of that matter, then to set down the *Quæres* (*y*), which His Majestie delivered to the Commissioners of **Scotland** upon their last importuning him thereto, when they threatned to deliver him up to the Parliament of **England** (as they then called those Members at **Westminster**) in case of his refusal.

y 16. Jan.

* Perfect
Diurnal p.
1462.

It is a receiv'd opinion by many; that Engagements, Acts, or Promises of a restrained person, are neither valid, nor obligatory. How true or false this is, I will not now dispute: but I am sure, if I be not free, I am not fit to answer any of your Propositions: wherefore you should first resolve

resolve me, in what state I stand, as in relation to freedome, before I can give you any other Answer. The Reason of this my Question, the Governour can best resolve you. But, if you object the loss of time, and urgency of it; certainly, in one respect, it presses none so much as myself, which makes me also think it necessary, that I be not to seek what to do, when this Garrison shall be surrendred up; to demand of you, in case I go into **Scotland**, if I shall be there with Honour, Freedome and Safety; or How; being ready to give you a farther and more particular Answer, so soon as you shall have resolv'd these two Quæres.

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Whercunto they give this insignificant Answer.

1. To the first, in what state you stand, as in relation to Freedome; the Parliaments of both Kingdomes have given such orders, and directions, as they have thought fittest for the safety of your Majesty and the Kingdomes, to the General and Governour.

2. To your second Quære, of your going into **Scotland**; we shall humbly desire, that we may not be put to give an Answer: but, if your Majesty shall either deny, or delay your assent to the *Propositions*; we are in that case to represent to your Majesty the resolutions of the Parliament of **England**.

¶ Having now done with their attempts upon His Majesty in reference to the *Covenant* and *Propositions*; I come to their farther Progress for the establishing of *Presbytery*. Wherein I am to look back a little.

About the latter end of *August*, a Bill for *Ordination of Ministers*, being the third time read (a) in the House of Commons at **Westminster**, and thence transmitted to the Lords; not long after they received a Petition (b) from the County of *Lancaster*, subscribed by twelve thousand hands, for settling of the *Classes* in those parts, with the names of such as they had made choyse of, and presented to the House for ordering thereof.

^a 27. Aug.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1293.

^b 1b. p. 1313.
Sept. 15.

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c Octob. 13.
Ibid. p. 1346.

d Scob. col.
p. 99.

Nor were the *Assembly of Divines* sitting at **Westminster** less active; who having fram'd a new *Confession of Faith*, were (c) hard at work in adding quotations of Scripture in the Margent of their Copies, for justification thereof. And that this blessed *Presbyterial Government*, might be the more secure from danger the Houses at **Westminster** passed an Ordinance (d), not onely for abolishing the name, title, and dignity of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. but nominated Trustees in whom their Lands should be fetled.

* Octob. 24.
Scob. col. p.
1358.

Likewise, for the fitter moulding this new *Confession of Faith*, Copies thereof (purposely printed) were delivered (*) to each Member of both Houses at **Westminster**, to the end they might consider of the same, and advise the better therein.

f Octob. 16.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1360.
g Ibid.

But, notwithstanding all this holy Reformation, there were some, who had not onely the Conscience to adhere unto the Liturgy, establish'd by Law in the Church of **England**, in their publick service of God; but the Courage to prosecute those by Indictment, which neglected the reading thereof in their Parish-Churches. In so much as upon notice of this high presumption, from *Buckinghamshire*, an Ordinance was forthwith voted (f) to be brought in, for repealing the Statute which enjoyn'd it. At which time the House also ordered (g), that all Malignant Ministers (for so were the Orthodox called) should be disabled from Preaching, and an Ordinance to be brought in for that purpose.

h Ibid. p.
1364. 28.
Octob.

And, though by an Order (h) of the House of Commons, Mr. *Sydrach Sympson* (one of their Assembly of Divines, and an eminent stickler for the Cause) was, for some opinions and expressions, favouring of *Independencie*, to have been silenc'd: yet, by reason of his zeal to God's Glory (as they term'd it) that is to say, his activeness against *Episcopacie*, he was exempted from the Rigour of that sentence.

Moreover, as they took care to disable those of the Clergy, which were Orthodox and Loyal, from preaching any more: so, to encourage all others who

who were for their turn, though not at all qualified with learning, they gave liberty to every bold and schismatical Mechanick to preach, under the notion of *Gifted-men*. To which purpose an Ordinance (*i*) was brought in to the House, and read, for approving of such illiterate persons to be Ministers.

And, that Episcopal Government might never return again, they passed (*k*) an Ordinance for the sale of all the Lands belonging to the Bishops; with special instructions (*l*) therein, for the Contractors and Surveyors. Amongst which Instructions, it is not the least observable; that for the better encouraging of Purchasers, they should sell them at ten years purchase. Nay, such was their care, to make this sacrilegious work as plausible to the people as might be; that, besides the extraordinary pay their Surveyors of those Lands had (*viz.* 20s. a day, and five shillings a day to every Boy that did but carry the end of the measuring-Chain) they gave special directions, that the Gentry and other popular-men, residing in those parts where such Lands lay, should be feasted by the Surveyors (which feasts amounted to no small charge) saying, *Wee must pay well and hang well*

About this time also, there was a Committee appointed (*m*) to inquire into the Value of all Church-livings, in order to *the planting of an able Ministry*, as they gave out; whereas in truth, it was to discover which were the best and fattest Benefices, to the end, that the principal Champions for the *Cause*, might make choice of those for themselves (whereof some had three a piece, and some four, as is very well known) it being aparent, that where any small Benefice was, there the Church-dores were shut up. The more to justify which practice of theirs, I could name an Assembly man, who being told by an Eminent person, that a certain Church in the West of **England**, had no Incumbent; askt what the yearly value of the Benefice did amount unto; and he answering fifty pounds *per annum*: the Assembly man reply'd---*if it be no better worth, no Godly-man will accept of it.*

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ⁱ 4. Novem.
^{lb.} p. 1368.
^{b.}^k 16. Nov.
Scob. Col. p.
101.
^l Perfect Di-
urnal. p.
1387.^m 11. Nov.
Perfect Oc-
currences.

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n 5. Decem.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1406.

But notwithstanding all this, the advancement of the *Scepter of Jesus Christ* (that is to say, the establishing the **Presbyterean-Government** by a Law) went but slowly on, insomuch as the Covenanting Brethren in **London**, who were dayly agitated with the zealous breath of the *Presbyterean Bellows*, from the Pulpits and otherwise; growing hot for the *Scotch Discipline*, busied themselves not a little in getting Hands (*n*) to a Petition, for prosecuting the ends of the *Covenant*; and, that *Presbyterie* might be established. And, for the better speed of that blessed work the latter part of their new *Confession of Faith*, being brought in, by the *Assembly of Divines*, and read in the House of Commons; it was Ordered that marginal notes should be forthwith added thereto, to prove every Article by Scripture: and that the Assembly should also bring in their Answers to the *Quæres* of the House, concerning the *Jus divinum* of *Presbyterie*.

C H A P. XXII.



UT oh the fates! Now that after all this formal combining and *Covenanting* with the precious Brethren of **Scotland**; Horse, Arms, Jewels, Plate and Money, in no small proportion, so frankly offered up to this Dagon of *Presbyterie*, and a numerous Army poured in from that Nation, to help the Lord against the mighty: so many dreadfull battels fought, so much English-bloud lamentably spilt, and such a vast Treasure spent, and all to advance the *Scepter of Jesus Christ*; nay the top stone of this glorious building ready to be laid on. Now (I say) the perfect completing of this great and glorious work was so near, that the main Fabrick should begin to totter specially by the unhappy assaults of their own Godly party; and at last to tumble down; what could be more deplorable?

deplorable? yet so it hapned. I must therefore here begin to change my note: and, as I have Historically manifested whence that sacred Impe of *Presbytery* originally sprung; How 'twas first transplanted hither, what a luxuriant growth in short time it had; and what glorious fruit it produced. So shall I now briefly shew how, and by what means it fell to decay: and how that prodigious Monster † of *Independencie*, creeping up by the body thereof, at length did much overtop it; and triumphing for a while, at last produced no less direfull effects than what that old stock of *Presbyterie* always did; even the barbarous destruction of our late gracious King (of ever blessed memory) in his Royal person; after he had been most inhumanly persecuted, despoiled of his Kingly authority, and most shamefully made Prisoner by those devout *Covenanters*.

† Anabaptists, Millenarians, Quakers, &c.

¶ That Ambition and Avarice were most assuredly the primary causes which incited this Saint-like Generation to act such horrid things as no age hath formerly seen: and to carry on these their foul designs under the specious veile of *Religion*, the *Laws of the Land*, and *Liberty of the subject*, hath been already fully manifested. Having therefore, by this subtil stragem, got the sword, and consequently the wealth of the Realm into their power: I now come to observe; how, through the admirable justice of Almighty God upon these grand Hypocrites; which first kindled the flames of Civil war amongst us; the same power and wealth, was by the like ravenous brood, now called *Independents* (which sprung forth of their own pharisaical loyns) soon torn and wrested out of their greedy Jaws, upon the like principles; and what use they made of it.

By what hath been already said, 'tis sufficiently manifest, how and to what end the establishment of the *Scottish Discipline*, was first and principally ayimed at by the *Presbyterean* party here; but the severity thereof being at length discerned by some, through a clearer Light; the new Reformers thought it most proper, not onely to represent to the People, the true

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face thereof in its proper shape; but to hold forth unto them an absolute freedom from the merciless phangs and teeth of that cruel beast, under the notion of *Christian-Liberty*; whereby every man might exercise himself in the pretended service of God, according to what form or order he list, as *Independent* from any that could call him to account; which pleasing Doctrine being not a little gratefull to the vulgar, soon obtain'd so fair an entertainment especially amongst the souldiery; as that, not onely the generality of the Army and many of the Garisons cheerfully embraced it; but most of the people, through out all parts of the Realm, right willingly inclin'd thereto.

The *Presbyterean-Hedge* being therefore thus troden down; no wonder was it, that, like scattered Flocks, multitudes were gathered up by other Shepherds into new Congregations; *Anabaptists*, *Millenaries* (or fifth Monarchy-men) *Quakers*, &c. each differing from other in divers material points; but all centring in opposition to *Presbyterie*; which strange opinions (no less absurd than various) were so inconsistent with the zealous *Disciplinarians* (who termed them Heretical and Blasphemous) that they spared for no pains in endeavouring to suppress them.

As to the Tenets and practices of these *Independent-Libertines*, let this one instance serve for a Taste; one Mr. Gregory (of Colonel Rich his Regiment) preaching at a Widows house near *Northampton*; told his Auditors, *that he thought he was obliged to unfold the Scripture, as it was revealed to him: Likewise, that he hoped to see the Shop-windows open on the Lord's day: Also, that the Psalms were no Scripture; and, that the Parson of that Parish was a Minister of Antichrist.*

But, notwithstanding this apparent danger to the *Disciplinarians*, from this blessed brood of their own hatching, some confidence they yet had of putting a stop to their farther growth: to that end therefore (as to their former notable pranks they frequently did) by a special *Ordinance* (o), they caused a day to be set a part for humbling themselves, and seeking of God (as they term'd

term'd it) by fasting and prayer, the preamble where-
of I have thought fit here to insert;

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We the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of **England**, *having entred into a solemn Covenant, to endeavour sincerely, really and constantly, the Reformation of Religion, in Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship; and the extirpation of Popery, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godlyness. And, having found the presence of God wonderfully assisting us in this Cause, especially since our Engagement in pursuance of the said Covenant; have thought fit (lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues) to set forth this our deep sense of the great dishonour of God, and perillous Condition, that this Kingdome is in, through the abominable Blasphemies, and damnable Heresies vented and spread abroad therein; tending to the subversion of the Faith, contempt of the Ministry and Ordinance of Jesus Christ. And, as we are resolved to imploy and improve the utmost of our power, that nothing be said or done against the Truth, but for the Truth: So we desire, that both our selves, and the whole Kingdome may be deeply humbled before the Lord, for that great reproach and contempt, which hath been cast upon his name, and saving Truths; and for that swift destruction, which we may justly fear will fall upon the immortal Souls of such, who are or may be drawn away, by giving heed to seducing Spirits. In the hearty and tender compassion whereof, we the said Lords and Commons do order and ordain; that Wednesday, being the tenth day of March next be set apart for a day of publick Humiliation, &c.*

And to back this their Godly Exercise (forasmuch as their solemn *League and Covenant* had effected such great matters otherwise) the House of Peers soon after voted (p) an *Ordinance* to be brought in, for disabling every person whatsoever, from bearing any office, Civil or Military, that should refuse to take the *Covenant*.

p 8. Febr.

Ibid.

P. 1479.

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But that which they deemed above all, not onely to get a hand over this many-headed-Monster (*Independencie*) but to establish to themselves a lasting dominion over the persons and Estates of all other people was to gain the King's person into their power; concerning whom they had been trucking with the Scots for the space of six months at the least (his Majestie being all that while at **Newcastle** upon **Tyne**, and their Army quartered in the Adjacent Counties) not without some Heart-burnings towards those their dear Brethren, for keeping him so long, and continuing their Army in this Realm, at so vast a charge and intollerable a burthen to those Northern parts, having had no use thereof at all, after the render of **Newark**.

q The Answer of the Commons in Parliament to the Scots Com. papers Impr. Lond. 1646. p. 20.
r † *Ib.* p. 8.

Nor did this detainer pass without some quick disputes betwixt them; the Grandees here affirming (q), and insisting stiffly upon it; *that the Kingdome of Scotland had no right of joynt exercise of interest, in disposing the person of the King, in the Kingdome of England:* urging (r) likewise; *that forasmuch as he had deserted his Parliament and People; entred into, and continued in a bloody and dangerous war against them; had not granted those Propositions, which by both Kingdomes were sent unto him, as a means of a safe and well-grounded peace: he was not therefore at present in a condition to exercise the duties of his place; or be left to go, or reside where and when himself pleased.* Farther objecting, *that the Commissioners of Scotland, at a conference with theirs had declared (†), that it would be prejudicial to both Kingdomes for the King to go into Scotland.*

† *Ib.* p. 30.

But, after much dispute the Scots in brief told (t) them; *that their Army by the Oath of Allegiance, their Committee of Estates by their Commission, and their Officers by their Military Oath, ought to defend the King from harms and prejudices. Often affirming, that the King came to their Army for shelter and defence.* Adding, *that (u) it was the Law and common practise of all Nations, not to deliver the meanest subject fled to them, though for the greatest crimes: and that, if the meanest were not to be delivered, how would the world abroad condemn them*

‡ *Ib.* p. 32.

them, for so base and dishonourable an act, the King having cast himself into their hands.

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x *Ib.* p. 42.

They likewise said (x)--- if it be considered, that the Scottish Army was invited and called into this Kingdom, by both Houses of Parliament in a Treaty for prosecuting the ends of a solemn League and Covenant; whereof one Article is, to preserve and defend his Majesty's person; there can remain no doubt concerning this exercise of that Right and Interest in this Kingdom. And therefore said; it seemed very strange that when upon invitation they were come into **England**, as for other ends, so to defend his Majesty's person, their being in **England** should be made use of as an Argument why they should deliver up the person of the King to be disposed of as both Houses should think fit.

Whereunto the English Commissioners replied; that the Scotch-Army came in hither as Auxiliaries, under pay; and therefore they ought not to capitulate herein at all. And that whereas the Scots did so much urge their Obligation by the Covenant, to preserve and defend the King's person and Authority; they told (y) them that they left out the principal Clause, which was relative viz. in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes, without which the other part ought never to be mention'd

y *Ib.* p. 21,
54, & 55.

But the plain truth is, that all this fencing with Arguments, came at last to a meer Money-busines. For whereas the Grandees at **Westminster**, by stipulation (z.) with the Scots for their Expedition into **England**, had promised to pay them after the rate of thirty thousand pounds *per mensem*, so long as they should have occasion to make use of their Army: and all being done to give (a) them for the pains, hazzard and charges which the said Army should undergo, a due recompence by way of *Brotherly Assistance*. Towards the performance of which agreement, though these Grandees did manifest (b); that besides much free Quarter, the Scots-Army had monthly received, nineteen thousand and seven hundred pounds: and for the last year, ending *ultimo Octobris*, seventy two thousand nine hundred seventy

z *Ib.* p. 36.

a *Ib.* p. 37.

b *Ib.* p. 63.

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c 18. August.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1281.

two pounds two shillings and eleven pence, for the Customes and other Impositions upon coals onely : the *Brethren* nevertheless having then the better end of the staff in their hands, as being possess'd of the King; delivered in unto them an account (c) of Arrears, besides losses of no less than a Million of money, their free Quarter reckoned; but with a kind intimation, that they would accept of a less sum in gros for a full discharge of all.

b *Ib.* p. 1282.

Whereupon a Committee being appointed to treat with them thereon, and times of payment; they then stoop'd (d) to the one half, viz. five hundred thousand pounds, whereof two hundred thousand pounds to be paid upon the departure of their Army, and the rest within twelve months.

* 1. Septem.
Ib. p. 1282.

Much dispute (indeed) they had about this business, yea some high words, but at length four hundred thousand pounds was the sum agree'd (*) on; the one half in hand, upon delivery up of the King. Which sum, without more ado, stop'd the mouths of those Vultures, and put a period to all this hot contest: All their Oaths and Obligation whereon they had so much insisted, meerly to heighten the price of their Sovereign, being then set aside, as 'tis notoriously known.

f 28. Jan.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1473 & 1474.

Being therefore thus sold, and delivered (f) to the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, and Lord *Mountagu* of **Boughton**; Sir *James Harington*, Sir *John Holand*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Cook*, *John Crew* Esq; and Major General *Brown* (Commissioners from the Members at **Westminster**) to be carried to **Hol-**

g 17. Feb.

denby-House in *Northamptonshire*, his Majestie hoped (g) that he might have two of his own Chaplains admitted to attend him in this sad and disconsolate condition (having not one servant of his own about him:) but that request would not be granted though again seconded (h).

h 6. March.

¶ Thus did the bonny Scots part with their native King, leaving those Northern countries miserably beggar'd by many grievous Taxes imposed on them by their Army and most lamentable oppressions by Free-Quarter

Quarter. Which burthens were so heavy, that the Inhabitants of **Cleveland**, by their petition to the Members at **Westminster**, and Letter therewith sent, complained that their oppressions were greater than those who suffered by the Turks, both their persons and Estates; those under the Turk being quit for a fifth part, whereas they in one year did pay their whole Revenues seven times over. *We are (say (k) they in their Letters) the absolute slaves that ever was read of: for they assess us at their pleasures; leavy as they please. If they bid us go, and ride, none dare refuse. The Kill us in hot bloud, beat us in cold, &c. In a word: our stock is already wasted, our little corn we had, ill gotten in, by reason of the great moisture: we are now thrashing it for the Scots. We are eating our last bread. Who have been able to get away are gone, &c.*

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i Ib. p. 1361.

k Ibid!

The perfect Diurnal (l) further adds ----- *The Country puts up many complaints; **Wedall**, a little Town in Yorkshire of 57 li. old Rent; and **Ayscough**, a lesser Village of 42 li. have put up their several complaints, that they have in less than five months last past, paid to the Scots Army quartering upon them almost two thousand pounds, besides former Billettings and Taxes: by which sad sufferings some have left their Houses, others at the point of leaving theirs also.*

n. 171.

Letters (m) from **Richmondshire**, did likewise intimate that two Constableries of that County, the Rent whereof amounted to no more than ninety nine pounds per annum, were assessed by the Scottish Army, and paid in Free Quarter no less than nineteen hundred pounds in four months.

m Weekly Account n. 46.

But having made such a fair Market of the King; leaving those Countries thus harrassed, they march'd (n) back over **Tweed**, upon the eleventh of February.

n. 11. Febi

¶ Hereupon the Grandees at **Westminster**, having (to the view of the World) finish'd their great work by getting the person of the king into their power, they imployed *Phillip* Earl of **Pembroke**, *Basill* Earl of **Denbigh**, *Edward* Lord **Mountagu** of **Boughton**, *Sir James* **Harington**, *Sir John* **Holand**, and *Sir*

Ann. 1646. *John Cook* Barons, *Sir Walter Earl* Knight, *John Crew* Esq; and Major General *Brown* (as already hath been observed) to bring his Majestie from *Newcastle* to *Holdenby* in *Northampton-shire*. Who coming to *Newcastle* upon the 22. of *January*; after their stay there till the last day of that month, they set forwards on the Journey; and on the sixteenth (o) of *February* got to *Holdenby*; where they kept him under a strict restraint (Colonel *Richard Greaves*, a most confiding *Presbyterean*, having the chief command of his Guards) not suffering any of his own servants to come near him; no not so much as one Chaplain for performance of such divine offices as common charity could not have denyed to the greatest criminal, though often and earnestly moved by his Majestie thereto. Which being done, they thought of nothing more than singing a *Requiem* to their Souls.

See his observations thereupon in his *Eikon Basilike*.

In order whereunto, in the first place they concluded (p) on the new modelling of their Army, lest the tender *Independent*, who grew up apace, might otherwise overtop his *Presbyterean*-parent: and therefore resolv'd to cull out those who were not *Covenant*-proof, and send them for *Ireland*; there to encounter as well with hunger and cold as other miseries and hardships of war: Then to disband others and make a new establishment, consisting of such onely as were pure *Covenanters*; and firm to the good old *Cause*.

And next; to the end, that with more plausibility to the people, and security to themselves, they might have the full sway of all; their drift was, to extort the King's consent (he being then their prisoner) to this their new designed Dominion. For the accomplishment whereof (according to their wonted practises) they caused a petition (q) to be exhibited to the two Houses at *Westminster*, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*. Wherein was contained a subtil insinuation of their desires, that God would bring his Majestie's Heart, nearer to his chief and greatest Council (the Parliament)

q 17. March. 16. p. 1524.

Parliament) and that he would be perswaded to joyn with them in the National League and Covenant, and give satisfaction to the Propositions, which the Parliaments of both Nations should make unto him, for the full assurance of his People for the future, and firm establishment of the Peace and Union of the Kingdomes in Church and Commonwealth.

Anno 1646.

In which Petition it was also desired, that for security to the Parliament and City, such as had been in opposition to the Parliament (*id est*, loyal to the King) might be removed out of the City, and kept at a distance from his Majestie's Royal presence. Declaring (*r*) likewise to the whole world, that they still were, and resolved to remain in their zeal as fervent to the Parliament as ever: And, according to the Covenant, did next under God rely upon the Wisdom and Justice of the Parliament, for settlement of their Peace and Prosperity.

Ib. p. 1525.

And, discerning the Independent-party of the Souldiery beginning to be then predominant, had drawn the Army neerer to the City of London, than the Grandees at Westminster did well like; it was by them farther petitioned, that the Army might be forthwith removed, and with all convenient speed disbanded: As also, that the Court of Common-Council might have authority to elect Members for the Militia of the City, in pursuance of a former Petition of theirs to that purpose.

Anno 1647.

Whereupon, after much debate and quick dispute (the Presbyterean-party in the House being at that time most numerous) it was resolved (*†*), that the whole Army, Horse and Foot should be disbanded; onely (***) five thousand Horse, one thousand Dragoons, and some few Fire-locks to be continued in pay, for the safety of this Kingdome; and some to be sent for Ireland.

† 27. April. Ib. p. 1569.

* History of Independencie p. 33.

Which vote so awakened the Souldiery, that no less than eight Regiments of Horse, soon sent up a Counter-Petition (*r*) to the Parliament, wherein they give reasons why they could not engage, in the service of Ireland: (for thither 'twas resolved they should go

† 30. April. Perfect Diurnal p. 1572.

Anno 1647.

upon their disbanding) and complained of many scandalous suggestions, which had been raised against them, and their proceedings: as also, that they saw designs put upon them, and upon many of the Godly party in the Kingdome. Signifying likewise, that they could not engage for **Ireland**, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and their just desires granted.

Ibid.

But these things, as yet, being not publickly insisted on, nor own'd by any other than the common Souldiers; it was ordered (*v*), that Major-General *Skyppon*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, Commissary-General *Ireton*, and Colonel *Fleetwood*, should be speedily sent down to the Army, to acquaint them, that there should be a considerable sum of money provided for them, before their disbanding; and that their Accompts should be audited: as also an Act of Indemnity for all the mischief they had done in the time of warr; it being expected, that this bountiful and gracious offer, would quiet their stirring Spirits, and incline them to submit tamely to the pleasure of their great Masters.

* 11. May.
Ibid. p. 1584.

And so confident, at that time, were the *Presbyterean*-party in the two Houses at **Westminster** to baffle their *Independent* offspring, by this artifice of disbanding the Army; that to make room for them in **Ireland**, upon their riddance here, they fram'd an Ordinance (*x*), for clearing that Kingdome of those Scottish forces, which were then imploy'd there, as Auxiliaries against the Irish-Rebels. And soon after, did accordingly order (*y*), that the Army should be disbanded; beginning first with the General's Regiment (then at **Chelmsford** in *Essex*) and that so many of them as would engage for **Ireland**, should be presently taken on, and a fortnights pay advanced to them, together with two months pay of their arrears. The like for the rest of the Army, at their respective Rendezvous.

y 25. May.
Ib. p. 1601.

But whilst these now distinct parties of Godly men, were thus striving for Masteries; the King, who still was kept at **Holdenby**, under a most deplorable restraint;

straynt ; (and the whole Kingdome under grievous oppressions) finding no sense at all in them, neither of His, nor his peoples miseries, sent his sixteenth Message (2) ; wherein, complaining of his disconsolate condition there ; his Servants being denyed access to him ; none admitted to bring or receive any Letters from him : nor any other but the Parliaments Commissioners (who were then his Spyes as well as Guardians) to converse with him : by which means he was not Master of those ordinary Actions, which are the undoubted right of every free-born-man, how mean soever ; and so not qualified to make any concessions, nor give Answers (as himself did then most rationally observe,) yet so much was he desirous of peace ; that unto those *Propositions*, which they sent to him at **Newcastle**, when he was in custody of the Scots (*viz.* 25. *June An.* 1646.) and whereupon he then gave a general Answer, with desire to be admitted to treat personally with them at **Westminster** ; that, presuming they might insist upon the same still ; he did then, by this his 16th. Message, as to *Religion*, offer to confirm the *Presbyterean-government*, the *Assembly of Divines* at **Westminster**, and the *Directory* for three years, being the time required by those *Propositions* ; so that himself and his Household were not hindred from that order in Gods service, which they had formerly used. Offering, that a free consultation should be had with those their Divines at **Westminster**, twenty of his own nomination being added thereto ; whereby it might be determined what Government in the Church should be after those three years.

But, as to the *Covenant*, he told them, that he was not satisfied therein ; desiring, that upon his admission to **London**, he might be assisted with the advice of such of his own Chaplains, and other Divines, as he should think fit to consult with : farther signifying to them ; that the *Militia* by Sea and Land, in case it were onely as a security, for preservation of the peace of his Kingdome (after due performance of all other Agreements, then to be considered of) should be, for

Anno. 1647.2 12. May.
The King's
16th. Mes-
sage.

Anno 1647.

the space of ten years, in the hands of such persons, as the two Houses should nominate.

And as to the prosecution of the War in **Ireland** (other things being agreed) he would give them satisfaction therein [those being the most material of these *Propositions*.]

But, to be short; the guilt of these men, being like that of *Cain* (greater than in their own opinion could ever be forgiven) they still cryed out, *that His Majesty was averse to peace, and never yet pleased to accept of any tender, fit for them to make: nor to offer any fit for them to receive.* And their preachers were still taught to pray, *that God would incline the King's Heart, to come to His Parliament.*

¶ Leaving His Majesty therefore out of all hopes to obtain any good by these his earnest and incessant Messages; I now return to the *Grandees* of the Army, who had, about this time, a considerable Game to play; (the most active of them being then become *Independent*) whose main work was to avoid disbanding; yet not to be seen therein, in the least manner themselves. To which end, as at the first beginning of this woful Rebellion, the rabble and baser sort of people in **Scotland**, were piped up by the zealous *Kirkmen*, to lead on the Dance; the *Gentry* next, and *Nobility* last (as they discern'd the way) following after the same Musick: So were the *Common-souldiers* here taught to appear in opposition to those Orders of the Parliament; whereupon at (*a*) **Bury** in *Suffolk*, in the first place they alledg'd, that they were at that time, no less than fifty six weeks pay in arreare; so that the eight weeks pay voted, was not a considerable part thereof. Next, that no visible security was given, for what should not then be payd. Thirdly (*b*), that nothing was done for their Vindication: and that having been declared *Enemies*, and sent home, they might be proceeded against as *Enemies*, unless that Declaration against the Army of *March* the XIIIth. was recalled: and therefore they petitioned the General, for a publick *Rendevouz*, whereat their Grievances might be represented. Whereupon intimation (*c*) was given; that, these

^a 25. May.
Ibid.
p. 1604.

^b *Ib.* p. 1605.

^c 29. May.
Ib. p. 1606.

Anna 1647.

these things considered, there would be a necessity for the officers compliance with the Souldiers, lest that Rendevouz should otherwise prove tumultuous; and destructive to the Kingdome.

In which petition; considering the late Order for disbanding, without redressing their Grievances, or vindicating the Army; or calling such persons to account, who had been Intenders or Contrivers of their destruction; they desired, that he would speedily appoint a general Rendevouz, and to use his utmost endeavour, that they might not be *disbanded*, before their sad and pressing greivances were heard and fully redressed.

Which Petition being communicated (*d*) by the General to the two Houses at **Westminster**, did so startle their High and Mightynesses there; that they forthwith ordered (*) to the common Souldiers, all their Arrears, deducting free Quarter, according to the usual Rules of the Army. Also, that the subordinate officers should have the like: and the Commission-officers one months pay more, added to the two formerly voted. Likewise, that the Declaration against the Army (before mentioned) should be rased out of the Journals of both Houses, which was done accordingly. And that there should be an Ordinance drawn up, for their farther satisfaction, in point of *Indempnity*, with an *Ordinance (f) of Oblivion* to boot.

^d 30. May.
Ib. p. 1608.

* 3. June.
Ib. p. 1611.

^f 5. June.
Ibid.

Anno 1647.

CHAP. XXIII.



UT this Psalm of *Placebo*, then tuned by the Members at **Westminster**, did no whit charm the evil Spirit, which was conjur'd up by the Grandees of the Army amongst the common Souldiers. Who, well knowing how perfidious those Ring-leaders of the Rebellion had been to their Leige-lord the King; concluded, that they would approve themselves as faithless to them, when ever it should lye in their power: And therefore, not daring to trust their faire words; they forthwith dispatcht away a party, of a thousand Horse, to **Holdenby**, under the command of one *Joyce*, a Cornet (but formerly a Godly Taylor) who arriving there upon *Thursday* in the night, being the third of *June*; and having secured the Guards, under which the King was then kept, took away His Majesty the next day, to (g) **Hinchinbrooke**, near **Huntington**.

3. June.
The King
taken from
Holdenby.

8 *Ib.* p. 1612.

Which News so astonisht the great men at **Westminster**; that, having had no small experience of many signal advantages by their counterfeit Humiliations, and Mock-faits, they herein fell to their old practice, in that kind once more; appointing *Wednesday* the sixth of *June* for that purpose; to the end (as their usual canting expressions were) that God would be pleased to give them one Heart, and one mind, in carrying on the great work of the Lord.

Whereupon their famous *Stephen Marshall* (who was *Presbyterianorum ante-signanus*) the Bell-wether of that blessed flock; with *Mr. Strong* and *Mr. Whitakers* (zealous men of the same stamp) were then appointed to pray and preach with the Members, in their own House of Commons, upon that day: the Lords (according to the example of the Commons) appointing others, as devout, to do the like in theirs.

7. June.
The King
removed to
Childersley.

And

And to court the Souldiers yet more, they passed an additional (*b*) Ordinance to save them harmless by an Act of Oblivion and Pardon, for all things done in the time of War.

Anno 1647.

^h 7. June.
Ib. p. 1620.
& Scob. Col.
p. 127.

Nay into such a terror were they then stricken, that, in order to the laying of this evil-Spirit in the Army, (so conjur'd up by the Independent Grandees there) they did (according to their old wont) set on foot a Petition (*i*) in the City of **London**: which being sign'd by thousands of the *Presbyterean*-Heard, was brought to the House of Commons by the Sheriffs, accompanied by divers Aldermen and others; desiring *that all honourable ways and means, might be used for to prevent the farther shedding of bloud; and that all just satisfaction might be given to the Army, and all other Souldiers, who had adventured their lives for defence of the Parliament and Kingdome. Likewise, that the Covenant and Agreement of both Nations might be kept; and His Majestie's royall person preserved and so disposed of, that the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, might have access unto him, &c.*

ⁱ 8. June.
Ib. p. 1621.

^{9.} June.
The King removed from Childersley to Newmarket.

Whereupon the House Voted, that an Ordinance should be speedily brought in, according to the desires of the Petitioners. And the same day, they passed a Declaration, for making void their former Declaration (*k*) of the xiiijth. of *March*, concerning the Army.

^k Ibid.

And farther to shew, how firm they yet stood to their old *Presbyterean*-principles, and the *Covenant*, in order to a blessed Reformation (which was for the extirpating the Religion by Law establishd in the Church of **England**) they passed an Ordinance (*l*), entituled *An Ordinance for recreation of Scholars, Apprentices, and Servants*. Whereby, abrogating those ancient Festivals of the *Nativity of our blessed Saviour, Easter, Whitsontide*, and all other *Holy-days*, which had been (as their sayd Ordinance expressed) before that time superstitiously observed; they did, insted thereof, allow them the *second Thursday* in every month throughout the year for their Recreation.

^l Ibid. &
Scob. coll.
p. 128.

Anno 1647.

¶ There is nothing more certain, than that at this time, there was so great a terrour upon the *Presbyterean*-Grandees sitting at **Westminster**, by reason that the Army had gotten the person of the King into their hands, that they left no likely means unessayed to reconcile the two Interests; viz. the *Presbyterean*, then predominant in the Parliament, and *Independent* in the Army, whereof to give particular instances would be too tedious. Nor is it less true, that *Cromwell* (who all this while sitting at **Westminster**, and by his trusty confidants called *Agitators*, actuating the Army) did put them upon all those practises; and, the more to fool his fellow-members, did with the greatest asseverations imaginable, confidently profess his dislike of the Souldiers refractoriness: assuring the House, that if he might have leave to go down to the Army, he would undertake they should submit, and lay down their Arms at the Parliament door.

Which vain hope did then so far dote most of the Members; that some of them said publickly; that, having done such glorious things for the Parliament (as a chief Commander in the Army) and now, that he would qualify the Souldiers in this their desperate mutiny, *he deserved to have a Statue in Gold*.

But, having by this artifice, obtain'd liberty to get away; when he came to the Rendevouz (*m*), at **Triplo-Heath**; he did not onely approve of all that they had done, but openly joyn'd (*n*) with them in all their bold Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, and Manifestos; saying to some in private, that *now he had got the King into his Hands, he had the Parliament in his Pocket*: but protested his ignorance of the design; adding (*o*) an Execration upon his wife and children, in asseverating thereof.

And, as heretofore the leading-members at **Westminster** did usually pen petitions, and send them into the City of **London**, and elsewhere, to be subscribed by those of their party, for countenanceing whatsoever they had a mind to act: so (then) did the Grandees of the Army, not being ignorant what

advan-

The Rendevouz of the Army at Triplo-Heath.

^m 10. June. Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1623.

ⁿ Hist. Inde.
p. 34.

^o *Ib.* p. 35.

advantages had formerly been made of those devises *viz.* one from (p) **Essex** to the General, in the name of the well-affected-People there: desiring, that in regard of the present unsettled condition of the Kingdome and the design of many to deprive the subject of their liberty, he would not consent to the disbanding of the Army, nor any part thereof, untill there should be a general settlement of things in the Kingdome. The like Petitions from (q) **Norfolk** and **Suffolk**, desiring that there might be no disbanding untill the general grievances were redrest and Justice done.

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P 9 Perfect
Diurnal p.
1625.

But see the dreadfull horrors and apprehensions, which attend the Consciences of wicked men in times of distress and danger! No sooner did the Army march from the parts about **Triplo** towards **St. Albans**; but the *Presbyterean*-Members at **Westminster**, and those of that gang in **London**, fell into such Agonies; that they forthwith ordered (r) all the Trayned-Bands in **London** to be raised upon pain of Death; and strong Guards to be set about the Line: nay, that all the Citizens should shut up their Shops. So that whereas formerly his Majestie's incessant Messages to them for peace, were contemn'd and laid aside; and when they had bought him of the Scots, he must not be suffered to come nearer **Westminster** (where they hatch'd all their barbarous contrivances against him) than **Holdenby** in *Northamptonshire*; now they voted his coming to **Richmond**, and did vouchsafe to write Letters to him.

r 12. June.
Ib. p. 1626.

But alas, too late; *Independencie* being then triumphant, and *Presbytery* gasping (as you will see by and by) For, in answer to this Vote, it was desired (†), that no place might be proposed for his Majestie's residence nearer unto **London**, than where they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be. And, not many days after, a paper (t) was sent to the Houses at **Westminster**, intituled *the Representation of the Army*. In which it was in the first place required, that the Houses should be speedily purged of such Members as for their *Delinquencie* (so they were pleas'd to term it)

† History of
Independen-
cie p. 36.t 21. June.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1612.

Anno 1647. or for corruptions, or abuse to the State, &c. ought not to sit there. Which terrible news put the *Presbyterean*-party upon mustring up all their power; and once for all, to try what one strong blast could do. Whereupon they Voted that the Army should remove forty miles from **London**.

v 23. June.
Ib. p. 1625.
& Hist. of
Indep. p. 37.
See the Arti-
cles of Im-
peachment
Impr. Lond.
for G. Whi-
taker at the
blew Anchor
in Cornhil.

Anno 1647.
24. June. the
King remo-
ved from
New-Market
to Royston.

x History of
Independen-
cie p. 37.

y 26. June
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1627.

z History of
Independen-
cie p. 37.

26. June. the
King remo-
ved from
Royston to
Hatfield.

But this vote signified very little: for instead of any obedience thereto, the Army presently gave order (*u*) for purging the House, by an impeachment of high Treason of all the most able and active men, which stood for the *Presbyterean*-Interest; viz. *Denzill Hollies*, Esq; *Sir Philip Stapleton*, *Sir William Lewes*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Sir William Waller*, *Sir John Maynard* Knights, Major General *Massye*, *John Glyn*, Esq; Recorder of **London**, *Walter Long*, Esq; Colonel *Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nicholls*, Esq; being in number no less than *Eleven* of their chief Members, who had from the beginning vigorously born the heat of the day.

Great stickling indeed there was by all their party to have preserv'd those men still in that holy conclave: but all would not do; for it was clearly discern'd (*x*) that by their power in the House, the *Ordinance for disbanding the Army* did pass. So that to avoid suspending the whole House, it was thought most fit that these men should retire. And so they did (*y*); it being high time: for the Army did not stick to threaten (*z*) to march up to **Westminster**, if those Members were not suspended; courting the City of **London** to sit Neutralls, and let them work their will with the Parliament.

This indeed was a stroke almost fatal to the *Presbyterean*: for it lost them not onely all these leading-men, but a far greater number that staid: some falling off from that side under colour of clearer Illumination: and some others were so much daunted thereat, that they had not afterwards courage enough to hold up their heads as formerly: But upon the retiring of these *Eleven Members*, the prosecution of their charge was totally forborn.

And now that the House was thus purged the greater part of the remaining Members became most obsequious

obsequious to the Army; and declared (a); that they owned it as their Army, and would make provision for the maintenance thereof: ordering, that so soon as money could be conveniently raised, they should be payd equally with those, who had left the Army.

Anno 1647.

a 28. June.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1630.

CHAP. XXIV.

Having thus garbled the House of Commons, no wonder it was that the whole *Presbyte-rean-party*, every where, became highly incens'd: and the rather for that they had so imprudently slipt their oportunity of complying with the king in due time. For then (when 'twas too late) they would have gladly joyn'd with any Interest to work themselves again into some authority. Which being discern'd by the *Independents*, who then had the King in their Hands; to spoyle the *Presbyte-rean-design*, they not onely fell to Courting His Majesty with great civilities and favours (such, indeed as he never enjoy'd, since he fled to the Scots for refuge) admitting (b) the Duke of *Richmond* to come and attend him, and two of his own most desired Chaplains: but the people also, by many printed (c) Books and Papers, spread over all **England**; and likewise by the Pulpits, whereby they stirred up the vulgar to make loud complaints of their pressures and grievances; and to make addressses to the Army, as their onely Saviours; Restorers of their Laws, Liberties and Proprieties; Setlers of Religion, and Preservers of all just Interests: pretending also to establish the King in his just Rights and Prerogatives; to uphold the Priviledg of Parliament; to reform and bring to account all Committees, Sequestrators and others, who had defil'd their fingers with publick moneys; and to free the people from *Excise* and other Taxes.

1. July.
The King removed from *Hatfield* to *Windsore*.

3. July.
Thence to *Caversham*.

b 9. July.
Ib. p. 1642.

c Hist. of In-
depen. p. 38.

15. July.
The King removed from *Caversham* to *Maydenhead*.

Thence to *Woburne*.

22. July.
Thence to *Latimers*.

Anno 1647.

d 25. July.
Perfect Oc-
currences,
p. 199.

Seeing therefore that the work of *Reformation* was now thus obstructed by the Seraphick Brethren here, who walkt by more new and clear Lights; those in **Scotland** grew so highly moved thereat, that they indicted (*d*) a *publick Fast*, and solemn day of Humiliation, to be kept throughout the whole Kirk of that Kingdome; setting forth a *Declaration* of the Causes moving them thereunto, the Copy whereof I have thought fit here to insert.

1. ----*That, notwithstanding our solemn Engagement in the Covenant; our Obligations for great and singular mercies, and our many warnings by Judgments of all sorts: yet, not onely do we come far short of that sobriety, Righteousness, and Holiness, that becometh the Gospel of Jesus Christ: but ungodliness and worldly lusts abound every where throughout the land, unto the grieving of the Lord's Spirit, and provoking of the eyes of his glory, and to make him increase his plagues upon us; and to punish us seven times more, because we continue to walk contrary unto him.*

2. *That the Lord's hand is still stretched out against us, in the Judgment of the Pestilence, which spreads not onely in several parts of the Country; but continueth and increaseth in many of the most eminent Cities of the Kingdome.*

3. *The great danger that threatens Religion and the work of Reformation, in these Kingdomes, for the number, power, and policy of the Secretaries in England; which are like, not onely to interupt the progress of uniformity, and the establishment of the Ordinances of God, in their beauty and perfection; but to overturn the foundation already laid, and all that hath been built thereupon, with the expence of so much bloud and pains.*

And therefore we are earnestly to pray to the Lord, that the solemn League and Covenant may be kept fast and inviolable, notwithstanding all the purposes and endeavours of open Enemies, and secret underminings to the contrary.

We are to intreat the Lord, on the behalf of the King's Majesty, that he may be reconcil'd to God; and that he may

may be now furnished with wisdom and council from above, that he be not involved in new snares, to the endangering of himself and these Kingdomes; but that his Heart may incline to such resolutions, as will contribute for settling of Religion and Righteousness.

*We are also to intreat the Lord, on the behalf of the Parliament of **England**; of the Synod of Divines; and of all such in that Land, as do unfeignedly mind the work of God; that they may not be discouraged nor swerve in the day of temptation; but that every of them in their Stations, and according to their places and callings, may be furnished with Light and Strength from Heaven, for doing of their duty with faithfulness and zeal.*

We are to supplicate for direction to our Committee of Estates, that they may discern the times, and know what is fitting to be done, for securing our selves and encouraging our Brethren.

We are to pray for a Spirit of Light, of Love unto our Assembly, that they may be instrumental in preserving Truth, and advancing Holiness amongst our selves; and for carrying on the work of God amongst our Neighbours.

That the Lord would pour out upon all sorts of persons, in these Kingdomes, a Spirit of Grace and Supplication, that it may repent us of all our Iniquities; and that we may be reconcil'd unto the Lord; that so all tokens of his wrath may be removed from amongst us, and he may bless us with the sweet fruits of Truth and Peace.

It cannot easily be thought, but that the Scots did somewhat more than *fast* and *pray*, considering the desperate condition wherein their *Covenanting-Brethren*, especially at **Westminster** and in **London**, then stood; and that *the great work of Reformation* (as they call'd it) lay in such hazard. But, at such a distance what more could soon be expected, than that they should by the help of the zealous Preachers, earnestly incite the *Covenanters* in **London**, to bestir themselves; and put more courage into those drooping Members, who (after the late purge) were then left in the House, which (for certain) they under-hand in some sort did;

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*Hist. of Ind.
p. 40.

^e *Ib.* p. 39.
& p. 40.

^g *Ibid.*

did; and were like enough, above board, to have done much more; considering that by an Ordinance (*) of *May* the 4th. then past, the *Militia* of that great City was established in the hands of such persons as were nominated by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council there. To secure themselves therefore against this imminent danger, the Army were necessitated, by picking a quarrel (*f*) with the City, to wrest the *Militia* out of their hands, and then totally to cleanse the House at **Westminster** of the remaining *Presbyterean*-humour, by a stronger purge than it formerly had.

In order whereunto, there was a Letter (*g*) forthwith sent from General *Fairfax* and the Army, together with a *Remonstrance* to the Houses at **Westminster**, demanding the *Militia* of the City, to be put into their Hands. Whereupon the House of Commons tamely and readily voted (*h*) the repealing of that Ordinance of *May* the 4th. and presently passed a new Ordinance, for reviving the old *Militia*; and transmitted it to the Lords.

ⁱ 24. July.
Ib. p. 41.

^k 26. July. *Ib.*

Which unexpected change caused the City to meet (*i*) in *Common-Council*, and to resolve of Petitioning the Parliament again therein, within two days following. And so they did (*k*) by their Sheriffs, and some of the Common-Council. But, to second this Petition there followed them (within three hours) some thousands of Apprentices, and other stout fellows with another Petition, whereby they claim'd the *Militia* as the Citie's Birthright by sundry Charters, confirm'd in former Parliaments: for defence whereof they alledg'd, that they had adventured their Lives as far as the Army: and thereupon desired, that the *Militia* might be put again into the same Hands, in which it was put with the Parliament and Citie's consent upon the 4th. of *May*. And this they did in so tumultuous a fashion, that the Lords (who were then but seven in number) presently granted it.

And having so done, and sent it to the Commons, slipping out by a postern, went themselves away by water. But the Commons having no mind to displease the

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the Army, refus'd to do the like; and angrily bad the Apprentices to be gone, intending to rise and adjourn themselves. Which purpose of theirs being discern'd by those youngsters, was by them soon prevented, by shutting up their doors, and peremptorily requiring their compliance with the Lords. The Commons therefore seeing themselves in this streight, did at length (with much unwillingness) yeild to the importunity of these their bold Suitors: and, not onely so, but were by them forc't to pass a farther vote; which was, *that the King should be admitted to come to London to treat.*

But this uproar being made known to the Grandees of the Army, the greatest advantage imaginable was made thereof. For the confiding Members, being thereupon sent for to the Army, fled (*l*) to the Headquarters at **Windsore** within three days after; the Speaker also bearing them Company; who, having coufened the State of vast sums of Money, was threatened with an Impeachment if he did not come with them.

Of the House of Commons that so fled (*m*) to the Army, the number was said to be above forty: and of the Lords which came after, the names were these; *viz.* (*n*) the Earls of Northumberland, Warwick, Manchester, Salisbury, Kent, Moulgrave, the Viscount Say and Sele; the Lords Grey of **Clarke**, Wharton and Howard of **Esrick**.

Of the House of Lords that stay'd, the Lord Willoughby of **Parham** was made Speaker.

But of the Commons, there was about one hundred and forty; who coming to the House, and missing their *old Speaker*, and the Serjeant at Mace which usually attended, chose (*o*) Mr. *Henry Pelham* to be their new Speaker, and another Serjeant to attend him. Which number being all of the old *Covenanting flock*, and yet not further illuminated, proceeded to doe and act as a Parliament: first voting (*p*) in their old companions, called the *Eleven impeached Members*. Next, setting up a *Committee of Safety*; enabling them to joyne with the Committee of the

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30. July.
The King
removed
from *Lati-*
mers to Stoke-
pogeyr.
9 30. July.
The King-
dome's In-
telligences.
p. 617.

restored *City-Militia*; and giving them power to list and raise forces, appoint Commanders and Officers; and issue forth Arms and Amunition, for defence of both Houses and the City, against all that should invade them. And, in the neck of these Votes, came out a *Declaration* (q) of the City; which the Lords and Commons, then sitting at **Westminster** ordered to be published throughout all **England** and **Wales**; wherein (after a large preamble) they went on thus;

-----*We do, in the presence of Almighty-God, profess, that there is nothing in the world, that we more desire, than that His Majesty may be put and left free, in such an honourable condition and capacity, as his person may appear to be at Liberty, to receive and treat upon such Propositions, as shall be presented unto him from the Parliaments of both Kingdomes: for our Consciences tell us, that whilst his royal person is environ'd by an Army, and remains under the power thereof, we cannot expect that either His Majestie's Princely Heart, can give that free assent unto those things, which shall be propounded unto him, as is requisite: or if he do, cannot hope, with good reason, that we and our posterity shall, without alteration enjoy the same: And therefore we are resolved; earnestly (yet with humility) to apply our selves to the Parliament, to this purpose: and hope, that all good Subjects, who are touched with any sense of that duty and allegiance, which by the Law of God and man, they owe unto the King, will unanimously joyn with us therein.*

We cannot omit also to declare unto the Kingdome, how we have sadly observed, since the Eleven accused Members withdrew themselves; and that the Army hath daily grown upon the Parliament; that a great and considerable number of other Members of the House of Commons, have also retired themselves, to the endangering of the Kingdom, which never more needed a full Council: And, therefore, we shall make our speedy address to the honourable House of Commons, to call in all the Members of their House, residing in the Army, or retired to their dwellings, by leave of the House or otherwise. And we shall particularly insist upon
the

the readmission of the Eleven Members, lately driven out of the House of Commons, by the violent pursuit of the Army, contrary to the sense of the same House, the Law of the Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament: wherein also we are confident, all good English-men, and Lovers of their Country, will adhere unto them and us, &c.

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And we declare, that we sincerely desire an happy and speedy Peace, by the settlement of true Religion in this Kingdome; by re-establishing His Majesty in his just Rights and Authority; by upholding all lawful Priviledges of a free Parliament; by maintaining the Fundamental Laws of the Land; by restoring and securing the Subject unto, and in his just liberty and property; and, by freeing the long oppressed Kingdome of all Taxes, and enforced free Quarter, towards the maintenance of an Army, which of a long time hath had no visible Enemy to encounter. And from this Resolution (by the blessing of God) we shall never recede, for any earthly consideration, or advantage whatsoever.

But whilst the Citizens were thus Declaring, and the Members very busy at **Westminster**, the Fugitives (for so they then call'd them that were fled to the Army) were not idle at **Windsor**; for there they sate in consultation with the Council of War, and signed an *Engagement* (r) to live and dye with General *Fairfax*, and the Army under his Command: as also a *Remonstrance*, shewing the grounds of their intended advance towards **London**; Declaring (†) against the choyce of the new Speaker at **Westminster**; and that, as things then stood, there was no free-Parliament sitting; being, through the violence done, on the twenty sixth of *July* before, wholly suspended: as also, that whatsoever Orders or Votes, had passed since that time, they should be *null and void*, and not at all submitted unto.

r History of Independence p. 44.

† *Ib.* p. 45.

With the Army thus marching towards the City, also joyned (t) the Trayned Bands of some Countries (viz. *Kent*, *Essex* and *Surrey*) which put the *Covenanting Brethren* into such dreadful apprehensions, and pannick fears; as that they often sent Commissi-

t *Ibid.*
The Army marcheth towards *London*.

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Ib. p. 46.

oners to mediate for peace, but could obtain no other terms, than (v) *that they must desert the Members sitting at Westminster; as also the Eleven, formerly impeached. Moreover, that they should call in their Declaration, then newly printed and published; Relinquish the Militia; Deliver up all their Forts, and Line of Communication to the Army, together with the Tower of London, and all the Magazines of Armes therein; Disband all their Forces; Turn all the Reformados out of the Line; withdraw all their Guards from the Houses; Receive such Guards of Horse and Foot, within the Line, as the Army should appoint to guard the Houses; Demolish their works; and suffer the whole Army to march in triumph through the City.*

* Perfect Di-
urnal. p.
1689.

Unto all which they forthwith tamely yielded, as may seem from those poor, pittiful, abject and slavish Expressions, made by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council, then sent to General Fairfax; in these words (x)----*And, forasmuch as we observe, that the chief cause, which hath drawn your Excellency and your Army thus near the City, is to bring home those noble and honourable Members of both Houses; who, because of the Tumults at Westminster the twenty sixth past, have retired themselves, to the end they may by you be placed in safety, and in a free-Parliament at Westminster; we chearfully and heartily joyne with your Excellency therein: and, according as we shall find directions from your Excellency, they shall find all ports and passes open, to receive you and them: and also such Guards of two or three Regiments, as your Excellency shall think fitting for their conduct to the two Houses of Parliament. And the Parliament being set with Peace and Safety, we shall humbly submit to their direction, what forces of yours and ours to continue for their future Guard; in which service we humbly offer the whole strength of this City.*

7 3. Aug.
Ib. p. 1688.

Whereupon on **Hounslow-Heath** the Army drew (y) up in Batalia, there being present the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Kent, and Moulgrave; the Viscount Say and Sele; the Lord Gray of Werke, the Lord Howard of Escrick, and Lord Wharton; the Speaker also of the House of Commons, and about

about one hundred Members of that House. Where the Common-Souldiers were taught to make great Shouts; and cry *Lords and Commons*, and a *free-Parliament*.

From whence, upon the sixth of *August*, the General brought (z) the fugitive Members with a strong party to the Parliament House (the two Palace-yards being filled with armed Guards, and double Files placed throughout *Westminster-Hall*, to the stairs of the House of Commons; and so through the Court of Requests to the Lords House) put the Speakers in their respective chayrs; and set himself in a Chayr of State: where he had great Thanks given him by the Speakers of both Houses.

Which being done, a publick day of *Thanksgiving* was appointed for this happy restoration of them to their old Seats again; Sir *Thomas Fairfax* voted (a) *Generalissimo* of all the Forces and Forts throughout *England* and *Wales*, and Constable of the Tower of *London*; and the Common-Souldiers one month's gratuity, besides their pay. And on the next day following, the whole Army marcht (b) triumphantly through *London*, with their Train of Artillery, and soon after demolish'd (c) the Lines of Communication, environing that great City.

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z 6. Aug.
Hist. of Ind.
p. 46.

a Ib. p. 47.

b 7. Aug.
Ibid.
c Ib. p. 48.

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CHAP. XXV.



AND now that the *Fugitive-members* were thus brought again to the House, the chief business was to make *null and void* all that was acted by those that sate in their absence. But in debating (*d*). thereof, the *Presbytereans* held up most stoutly; insisting with great courage on the validity of them: Inſomuch as the *Speaker*, finding it difficult for the *Fugitives* to carry the Votes, by strength of Reason or Number; ſhew'd forth a *Letter* (*) from the General of the Army, accompanied with a *Remonstrance*, full of high language, and not without threats againſt thoſe that ſate whiſt the two *Speakers* were with the Army calling them *Pretended Members*; and laying to their charge in general, *Treason, Treachery, and breach of Trust*: and proteſting that if they ſhould preſume to ſit, before they had cleared themſelves that they did not give their aſſents to ſome certain Votes, they ſhould ſit at their peril; and that he would take them as *Prisoners of War*, and try them at a *Council of War*.

Which Letter, though it did not a little ſtartle the *Presbyterean-Members*: yet were they loath to leave the Houſe, having ſate there ſo long as abſolute Dictators. In order therefore to their continuance within thoſe walls, it was earneſtly moved (*f*) by ſome of them, that the *Speaker* ſhould command a general meeting of the whole Houſe, upon the next day, and declare that they ſhould be ſecured from danger; as alſo that no more than the ordinary Guards might then attend the Houſe.

But theſe motions were violently oppoſed, with ſhrewd menaces by the *Independent-Members*; the *Speaker* alſo declyning to put any *Queſtion* therein, and adjourning till the morrow; ſo that the *Presbytereans* were left to come again at their peril. Which hazzard of their ſafety, occaſion'd a very thin Houſe the next day, many of that party abſenting themſelves:

^d *Ib.* p. 49,
& 50.

* *Ib.* &
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1705. &
1706.

14. Aug.
The King
removed
from *Stoke-*
poegis to
Oarlands.
† *Hist. of In-*
depen. p. 50.

selves : and of those which came, 'twas observ'd, that some tackt about to the other side, and some fate mute.

At last a Committee was appointed (g) to bring in an *Ordinance of Accommodation* (as they called it) but more properly *the Ordinance of Null an Voide* ; which damn'd all the Votes, Orders, and Ordinances passed in the House, from the xxvjth. of *July* (that the Apprentices forc't the Members, then sitting, to vote and do as they required) untill the sixth of *August*, that those Members, which fled to the Army were brought in Triumph again to the House. Which *Ordinance*, within few days, was passed (h). And soon after that, another (i) wholesome one, for establishing of well affected Ministers in sequestred Livings.

But though this *Ordinance of Null and Voide*, was thus passed, the *Independent-party* thought not themselves secure enough ; and therefore erected (k) a *Committee of Examinations* ; to enquire into and examine who they were that had been active in procuring the *City Petition*, and *Engagement* to be subscribed ; or instrumental in that force upon the House, on the twenty sixth of *July* before mentioned, or in any other endeavour to raise forces.

Which Committee hunted so close after them that had been busy therein, that Sir *John Maynard* (l) Knt. of the Bath (a Member of the House of Commons) *James Earl of Suffolk*, *Theophilus Earl of Lincoln*, *James Earl of Middlesex*, *John Lord Hunsdon*, *George Lord Berkley*, *William Lord Maynard*, and *Francis Lord Wiltoughby* of *Parham* were all of them impeached (m) of High Treason, in the name of the Commons of *England* for levying war against the King, Parliament, and Kingdome ; Sir *John Maynard* being thereupon committed (n) to the Tower, and the Lords to the custody of the usher with the *Black-rod*. And, to the end, that this now predominant-party might the more engage the Common people, to joyn with them ; upon occasion, Agitators were imploy'd into several Counties, for getting Subscriptions to Petitions against *Tythes* ; *Inclosures* ; and *Copy-hold-fines* which were uncertain.

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^e *Ibid.*

^h 20. August.
Ib. p. 52.
Scob. coll.
p. 128.

ⁱ 23. Aug.
Ib. p. 131.

23. Aug.
The King removed from *Oat-lands* to *Syon-house*, where he dyed ; Thence to *Hampton-Court*.

^k *Hist. of Ind.*
p. 53.

^l 7. Septem.
Perfect *Di-urnal* p. 1728.

^m 8. Sept.
Ib. p. 1729.

ⁿ *Ibid.*

¶ Being

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¶ Being thus entring upon one of the last Scenes in this most woful Tragedy; I must look back a little; and, from what hath been said, summarily observe; first that however specious and plausible the *Protestations, Vows*, and *Declarations* of these monstrous men have otherwise been; their chief design originally was to destroy and extirpate Monarchy, in all His Majesty's Realms and Dominions. Secondly; that, when by the assistance of the giddy-multitude (deluded and captivated with many glorious promises) they had got the sway of all into their Hands; they most traiterously murdered the King in his politick capacity; setting him totally aside, as to Authority and Rule; and inhumanely burying him alive, by a severe and barbarous imprisonment, most insolently tooke the Reynes of Government into their own usurping power.

Next, that as *Ambition* and *Avarice* eagerly incited some Grandees of the faction to shoulder out the rest, from sharing with them in the spoyle they had got; though no less active than themselves, in accomplishing the general ruine: the like haughty and covetous desires prompted others, to be no less solicitous for their own temporal advantage. So that, as the Reformation of miscarriages and corruptions in Government, was at first cryed up by the *Presbyterean-Brethren*; and nothing in sted thereof exercised but oppression and destruction: So likewise, under as fair and plausible pretences, the power was soon wrested from that seeming Holy Generation, by the more Seraphick-Saints of the *Independent Tribe*; who, captivating the *Souldierie* at last, as the *Presbytereans* had done the *people* at first by their splended allurements, with an imaginary Happiness; got the King by that means, into their own cruel Hands: and then subjugating the City of **London** (which had been both Mother and Nurse to that Imparallel'd Rebellion) made the remainder of their Task the less difficult.

And as this grand work was originally begun by the *Presbytereans*, under the Popular name of a *Blessed-Parliament* (by which subtile Enchantment the vulgar were at first most cunningly abused) and pursued to the

the

the utter *subversion of the King's regal power*. So was it carry'd on by the *Independent* to the last (as by and by shall be manifested) untill it became thoroughly compleated in the horrid *murther of his royal person*: towards the perpetration of which prodigious Fact, I shall now briefly shew, by what degrees and steps they did most audaciously proceed.

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CHAP. XXVI.



Having thus subjugated the City, and purg'd the two Houses at *Westminster*, (as is already observed) they then put on a *Presbyterean-cloak* for a while; and under that disguise, pretending their desire to make peace with the King, presented (o) him with the same *Propositions* (in effect) as he had formerly received from the *Grandees* at *Westminster*, when he lay at *Newcastle*, in custody of the Scots

o 7. Septem.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1727.

Whereunto he made answer (p); that unto some of them he could not consent without violation of his *Conscience and Honour*: nor to some others, for that they were disagreeable to the present condition of affairs as things then stood, and destructive to the main and principal *Interests of the Army*, and of all those whose affections concurr'd with them: And therefore desired that the *Proposals of the Army* might be likewise treated on, in order to the settling of a lasting peace; still urging his desires of a *personal Treaty*.

p 9. Sept.
Ibid.

But to this, vouchsafing him no reply at all, they cast off that veile and proceeded yet farther in bridling the City, by *Impeaching* (q) the Lord Mayor, divers Aldermen, and some eminent Citizens, for having an Hand in the *Petition, Engagement, and Force upon the House of Commons* upon the xxvith. of *July* before-mention'd; who were thereupon committed (r) to the Tower.

q 24. Sept.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1748.

r 25. Sept.
Ibid.

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† 23. Sept.
Scob. coll.
p. 133.

† 6. Oct.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1761.

† x. Ib.

† Ib. p. 1770.

† Ib. p. 1772.

† 6. Nov.
Ib. p. 1796.

About this time also, for the better encouragement of those that had a mind to buy *Bishops Lands*, they passed an Ordinance (†) whereby the Purchasers were promised to have their Bargains confirm'd under the great Seal of **England**. And to the end that the multitude of Wild-headed Schismaticks (Limbs of this monstrous *Independent-Body*) whose help they might need at a desperate pinch, might propagate the more throughout all parts of the Nation, a Petition (t) was fram'd, and Subscriptions got to it, by many thousands of the Godly-party in the City of **London**, and presented to the Houses at **Westminster**, for sending of able gifted men (as they call'd them) though not of the Clergy to preach the Gospel throughout the whole Kingdome. Whereupon Thanks (v) was return'd to the Petitioners, by the Houses.

About this time likewise an *Ordinance* was brought (x) in to the House of Commons, for settling the Church-Government, in a *Presbyterean-way*, with a Clause for tender Consciences, and such as were Godly, and made Conscience of their ways. Wherein, upon large debate had, it was resolv'd (y), that all manner of Sects should partake of this Indulgence, excepting those of the *Church of Rome*, and such (z) as should make use of the *Common-prayer*, according to Law establish't in the Church of **England**.

It is not the least observable; that, as at this time the *Independent* Grandees were laying the foundation of their own future dominion: So the *Presbyterean* Brethren, though then under Hatches, were as busy, as in such a condition was possible; setting on the old-Covenanters in **Scotland** to make a loud noise, as appears by a Letter (a) from their Commissioners (then residing at **Westminster**) sent to the two Houses of Parliament, chiefly concerning their *Lord and Sovereign the King* (for so they call'd him) wherein they took notice, that he was still under the power of the Army; and of the many *Professions* and *Engagements* made by the said Houses to the Kingdome of **Scotland**; viz. that they would take care of the preservation of his person, and of his just Power and Greatness, which both Kingdomes had

had sworn (as that Letter did import) not to diminish. Anno 1647.
 Also, that they were Informed of some intentions by the Army, to remove His Majesty from **Hampton-Court**. And finding that their stability and happiness did so much depend upon the safety and preservation of his royal person; being resolv'd that the alteration of affairs, should never separate them from the duty and allegiance they did owe unto him; nor from their constant resolution to live in all loyalty under his Government; they had often shewn their earnest desires, and contributed their utmost endeavours, towards the composure of those unhappy differences. And, that the Houses at **Westminster**, having by their Votes of October the xxvith. intimated unto them their resolution to apply themselves to His Majesty: as also, that they were preparing Propositions to be tendred to him; they desired, that they might be expedited, and communicated to them; that, according to their many Engagements, and relations, there might still be a conjunction of Councils in those things which were for the Common-peace, and joynt Interest of both Kingdomes: And therefore, that for the assisting of them, in clearing His Majestie's doubts, and for giving mutual satisfaction to each other; they desired, in the name of the Kingdome of **Scotland**, that there might be a Personal Treaty with His Majesty, as the best and readiest means to obtain the joynt desires of both Kingdomes: And, to that end, that the King might be invited to come to **London**, with that Honour, Freedome and respect, as was due to His Majesty; or at least, remain at **Hampton-Court**, and not to be under the power and restraynt of the Souldiers.

But this project of the Scots for a *Personal Treaty*, which might in any sort tend to the good of His Majesty or the people, was then set on foot too late; the Grandees of the Army, at that time driving on another designe, in order to his absolute destruction; wherein the common Souldiers were to act their parts, by those pernicious Instruments, called *Adjutors*: which was by making shew to frame certain Articles, in order for settling the Liberties of the people, and Interest of the Army; and this to be called *the Agreement of the people*.

The agree-
ment of the
people.

Anno 1647.

To which end they chang'd their Guards; putting such upon him as were more strict, and discharging well nigh all his Servants, whom they had formerly admitted to wait on him. The tenor of which Instrument, called *the Agreement of the people* was to this effect.

1. That there should be a more equal distribution, by *Counties, Cities and Boroughs*, for election of their Representatives in Parliament.

2. That the Parliament, then sitting, should be dissolved upon the last day of *September, anno 1648.* then next ensuing.

3. That the people might, of course, choose a Parliament for themselves every two year; and to begin on the first Thursday in *April*, then next following, and to end upon the last of *September* ensuing.

b *Ib.* p. 1799.

4. That (*b*) the people were thenceforth to be declared the *Supream-power*, whereunto that, and all future *Representatives* should be subordinate and accountable.

This not pleasing the Members at *Westminster*, was by them voted to be the very destruction of the Parliament, and fundamental Laws of this Kingdome; But no less active were they themselves (though in private) in framing an Impeachment against the King, by the name of *Charles Stuart*; a Committee being appointed to collect together all His Majestie's Letters, and other Papers taken at *Wadesby*, or elsewhere; to the end they might be ready, when the House should have occasion to use them: Yet all this while *Cromwell* (who was the very Soul of that party) did so play the Ambodexter, that he sometimes made shew to the King, how well he was pleased with his late Answer to those *Propositions* from the Houses at *Westminster*, in that he seemed more to approve of the *Armies Proposals*, than those from thence: At other, heightning the *Grandees* there, by all the subtilties imaginable against His Majestie's Answer: But privately spurring on the *Agitators* to the greatest fierceness that might be: yet
whispering

whispering to the King such a fear of their unrulyness, as that His Majesty stood in no little danger to be clandestinely murdered by the Hand of some hot-spirited Enthusiast.

Anno 1647.

CHAP. XXVII.



AND here to enlarge a little farther upon this grand Impostor *Cromwell* (from the relation of a person of credit, who was at that time a confident of his) I shall observe; that when the King was on the way from **Holdenby** with that body of Horse commanded by *Foyce* (as before hath been observed) the Head-Quarters of the Army were at **Benton** in **Cambridg-shire**, about three miles from **Newmarket**, where *Fairfax* the General, being walkt out with one of his Officers, having speedy advertisement thereof, by one that came with all possible hast from thence, he presently returned back to the Town, where he found *Cromwell* and *Watson* a Scout-master (immediately come from the Parliament) newly alighted off their Horses.

To whom imparting the News, *Cromwell* seeming not a little surpris'd therewith, absolutely disfavoured any knowledge thereof: but forthwith concluded with the General to dispatch a special Messenger presently away, to prevent His Majesty's being brought to the Army. Whereupon the Messenger, halting away with that errand, met the King about two miles from **Childerley**, and there acquainting His Majesty that the General and Lieutenant General thought it not safe, that he should at that time come to **Benton** or **Newmarket**, advised for the present, that he should lodge at **Childerley**, where the Lady *Cutts* then lived, and had fit accommodation for him. Which being, by His Majesty assented to, he rested there that night.

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Whereupon *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* coming thither on the next day, and behaving themselves with all obsequiousness to him; he askt them by whose authority he was thus taken from **Holdenby**, the Commissioners which were put there as a Guard upon him, knowing nothing from their Masters at **Westminster** of any Order for the same. Whereunto they answered, that it was not by any direction from either of them; and with no little confidence seemed to dislike the Action. To whom the King replied; *If then you do not hang up Joyce, I will not believe you*; desiring to go to his own House at **Newmarket**, whereunto they assented; and using very large expressions of fidelity to him, removed His Majesty thither, within few days after.

There it was that *Cromwell* first gave him hopes of his restoration, and that he would be cordially instrumental therein; and, as an earnest thereof permitted divers of his own trusty Servants and Chaplains to come and serve him in their respective places: All which had been formerly denyed him, as well by those Parliament-Commissioners who were placed over him upon his remove from **Newcastle**, as by the Scots for the time he was in their Hands.

After which being carried from place to place (as hath been already observed) he was brought at length to **Hampton-Court**, and continually fed with fair promises, and great hopes by *Cromwell*, that he should be restored to his just rights; Commissary-general *Iretton* (who had marryed *Cromwell's* daughter, and had the most power with him of any, as is well known) being totally averse to the *Presbyterean-government*, which the then predominant party in Parliament had resolved to set up: Boldly expressing at **Colebrooke** (but in private) so great an indignation against it, and such an intire affection to the King, out of a seeming hearty sense of his patient sufferings and unparallel'd condiscensions; *that rather than His Majesty should continue thus enslaved by that vile party, if but five men would joyn with him, he would adventure his life in order to his restoration*; *Cromwell* himself, having for the same reasons afterwards at **Putney**, solemnly professed;

professed; that if but ten men would stick to him, he would hazard his life and fortune for him upon the same score, or words to that effect.

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Being thus at **Hampton-Court**, where the like unreasonable and enslaving *Propositions* were brought to him from the Members at **Westminster**, as he had received from them when he was at **Newcastle** and **Holdenby**, having no small hopes of his restoration, through the power of *Cromwell*, who had the greatest influence on the Army: and being well aware that the predominant party in Parliament did still ayme at the establishing themselves in a perpetual dominion: as also, that, in order thereto they did resolve so to garble the Army, according to their own Interest, so that the strength thereof might be broke in pieces, and a new modell set up, consisting of those, who should hold firm to the *Covenant*; His Majesty plainly foreseeing how destructive this must needs be, not onely to himself and his royal family, but to Monarchick government, thought fit in his Answer to those their *Proposals*, to take care of the Armie's interest, which he then lookt upon as the better friends to himself and the publick.

But before he would fully resolve what Answer to make, call'd that person to him from whom I had this relation, (he being a great officer under *Cromwell*, and in much esteem with him;) and told him he must resolve him a short Question; which was, whether he could assure him, that *Cromwell* was the same in his Heart to him, as he had by his Tongue so freely and frequently professed himself to be. At which Question that person being not a little startled; and fearing the danger of an uncertain and unsafe Answer, intreated respite till the next day at Noon. Which being given him, he went privily that night to *Cromwell*, then in bed at **Putney**; and acquainting him freely with the occasion of coming to him at such a time, *Cromwell* in brief assured him, that he did really and uprightly intend from his Heart, to perform the same to his utmost, which he had formerly so often professed to His Majesty that he would do; which was the full restoring and establishing

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blishing him in his just and lawful rights: imprecating, that neither himself, his wife or children might ever prosper, if he did not perform what he had so promised, in case the Army remained an Army: and if not they were obliged to fall with him: and that he would stand by him if there were but ten men besides that would adhere to him, with most bitter reflections upon that rigid party in Parliament, which by their *Presbyterean* principles and practises did meerly design to enslave him.

But notwithstanding all this assurance, that person was so cautious, that he conditioned with *Cromwell*, that, if any thing should thenceforth happen, which might hinder the real accomplishment of this his fair design, that His Majesty might have timely notice thereof, to the end he might endeavour to avoid the danger, which being assented to, he return'd to His Majesty with a cheerful countenance (not at all suspecting the least to the contrary) and imparted to him the substance of what had then passed betwixt them. Whereupon the King, framing his Answer to those *Proposals* from the Parliament (so brought to him as abovesaid) sent it by the same person to *Cromwell* and *Ireton* to be perused, with liberty to add or alter what they should think fit. Which being done by them, and returned to His Majesty, he wrote it a new and sent it to **Westminster**.

But see now the horrid perfidiousness of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. No sooner was this candid and gracious Answer from the King Imparted to the House of Commons, but that both of them appeared with the highest in their bitter invectives against it. The News whereof being forthwith brought to the King, he call'd for the person, who had been so lately with *Cromwell*, and acquainting him therewith, sent him back to *Cromwell* to require a reason thereof. Whose answer was, that what he had then said in the House of Commons, was to sound the depth of those virulent humours, wherewith the *Presbyterians*, whom he knew to be no friends to the King were possess'd with all: But after that time he never came more to His Majesty.

That

That person therefore, whom the King had so employed to *Cromwell*, observing thus much, made it his chief business to find out the Councils and designs of the principal Officers of the Army at **Putney**: and discerning at length how dangerous they were in reference to His Majesty, gave him private Advertisement thereof, to the end he might consider which way best to preserve himself. Whereupon, resolving to get privately from **Hampton-Court** to the City of **London**, the same person (so employ'd as above said) undertook to find him out a secure lodging there: and accordingly leaving him, did provide such a one; His Majesty determining, that so soon as he should get safe thither, to let him have knowledg thereof.

And now at length, being fully sensible of what he had so long feared: which was, that notwithstanding his own clear and candid dealing with them in all respects; and that he did so far rely upon them, that he had strictly prohibited all those of his faithful subjects, who had served in his Armys, that they should not joyn with the Scots, in case they should raise any forces in order to his pretended restoration, as *Cromwell* seem'd to suspect that they might (though nothing less would have been the effects thereof, considering they stuck so close to their *solemn League, and Covenant*;) he was to expect no better than destruction and ruine to himself and his posterity, and absolute slavery to all his good Subjects; he caused a Boat to be privately brought to the River-side; and upon the eleventh of *November*, about the beginning of the night, went alone from the Privy-lodgings, through a Door where no Guard stood, into the Park; and so crossing the **Thames** landed at **Ditton**; where Sir *John Berkley* (afterwards Lord *Berkley*) Mr. *John Ashburnham* and Colonel *William Legg* (sometime Grooms of his Bedchamber) were placed with Horses.

But so it hapned, that when the King was got on Shore, and had stay'd some time for them, Mr. *Ashburnham* dissuaded him from going to **London**, and led him into **Hants**, where His Majesty demanding of him, to what place he intended to conduct

The King
went from
*Hampton-
Court* to-
wards the
Isle of *Wight*,
11. Novem.

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him; he answered into the Isle of **Wight**, whereof Colonel *Hamond* was then Governour, in whom Mr. *Ashburnham* had no little confidence.

To which His Majesty replied, that he would not adventure himself thither; unless he might have sufficient assurance, under the Governour's hand, for his security from any danger; and thereupon sent Mr. *Ashburnham* and Sir *John Berkley* into the Isle, to treat with *Hamond* to that purpose, staying himself at **Tichfield**-house (belonging to the Earl of **Southampton**) with Colonel *Legg*, till they returned: strictly charging them, that they should not let *Hamond* know where he was, unless he would give him full assurance under his Hand, for his freedom, and return thence when he pleased.

But, instead of observing these His Majestie's directions, they came back, and brought *Hamond* with them. And being come to **Tichfield**, went to the King (then in his Bed-chamber) leaving *Hamond* below, telling His Majesty what they had done; whereat the King, being not a little amazed, askt them if they had a promise under *Hamond's* hand, for his security; and they replying No, but that he would approve himself a man of Honour, He plainly told them, that they had betray'd him, or words to that purpose, concluding then, that he was no better than his prisoner.

Which sharp resentment of his condition, toucht them so neer, that they offer'd to kill *Hamond*, and take some other course for His Majestie's safety. But to this their vain proposal the King did utterly refuse to assent, rather choosing to yeild up himself a Sacrifice (as he afterwards was made) to those bloud-thirsty-men, who had resolved his destruction, and subversion of the Government, than to be guilty of assenting to take away the life of that one Rebel in cold blood. And putting himself thereupon into the hands of that unworthy person, was by him kept in no better condition than a prisoner, untill he was by his consent taken away by the direction of *Cromwell*, and the rest of those bloody Regicides, who brought him

to

to the Block, as we shall see anon. But I return.

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At his departure from **Hampton-Court** he left in his withdrawing-room a Letter directed to the Commissioners which attended him there, to be communicated to both Houses of Parliament; the effect whereof was to tell them, *that he had with great patience endured a tedious restraint; which he did willingly undergo, whilst he had any hopes that it might conduce to the peace of the Kingdoms: but then finding by too certain proofs, that this his continued patience, would not only turn to his personal ruin, but be of much more prejudice than furtherance of the publick good; he did conceive, that he was bound, as well by natural as political obligations, to seek his safety, by retiring himself for some time from the publick view both of his friends and enemies: challenging the judgment of all indifferent men, if he had not just cause to free himself from the hands of those who did change their Principles with their condition; earnestly urging, that all just Interests (viz. Presbyterean, Independent; Army, and Scots) might be heard, together with himself, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety: and then, that he would instantly break through that cloud of retirement, and shew himself to be really Pater patriæ.*

In this Letter of his Majestie's (whose unparallel'd Sufferings had raised his Observations to an higher pitch than some who have been much magnified for their Wisedom did ever reach) it is to be noted, that he saw *he had just cause to free himself from the Hands of those who did change their principles with their condition.* Now, lest this his expression should be thought to have reference meerly to the *Independents*, in whose power he then was; it will not be amiss to consider that Letter, written by the Commissioners of **Scotland** unto the two Houses at **Westminster**, dated the sixth of *November*, then past, in reference to the King; together with that Answer of the Commissioners of the general Assembly of the Kirk, unto certain *Proposals* made to them *anno 1646.* touching the King's coming into that Realm, upon his exclusion from the Government in **England**, in case of his

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leaving them without taking the *Covenant*, he being then at *Newcastle*, in custody of the dear Brethren of that Realm.

d 13. Nov.
Perfect Di-
urnal, p.
1785.

Another
message from
the King to
the Houses
at *Westmin-
ster*.

Being thus got away from *Hampton-Court*, he arrived (d) in the Isle of *Wight* upon the thirteenth of *November*: whence (incessantly desiring a safe and well-grounded Peace to these Kingdoms) he soon sent another Message to the Members at *Westminster*, wherein, to shorten that Work, he expressed his mind to this effect; viz. *That, conceiving himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly, he thought it necessary to offer such Grounds to the two Houses for that purpose; which, upon due examination of all Interests, might best conduce thereto. And therefore, as to the abolishing of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. he could not consent to it, as he was a Christian and a King: first, being satisfied in his Judgment, that this Order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and, that ever since that time, it had continued in all Christian Churches throughout the World, till this last Century of years: And in this Church, in all times of Change and Reformation, it had been upheld by the wisdom of his Ancestors, as the great Preserver of Doctrine, Discipline, and Order in the Service of God. Next, as a King at his Coronation, that he had not onely taken a solemn Oath: but, that himself and his predecessors, in their confirmation of the great Charter, had inseparably woven the Right of the Church into the Liberties of the rest of the Subjects: Nevertheless was willing, that it should be provided, that the particular Bishops might perform the several Duties of their Callings, both by their personal Residence, and frequent Preaching in their Diocese; as also, that they should exercise no Act of Jurisdiction or Ordination without the consent of the Presbyters; and to limit their powers, that they might not be grievous to tender Consciences.*

Moreover, that he could not consent to the Alienation of the Church-lands, it being a Sin of the highest Sacrilege; conceiving it also to be a prejudice to the publick good; many of his Subjects having the benefit of renewing Leases at much easier rates than if those Possessions were in the hands of private men; besides the discouragement

ment that it would be to all Learning and Industry, when Ann. 1647. such eminent Rewards shall be taken away: yet, considering the great distemper concerning Church-Discipline, and that the Presbyterean-Government was then in practice; to eschew confusion as much as might be, and for satisfaction of the two Houses of Parliament, was content, that the said Government should be legally permitted to stand in the same condition it then was for three years: Provided, that himself and those of his Judgement (or any other, who could not in Conscience submit thereto) might not be obliged to comply therewith, but have free practice of their own profession. And that a free Consultation and Debate might be had with their Divines at **Westminster** (twenty of his Majesty's nomination being added to them) whereby it might be determined by his said Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church-Government, after that time, should be settled, (or sooner, if differences might be agreed) as should be most agreeable to the Word of God; with full Liberty to all those who should differ upon consciencious grounds from that settlement. Provided, that it might not be understood to tolerate those of the Popish-profession; nor to exempt those from the penalty of the Laws, or tolerate Atheism, or Blasphemy.

2. As to the Militia, though it was undoubtedly the inherent right of the Crown: yet, to evidence his desire to secure the performance of such Agreement as should be made in order to a Peace, his Majesty was content, that, during his whole reign, it should be disposed of by his two Houses of Parliament.

3. As to the Arrears of the Army, that he should concur in any thing that might be done without violation of his Conscience and Honour.

4. As to the Disposal of the great Offices of State, and Naming of Privy-Councillers, he offered the disposing of them, for the whole time of his reign, by the two Houses of Parliament,

5. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, that it should be taken away, so as a full recompence might be settled on his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors in perpetuity.

6. That he would consent to the making of all Oaths,

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Declarations, and Proclamations, against both or either House of Parliament null and void. So likewise of all Indictments and other proceedings against any person for adhering unto them. And that he would pass a general Act of Oblivion.

7. *That, for Ireland, he would give satisfaction to them.*

8. *That as to such Acts and Grants passed under his great Seal since the 22th. of May, 1642. and confirming such as had been passed under that, made by the two Houses, he would give satisfaction in what might reasonably be desired.*

9. *That, for confirmation of all these and whatsoever else might be proposed by the two Houses; and also of what he should propose on his own part, he did earnestly desire a personal Treaty at London, with Honour, Freedom and Safety.*

10. *And that the Proposals of the Army, concerning the Succession of Parliaments, and their due Elections should be taken into consideration.*

11. *So likewise that as to what concern'd the Kingdom of Scotland, he would apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction.*

After the sending of this Message by his Majesty, the next thing observable that hapned, was a Petition (*f*), through the influence of the *Presbyterians*, presented to the two Houses at **Westminster**, by the Common-Council of the City of **London**; acknowledging the Parliament (for by that Title they then call'd those Members sitting at **Westminster**) to be the *Supream Power in this Kingdom*: and (*inter alia*) praying that the *Covenant* might be duly observed.

f 1. Decemb.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1805.

No wonder then, that his Majesty's gracious Message of *November* the xvjth. was so little regarded, as that he had no Answer at all thereto, upon the sixth of *December* following, he therefore put them in mind (*g*) of it, still pressing for a *personal Treaty*.

g 6. Decemb.
Ib. p. 1838.

The four
Dethroning
Bills.

Whereunto, insted of an Answer, they sent him four Bills to be assented unto by him, as preparatory to a Treaty. These were those *four Dethroning Bills*, which, if passed into Acts, as they required, might have

have saved the labour of a Treaty. Unto which, for Anno 1647.
 Answer, his Majesty made these most prudent and rational Observations.

1. *That the Commissioners of Scotland had openly protested against them.*

2. *To allow of that great Seal, made by them, without his authority, before consideration should be had thereupon in a Treaty, might afterwards hazard the security it self.*

3. *That these Bills did not onely contain the divesting himself of all Sovereignty, and that without possibility of recovering it, either to Himself, or his Successors (except by Repeal of them:) but also, making his Concessions guilty of the greatest Pressures that could be upon his Subjects: as in other particulars; so by giving an arbitrary and unlimited Power to the two Houses for ever, to raise and levy Forces for land or sea service, of what persons (without distinction of quality) and to what numbers they should please, and likewise for levying money for their Pay.*

So that these their Proposals, being thus destructive to Himself and his Successors, he (in that his Answer) declared; *That neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome condition of life, he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what might befall him, in case they would not afford him a personal Treaty, should make him change his resolution, of not consenting to any Act, till the whole Peace were concluded: still earnestly pressing for a personal Treaty with them.*

It being now visible enough, that *Independency* grew up every day more and more, the Brethren of **Scotland** became so sensible thereof; that the Assembly of Divines of that Kirk, wrote to those sitting at **Westminster**; passionately desiring them to adhere unto the *Covenant*, and constantly to endeavour the extirpation of Heresie and Schism in the Church of **England**.

And, to second that, came another Letter to the Members of both Houses sitting at **Westminster**, from the Scottish-Commissioners, wherein was inclosed a large *Declaration*, in which are these Expressions.

---(b) There

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^h *Ib.* p. 1850.

---(h) There be some things which properly concern the Kingdom of **England**, their Rights, Laws, and Liberties: But there be other matters, which in their own nature, as being common to both, or by Covenant or Treaty concern both Kingdoms; wherein, unless we should forget our duty to God, to the King's Majesty, to our native Kingdom, and to this Nation, our common Concernment and Interest cannot be denied. For as **Scotland** was invited and engaged in this War, upon grounds and reasons of common Interest: so we trust it will not be offensive, that in making Peace, we claim from the Houses an improvement of the very same principles, and a performance of the Treaties they have made with us; that the same measure of conjunction of Interest be given to us, which was had of us, and promised unto us; wherein the very Law of Nations, and the Rules of common Equity, doth plead for us. Yet, in the application of this Rule, we shall not stretch our selves beyond our lines, the express condition of our Solemn League and Covenant, the duty of our Allegiance, and the Treaties and Declarations between the Kingdoms; which are so many strong Obligations, as all who have Honour or Conscience must acknowledge should be inviolably observed.

Having laid this, as a most just and solid ground of our proceedings, we shall speak of the best and most probable means to procure a good agreement with the King, for settling Religion and a lasting peace: and next to the Propositions which are to be the foundation of the peace and safety of both Kingdoms. And it is still our opinion and judgment, that the most equal, fairest and just way, to obtain a well-grounded Peace, is by a personal Treaty with the King; and that his Majesty, for that end, be invited to come to **London**, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety. And, as it is far from our thoughts and intentions, in expressing our differences upon the Propositions, to provoke or give offence: so we trust, that our freedom, in discharge of the trust committed to us, proceeding from our Zeal to Religion, Loyalty to the King, and Love to Peace, shall receive a candid interpretation from the honourable Houses; and that they will, in their Wisdoms, not slight the desires of a Kingdom, who in the
time

time of **England's** greatest danger; esteemed no hazard too hard for their assistance; and are now seeking nothing but the performance of the mutual Obligations, Declarations and Treaties between the two Kingdomes; and to prevent the danger, which may ensue upon the violation and breach of so solemn Engagements.

The Houses of Parliament have frequently professed, that the cheif end of their wars was the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, according to the Covenant: and they have often promised and declared to the King, and to all the world (not without deep attestations of the name of God) that no trouble or success, should ever make them wrong or diminish the power of the Crown, which were the chief motives and arguments that induced **Scotland** to engage with them in this war. Let therefore that be given to God, which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's; whereby it may be evident, that you are not unmindfull of the solemn Vows you made to God in the time of distress, for Reformation of Religion; and it may also really appear, that the advantages and power, which success hath put into your hands, hath not lessened your loyalty to the King. And, according to our many professions and near relations, let us really and cordially cherish and strengthen the union between the two Kingdomes, under His Majesty by all pledges of reciprocal kindness, that so Religion and Righteousness may flourish, and both Kingdomes languishing under the heavy pressures and calamities of an unnatural war, may live in peace and plenty.

As we cannot agree to this way of sending those four Bills to His Majesty for his assent, before any Treaty upon the rest of the Propositions: so we are extremely unsatisfied with the matter of those new Propositions, lately communicated unto us, for the reasons expressed in our answer unto them, which we do herewith deliver unto your Lordships to be presented to both Houses of Parliament. And we do desire, that they would take the whole business into their farther consideration, and that there be a personal Treaty, with His Majesty here at **London**, upon such Propositions, as shall be agreed upon, with advice and consent of both Kingdomes, according to the Treaty.

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*This in general was their Declaration : but the particular desires, which they exhibited, were these ; viz. that the honourable Houses would establish the solemn League and Covenant ; and that His Majesty be desired to give his royal assent for confirming the same by Act of Parliament. That the settling of Reformation, and an uniformity in Religion, in the Kingdomes of **England** and **Ireland**, be inserted in the new Propositions : And, in particular, that the Confession, the Directory for worship, form of Church-Government, and Catechisme agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines, be established : That effectual course be taken by Act of Parliament for the suppressing of Blasphemy, Herefy and Schisme and all scandalous Doctrines, and practises, as are contrary to the light of Nature, or to the known principles of Christianity, or the power of Godliness ; or which may be destructive to order and Government ; or to the peace of the Church or Kingdome.*

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be desired to be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Proposition, for the confirmation of the Treaties betwixt the two Kingdomes, and the proceedings betwixt them, be expressed. And that Treaty for the return of the Scots Army of the date of Decem. 23. 1646. be inserted amongst the rest.

*That His Majestie's assent be desired to what the two Kingdomes shall agree in the prosecution of the Articles of the large Treaty, which are not yet finished : and that all other things be inserted concerning the joynt Interest of both Kingdomes, or the Kingdome of **Scotland** in particular. That the Armies in both Kingdomes, which were raised for the preservation of Religion, and defence of the King's person, may be disbanded ; now the war is ended, and have due satisfaction for their arrears. That speedy releif may be sent to **Ireland** : and that an Act of Oblivion may be agreed upon, to be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes.*

That His Majesty be restored to His Rights ; and that in the Propositions a conclusion may be added ; promising all real endeavour, that His Majesty may live in the splendor and glory of his royal progenitors, as becometh his royal place ;

place; that so all differences and troubles may end in a mutual confidence and rejoycing.

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Upon debate of which Message from His Majesty (Nov. 16.) and of that Declaration and those Proposals by the Scottish-Commissioners, the House of Commons passed these following Votes (i).

i 3. Jan.
Perfect Di-
urnal p.
1865.

1. That no more addressses be made from the Parliament to the King; nor any Letters or Message received from him.

Vote of no
more Ad-
dressses to the
King.

2. That it should be Treason for any person whatsoever, to deliver any Message to the King, or receive any Letter or Message from him, without leave from both Houses of Parliament.

3. That the Members of both Houses, and the Committee of both Kingdomes, had power to sit and act alone (as formerly the Committee of both Kingdomes had) for the safety of the Kingdome.

4. And, that a Committee should be nominated to draw up a Declaration to be published, to satisfy the Kingdome of the reasons of passing these Votes.

To back which Votes, the General and Council of the Army, did put forth a Declaration (k), signifying their Resolutions to adhere to the Houses, for settling and securing the Parliament and Kingdome, without the King, and against him, or any other, that should thereafter partake with him. And sent Thanks (l) to the House of Commons for those Votes.

k 11. Jan.

To shew the people likewise, the Reasons of those four Votes, the Grandees at Westminster appointed (m)-a Committee to search into the King's conversion, and errors of his Government, and to publish them in a Declaration to the World wherein they objected (as high crimes against him) his father's death, the loss of Rochell, and the Massacre and Rebellion in Ireland. Which Declaration being printed by their authority, was afterwards ordered (n) to be dispersed throughout the whole Kingdome, by the several Members of the House of Commons, in those Countries and places for which they did serve.

l 15. Jan.
Hist. of Ind.
p. 75.

m 16.

n 11. Feb.

Anno 1647.

C H A P. XXVIII.

18. Jan.



THE King therefore seeing himself thus layd aside, penned a *Declaration* (o) with his own hand, for the satisfaction of all his people; which, soon after was made publick by the Press. Whereby, representing his sad and most disconsolate condition, through a long and strict Imprisonment, together with his earnest endeavours to have compos'd all things by an happy peace; whereunto he added most just, cleer and undeniable Reasons, why he could not assent to pass those *four dethroning Bills* before-mentioned: farther shewed what usage he had endured by Colonel *Hamond* the Governour, in whose custody he then was; most of his servants being by him discharg'd, the Guards redoubled, and himself restrain'd of that Liberty, which before he had been allowed. Appealing also to the world, how he had deserved that dealing from his subjects; having sacrificed to them, for the peace of the Kingdome, all, but what was much more dear to him than his life; *viz.* his *Conscience* and *Honour*: and, desiring nothing more than to perform it, in the most proper and usual way; *viz.* by a *personal Treaty*.

Taking notice likewise of the often repeated professions, and Engagements made to him by the Army, at *Newmarket* and *St. Albans*, for asserting his just Rights in General, by their voted and revoted *Proposals*, which he had reason to understand should be the utmost that would be expected from him: yea that in some things he should be eas'd. And concluded; that, if it were peace they desired, he had shewed the way thereto (being both willing and desirous to perform his part in it) by a just compliance with all cheif Interests.

Was it plenty and Happiness? Those were the inseparable effects of peace. Was it *security*? His Majesty who wisht that all men would forgive and forget like him,

him, did offer the *Militia* for his own time. Was it *Liberty of Conscience*? He who wanted it, was most ready to give it. Was it *right administration of Justice*? Officers of Trust, were referred to the choyse of the two Houses. Was it *frequent Parliaments*? He had legally and fully concurred therewith. Was it the *Ar-rears of the Army*? Upon a settlement, he told them that they would be certainly payd, with much ease; but before that there would be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

But all this was then to no purpose: for having got the power of the Sword into their hands, the Voice of an Angel from Heaven, could have been nothing regarded: for on they went with their great worke; In order whereunto a Pamphlet was publisht by authority (that is to say licensed by a publick *Imprimatur*) where the Prophet *Ezekiel* (p) was produced to discover what they intended-----*Thus saith the Lord God, concerning the prophane wicked Prince whose day is come, when Iniquity shall end. Remove the Diadem. Take off the Crown: This shall not be the same. Exalt him that is low and abase him that is high.*

^p *Ezekiel,*
cap. 21. vers.
25, 26, & 27.

And to cajole the *Presbyterean* (having formerly secured themselves from the reach of their Holy Discipline) they passed an *Ordinance* (q), for the speedy dividing and setting the severall Counties of this Kingdom, into distinct *Classical-Presbyteries*, and *Congregational Eldershops*. And, desiring to seem men of the greatest Sanctity imaginable, they constituted (r) a *Committee*, for the enumeration of great crying sins; appointing that they should daily meet, and do their utmost endeavour to suppress them: And passed another *Ordinance* (†) for suppressing of *Stage-plays*, and demolishing *Play-Houses*.

^q 29. Jan.
Scob. coll.
p. 139.

^r *Weekly In-*
telligencer.
p. 824.

[†] 11. Feb.
Scob. Col.
p. 143.

But all these devices were merely circumstantial; those which more immediately tended to the carrying on their grand work, being the chief; viz. the approbation which the people then had (or seem'd to have) of their *Votes for no more Addresses to the King*. Towards the obtaining whereof, having been not a little solicitous, they imploy'd their most busy Emissaries, and

Anno 1647.

t 9. March.
 Weekly In-
 telligencer
 p. 868.
 Hist. of Ind.
 p. 91.

confiding-friends in all parts of the Realm. Who acted for them so vigourously; as that, from **Launton** (a populous corporation in *Somersetshire*) they had very great Thanks for the same. So likewise from the Godly-party in *Buckinghamshire* (t); who also, made large promises to adhere to, and stand by them in the farther prosecution thereof, to the utmost of their abilities, against all opposers: desiring, that they would proceed to a speedy settling of the civil Government, in such a way as might best conduce to the freedom and happiness of this Nation: and that they would put forth their power, for promoting of *Religion* according to the word of God: to give due encouragement to all Godly and able Ministers; to cast out such as were scandalous, and unfit for the work of the Ministry: and to be tender of the Consciences of such, whose conversations were, as becometh the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

For which the Petitioners had not onely thanks thereupon rendred unto them, for their constant affections to the Parliament: but an order was forthwith made; that the Petition should be printed, to the end that the world might take notice of the singular affections of the Petitioners; and that they might be an example for other Counties of the Kingdome.

Anno 1648.

v . . . April.
 Perfect Di-
 urnal p.
 1978.

Which transactions here, so awakened the Brethren of **Scotland**; that seeing no good could be effected by words, they resolv'd to dispute the business otherwise, and therefore agreed of raising an Army. But the general *Assembly of that Kirk*, endeavouring to oppose them therein, the estates of Parliament there declared (v), that the breaches of the *Covenant* and *Treaties* should be represented, and reparations sought for the same. Next, that the War which they were to make with **England**, should be for strengthening the Union betwixt the two Kingdomes, and encouraging the *Presbyterians* and well affected there. Moreover, that they would declare His Majestie's concessions concerning Religion, not to be satisfactory. And that whereas *Religion* had been, and they trusted should be, the principal end of all their undertakings; so they would

would be carefull, that the then present question to be stated, should contain security and assurance, to be had from His Majesty, by his solemn Oath, under his hand and Seal, that he should, for himself, and for his successors, give his royal assent, to pass Acts of Parliament, injoyning the *League and Covenant*; establishing *Presbytreal Government*, the *Directory for Worship*, and *Confession of Faith*, in all his Dominions: and that he should never make opposition to any of these, nor endeavour any change thereof: As also, that this security should be had from him before his restitution to the exercise of his royal power.

Anno 1648.

All this notwithstanding, the *Kirk* was not one jot satisfied: but earnestly urged (x), that the Parliament ^x *Ib. p. 1979.* should declare against His Majesty's concessions, positively, without any condition, and presently without delay; they being (as they exprest) so prejudicial to the *Cause and Covenant*.

And when they discerned, that Forces were levying throughout that Kingdome, they so much feared, that His Majesty and his good Subjects might receive any benefit thereby; that they did put up a large *Petition* to the Parliament there: wherein they earnestly desired (y) the Lords, as they would answer the contrary at the great day of Judgment, that they would not proceed so, as to give any encouragement unto the *prelatical* or *malignant party* in **England**, nor be any grief to the *Presbyterean Party*; nor to restore the King, untill he had resolved the settlement of *Presbytery*, and that what they intended on the King's behalf, might be with subordination to those ends exprest in the *Covenant*. ^y *Ib. p. 1994.*

Whereupon the Parliament there, declared (z), that they would be so far from joyning, or associating with the *popish*, *prelatical*, or *malignant-party*, if they should again rise in Arms, either to oppose or obstruct all or any of the ends of the *Covenant*; that, on the contrary they would oppose, and endeavour to suppress them, as Enemies to the *Cause and Covenant* on the other side. ^z *Ibid.*

Anno 1648.

Likewise, that in regard His Majestie's late concessions and offers concerning *Religion*, were not satisfactory: and that the principal ends of all the undertakings of that Nation, had been, and they hoped should be, to see *Religion* in the first place settled: and that, as they should endeavour the rescuing of His Majesty from those, who maliciously carryed him away from *Vol-denby-House* against his own will, and the declared resolutions of both Kingdomes, and did still detein him close prisoner, to the end he might come, with honour, freedom and safety, to some of his Houses in or about *London*, where both Kingdomes might make their application to him, for settling of *Religion*, and a well grounded Peace: So they did resolve, not to put in His Majestie's hands, or in any other whatsoever, such power, whereby the ends of the *Covenant*, or any one of them might be obstructed, or opposed; *Religion*, or *Presbyterean-Government* endangered: but, on the contrary, that before any Agreement should be made, His Majesty should give assurance, under his solemn Oath, and under his Hand and Seal; that he should, for himself and his successors, give his Royal assent and agreement to such Act or Acts of Parliament, of both, and either Kingdomes respectively, for enjoyning *the League and Covenant*, and fully establishing *Presbyterean-Government*, *Directory for Worship*, and *Confession of Faith* in all his Dominions; and that he should never make opposition to any of these; nor endeavour any thing thereof.

Moreover, that if any war should be made; as it should be on just and necessary grounds; so did they resolve, to give the trust and charge of their Armies and Committees to none, but such as should be, and were of known integrity, and against whom there was no just cause of exception.

Also, that the Parliament was willing to subscribe, for the grounds of their undertaking an Oath; wherein, both in the framing of it, and otherwise, they were willing the Church should have interest, as had been in the like case. And, that the resolutions of the Parliament thereupon might be the more effectual, and

in regard of the then present condition of affairs, it was their opinion, that the Kingdome of **Scotland** should be put in a *Posture of Defence*, as it was in the year 1643. And, like as they had drawn that *Act of Posture*; which being allow'd in Parliament, and sent to the Shires, they thought it fit time to send their demands to the Parliament of **England**; and that some discreet man should be sent with the same, and a limited time appointed for his return with answer.

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Posture of
Defence.

¶ I shall not stand here to give instance of such particulars, as further happened betwixt the Grandees at **Westminster**, and the Scots, upon this business: for all those passages were to no other end, than by thus fencing with each other, to prevent any censure in their respective Actings; and consequently, to obtain the peoples assistance upon occasion. For in short, the state of the business stood thus; the *Independents* of the Army, to gain the whole and absolute power of rule into their hands, having printed and published several *Declarations, Remonstrances, Manifestos* and *Proposals*; besides Petitions of their own framing (whereunto they got subscriptions in many places) insinuating to the people their willingness to redress publick Greivances, to be the Restorers of Peace, the Laws and Liberties of the Subject; to be setlers of *Religion*, maintainers of the *priviledges of Parliament*; Callers to accompt of all Committees, Sequestrators, Treasurers, &c. and to be their deliverers from *Excise*, and other Taxes; but, above all, preservers of all true Interests; *Restorers of the King* to his just Rights and Prerogatives, with Honour, Freedom and Safty to his person; without which, they professed *there could be no settled peace or happiness in this Nation*. And, in pursuance of their undertakings, having made Addresses to His Majesty, with more tolerable overtures, than any that he could obtain from the Members, sitting at **Westminster**; they, after a while, made private proposals to him, sutable meerly to their own Interests, but wholly derogatory to his Regal power, the *Religion* established by Law; as also to the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject. Whereunto, when they saw, that the King could not, with

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History of
Independence part 2.

p. 5.

his Conscience and Honour assent, they entertained new designs against his Person and Government, ushering them in by the help of a *Levelling-party*; who in pursuance thereof, obtruded clamourous *Petitions* against any farther *Treaty* with His Majesty, and demanded exemplary Justice from the Members at **Westminster** against him; which, through the influence that the Army had on them (considering how the Houses had been garbled) were entertain'd with Thanks.

Hence was it, that when those *Propositions* of 13. Nov. anno 1647. were brought into the House from His Majesty, whereby he pressed them so earnestly for a *personal Treaty*, the four *Dethroning Bills* were sent to him, to be first signed, before they would admit thereof: And, upon his refusal to yield unto them; those *Destructive Votes*, of no more *Addresses* to him were passed.

The miserable condition of his Majesty, and in him of all his loyal Subjects being therefore thus evidently seen by most men, who beheld nothing but slavery and oppression, thenceforth to be their portion; did so awaken them; that from *Essex* there came a *Petition* by many thousands, to the Members at **Westminster**, for a *personal Treaty* with the King, as the most proper means to a well grounded peace. After that, another from (a) *Surrey*, a multitude of that County, accompanying it to **Westminster**. Which relisht so ill with the *Grandees*, that they sent the Guards to beat them away; whereupon divers were wounded and some slain.

Nor had the *Kentish-men* better success: for, having by their Grand Jury, in the name of the whole Shire; fram'd a petition for peace; the Committee of that County, being jealous, that the people would take Heart thereat, prohibited (b) the same, by printed papers, published in all the Churches; branding it to be *seditionous* and *tumultuous*; saying, that they would hang up two in every *Parish*, that were promoters of it, and sequester the rest.

And, when the people, seeing themselves opposed in that their modest way of Application, resolved of farther

con-

a 16. May.

b History of
Independence part 1.
p. 95.

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consideration therein, by a general meeting, and to come arm'd for their own defence; a party of Horse was first sent in amongst them; and afterwards the whole Army (under the Command of their General *Fairfax*;) whereupon some of them fled into **Essex**, where *Sir Charles Lucas* and divers of that County joyned with them; as also the Lord **Capell** at **Colchester**, with some Horse which necessitating the rest, for their own defence to make to **Sandwich** and some Castles on the coast thereabouts; the Army advanc't after, slew and took divers of them prisoners, and sequestred the estates of all that desired peace; *Weever* (a hot-headed *Independent*) having (c) mov'd in the House of Commons, that all **Bent** might be sequestred, because they had rebell'd; and all **Essex** because they would rebel.

Ib. p. 97.

But, notwithstanding the strength of their Army, and severity against those, who did not submit to their oppressive power; the Scots, having ray's'd an Army, which was then ready to march into **England**, in pursuance of the ends of the *Covenant* (as hath been observed) there were many others in sundry parts of the Nation, as well *Presbytereans* as *Royalists*, discerning no better fruits to themselves of those successes, which the *Independents* then had, than oppression and slavery; boldly made attempts, in order to the rescue of His Majesty out of their cruel hands, and to free the whole Kingdome from their farther Tyranny.

Of these, the first was by *Sir Nicholas Kemish*, who got (a) with some forces into **Chepstow**-castle. The next was that of the valiant *Sir Marmaduke Langdale*, who shortly after surprized (b) the strong town of **Barwick**. After this, *Col. Laughorn*, *Poyer* and *Powell*, having rayfed eight thousand men in *Pembrokeshire*, secured **Tenby**-castle, with the town and castle of **Pembroke**; and declared (c) in those parts for the settlement of the King and Kingdome. *Sir Philip Musgrave* also, upon the like fair hopes, took (d) **Carlisle**. About the same time (*) likewise, part of the royal Navy (consisting of twenty great Ships of War, under the command of their Vice-Admiral *Batten*) revolted, and came (f) in to the Prince in **Portsmouth**

3. April.

30. April.

8. May.

25. May.

27. May.

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b 3. June.

* 5. July.

road; *Pontfract*-castle, being within few days after surprized (g) by the Royalists; and the Earl of *Holland*, with the Lord *Francis Villers* in Arms (*), with two thousand men, near *Bingston* upon *Thames*.

b 13. July.
The third
Invasion of
the Scots.

And to make the expectation more secure, Duke *Hamilton*, with a powerfull Army of the Scots entering (h) *England*, published a Declaration, consisting of these heads, 1. That the King should be brought to *London*, to treat in person with the two Houses of Parliament. 2. That all those who had a hand in, or contrived the carrying of the King from *Holdenby*, should be condignly punished. 3. That the English Army should be disbanded. 4. That *Presbytery* should be settled. 5. And that the Members of Parliament, which were forcibly secluded from the House, should be re-seated there.

i 9. Aug.

After which, within few days, Major *Lilburne* (Brother to *John*) Governour of *Linemouth*-castle in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, declared (i) for the King.

But the fruits of all these fair hopes were soon blasted: for as that Castle was shortly after storm'd by Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and *Lilburne* with his men put to the Sword: So was *Chepstow*-castle by Col. *Eure*; and Sir *Nicholas Kemish* kill'd in cold blood.

k 7. July.

The Earl of *Holland* also with the Lord *Francis Villers* were encountred by Colonel *Rich*, Major *Gibbons* and Sir *Michael Livesey*, totally routed (k); the Lord *Francis Villers* slain; the Earl himself pursued to *St. Ives* in *Huntingdon*-shire, and there taken. *Laughorne*, *Poyer* and *Powell* were likewise defeated by *Cromwell* and Colonel *Horton*: And Sir *John Owen*, who was in Arms about that time in *Northwales*, vanquisht by Major General *Mitton*.

l 17. Aug.

The Navy also (brought in by *Batten*) fell off to the Earl of *Warwick*: Duke *Hamilton* with his Army, being utterly routed (l) at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, and in his flight at *Uttoreter* in *Staffordshire*, taken prisoner. *Colchester* lastly, which had held out with great hardship, expecting relief from Duke *Hamilton*,

m 27. Aug.

was forc't to surrender (m) and submit; whereupon Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George L'isle*, were immediately

ately sacrificed to the rage of these merciless men; the Lord *Capell* made prisoner, and the Townsmen fined at fourteen thousand pounds.

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But those black clouds, before they were thus dispersed, betokening a suddain storm, put these new Saints, for their more security, upon some desperate thoughts of taking away the King's life. To which end one Captain *Rolfe* was employ'd (d) by them (as himself did confess) to remove his Majesty out of the way, by poison; or any other means; forasmuch as it would highly conduce to their affairs.

d 10. June.

Ib. p. 104.

Whether it was by Reason that *Osburne* (a confident of *Rolfe's*) had discovered the design; or that, upon more considerate thoughts they took other resolutions, it is hard to say: but the execution of that murder, was then, at present, laid aside.

Many were the petitions, at that time, to the Members at *Westminster*, from sundry parts; all pressing earnestly for a *personal Treaty*: yea some of them from such as they durst hardly displease; as from (*) the Masters of the *Trinity House*, Captains of Ships, and Sea-men; and another from (f) the City of *London*.

* Ib. p. 110.

f 2. July.

Ib. p. 111.

There is no doubt, but that the *Presbyterians*, were private well-wishers, if not contrivers of this third *Scottish Invasion*; though, by the prevalency of the other faction, a Vote (g) was passed in the House of Commons; that the *Scottish-Army*, under the command of Duke *Hamilton*, were Enemies, and that they should accordingly proceed against them: In which argument the *Independents* were so fierce; that, when it was objected by one, that he thought the Lords would not concur therein; Reply (h) was made; That the House of Commons, being the Representative of the people, had power to act without the Lords, for the peoples safety, in case the Lords deserted their Trust.

g 15. July.

Ib. p. 120.

h Ib. p. 130.

Nevertheless, whether it was the courage that the *Presbyterians* then took, by reason of Duke *Hamilton's* Invasion, and those other disturbances, before-mention'd; or whether it was the doubts the *Independents*

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ⁱ 28. July.
Perf. Diurnal, p. 3003.

had, of the dangers which these approaching troubles might produce, 'tis hard to say: Sure it is, that after much debate and many Arguments, it was resolved (*i*) *That his Majesty in person should be treated with by Commissioners of both Houses of Parliament in the Isle of Wight, upon the whole matter of the Propositions at Hampton-court, for settling the peace of the Kingdome.* Which Vote, with other circumstances, did then make such a change in the face of things, that the City of London began to assume the power of their own Militia, and listed men; saying (*k*) *they did it by the Law of self Defence, warranted by the Law of God, of Nature, and of the Land: and by a farther Authority, which would make little for the advantage of the Parliament to question.*

^k Hist. of Indep. p. 123.

Which so startled the Members at Westminster; that resuming their old Presbyterean-cloak, they forthwith dispatch't Letters (*l*) to the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; setting forth what the Parliament had done in the way of settling peace, reforming the Church and Universities, and maintaining the Covenant and union betwixt the two Nations; complaining of Duke Hamilton's Invasion, under colour of authority from the Parliament of that Kingdome.

^l 3. Aug.
Ib. p. 126.

And though the Brethren of Scotland grounded this their third Invasion upon the Covenant; the Independent-members at Westminster utterly denied that their assertion; affirming (*m*) stoutly, *that the Scots had broke the Covenant therein: yea, that in so doing, they had set the English at Liberty from it; and that the Covenant was no more jure divino than Presbytery.*

^m Ib. p. 128.

To which was answered by the Presbyterians (for concerning this point there grew a tough dispute in the House betwixt those two Parties) *that the large Treaty contained the League between the two Nations; so did not the Covenant, which was a vow made unto God, with their Hands listed up to Heaven, for the maintenance and observation of the ends and principles expressed in the Covenant, from which no power on earth could absolve them. And that, though the Covenant was not jure divino;*

divino; yet the keeping of it, after they had taken it, was *jure divino*; it being the revealed will of God that they should not offer unto him the sacrifice of fools, a Covenant to day, and break it to morrow.

But to this some of the more zealous replied; that the Covenant was originally framed to satisfy the Brethren of **Scotland**, upon the first bringing in of their Army hither, to help the Lord against the mighty; without which, the Scots would not have come in to their assistance; And that work being over, they were not at all obliged by the Covenant any further; it being to be laid aside, as an Almanack out of date. And therefore, to strengthen themselves the more, there were private Listings (n) of the *Schismatics* and *Antimonarchists*, in **London**. Which did so awaken the *Presbyterean-Saints* in that City; that they complain'd to the House of Commons; representing the danger thereof: saying, that if the Houses did not give them leave to look to their safety, they must have recourse to the Law of Nature, and act in their Militia, without the Houses, in order to self Defence, allowable by all Laws, and practised by that very Parliament against the King; and likewise by Fairfax his Army against the Parliament.

Unto which words, there were such high exceptions taken; that some of the fiery-spirited *Independents* replied (o); that the Parliament having fought with the King for the Militia, and gotten it by the Sword; no other Interest, upon any title whatsoever, should dare to lay claim to any part of it. Upon which Doctrine they practised to purpose, as by and by will appear.

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CHAP. XXIX.

P 17. Aug.



THE next thing whereof I am, in order of time to take notice, is that this fatal and absolute destruction (*p*) of the Scottish-Army, under the command of Duke *Hamilton*, by Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, at that time Commander of the Parliament's forces (*Fairfax* having declin'd to serve against the Brethren) was not by any formal Battel; but rather a beating up of Quarters, and some slight Skyrmisses: and that it was then chiefly attributed to the over-confidence which Duke *Hamilton* had in the strength of his own Countrymen; exposing those English, which were Commanded by the truly noble Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, to be overpowered by the Enemy; thereby expecting an absolute Conquest through his own puissance; and so to have reapt the whole honour of restoring the King, if he ever had any such intent.

So that *Cromwell* being now triumphant over the whole Scottish-Army (which was the most formidable of any then on foot against them) and not long after over those right valiant and loyall persons at **Colchester**; The Ships also, which went over to the Prince, falling off again, (as hath already been observed) He became so strangely elated, that nothing then to be done, could give satisfaction to his ambitious and unlimited desires.

But here, I shall also observe; that notwithstanding the strong factions into which these men were then divided, had begot a perfect hatred of each to other (as the many printed pamphlets then spread abroad do sufficiently shew:) Nevertheless, for the utter eradicating of the Religion by Law establish'd in the Church of **England**, which themselves had at first (3. May 1641.) solemnly protested to maintain; about this time, they all agree'd together, in framing an Ordinance (*q*), for
the

q 29. Aug.
Scob. coll.
p. 165.

Anno. 1648.

the establishing of *Presbytery*; containing a particular form and order of *Church-government*, in their *congregational, Classical, Provincial and National Assemblies*: In which the Lay Elders, constituted at that time, in all the Parishes, throughout the City of **London**, are expressly nominated; with direction for the setting of all others, throughout **England** and **Wales**, and limitation of their powers: unto the sharp and rigorous penalties whereof, all conscientious and orthodox Protestants of the Church of **England**, were to be subject: but the *Independent* brood, (consisting of all sorts of Schismatics and Sectaries) under the notion of *Godly-men*, and *tender conscienced*, to be at liberty.

¶ And now to proceed. As I have already taken notice, that a *personal Treaty* with the King, was voted by the Members at **Westminster**; I shall here observe; that all things being prepared for the same, it began (r) at **Newport** in the Isle of **Wight**, upon the 18th. of *September*; the chief persons permitted to attend his Majesty there, being these; the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*; the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Earl of *Southampton*, (Gentlemen of his Bedchamber:) the Bishops of *London* and *Salisbury*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hamond*, Dr. *Oldsworth*, Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Turner* and Dr. *Heywood* Chaplains; Sir *Thomas Gardner*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Robert Holburne*, Mr. *Geffrey Palmer*, Mr. *Thomas Cooke*, and Mr. *John Vaughan*, Lawyers.

Treaty in
the Isle of
Wight.
r Perfect
Diurnal p.
2164.

The Members at **Westminster** imploying these; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Middlesex*, the Viscount *Say*, the Lord *Wenman*; *Denzil Holles*, and *William Pierpont* Esquires, Sir *Henry Vane junior*, Sir *Harbotle Grynston*, Mr. *Samuel Brown*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Crem*, Serjeant *Glyn*, and Mr. *Bulkley*.

These other Divines, for the King being afterwards added; viz. Dr. *James Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh* in **Ireland**, and Dr. *Ferne*: And for the Parliament; Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, Mr. *Richard Vines*, Mr. *Lazarus Seaman*, and Mr. *Joseph Caryll*.

But withall, as it is now most evident to the world, that there was never any real purpose, on the part of the Grandees at **Westminster**, that the Treaty, formerly

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merly at **Urbidge**, should take any good effect: so was there less expectation here, the King being then their prisoner, and all his forces come to nothing: for, though they then gave way to this *Treaty*; they were, at that very time, contriving and framing the formality of his absolute destruction; of which the symptoms were visible enough, during the whole continuance of that *Treaty*, by sundry *Petitions* to the Members at **Westminster**, all declaiming bitterly against it. Which *Petitions* (as 'tis well known) were first fram'd by the *Grandees* themselves, and then sent amongst the people, to be subscribed, according to their usual practice. In most whereof, it was desired, that all *Delinquents*, without exception, might be brought to condigne punishment; one whereof concluding (†) thus, from *Psalms* 149. ver. 6, 7, 8, and 9. *Let the high praises of God be in the mouths of his Saints, and a two-fold Sword in their Hands, to execute vengeance upon the Heathen, and punishment upon the people; to bind their Kings with chains, and their Nobles with fetters of iron: to execute upon them the Judgments written;* This Honour have all his Saints.

† Moderate
Intelligence,
n. 16.

Besides, it is farther to be observ'd; that after the destruction of this Scottish-Army at **Preston**, and the reducing of **Colchester**, *Cromwell* went into **Scotland**; where he not onely laid the plot with the *Marquess of Argyle*, for the destruction of the King, and extirpation of Monarchy; but by his help, in the contrivance of that unparalel'd murder; agreed in the formalities conducing thereto.

¶ And now, as to this *Treaty* in the Isle of **Wight**, 'tis sufficiently known that it was on His Majesty's part, totally and singly managed by himself, against all those subtle persons above-mentioned; the Houses at **Westminster**, not permitting him to have any assistant therein, either *Divines* or others. Also, that it was perform'd by him with so much judgment, gravity, meekness, and curtesie; as not onely much astonisht, but made converts of some, that had been his greatest Enemies, and were then his Antagonists there. Wherein, to manifest his earnest desires for the

the peace of those distracted Realms, he was contented to devote himself, totally in effect of his own Regal power, for life; and to trust those insatiable men with the exercise thereof; as is apparently to be seen by the particular Articles, then assented to by him; *viz.*

1. As to the *Militia*, he consented thereto, as 'twas required by their *Proposition*.

2. For *Episcopacy*, though he could not consent to the utter abolishing thereof; yet he offered, that it might be regulated and reduced to the primitive usage; and so settled and continued in the Church: And, in order thereto, that it might be enacted, that the Bishops should not act without the Council and assistance of the Presbyters, in the exercises of *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction*: and therefore desired the consent of the Houses in the one, that he might the more freely give his assent unto the other. Offering to lessen the extent, or multiply the number of the Diocesses, as should be agreed upon by both Houses.

3. As to Bishops lands, that he could not consent to the alienation of them; but offered what he had done before, for satisfaction of the Purchasers and Contractors (which was for the enjoyment of them for a certain time:) being therein seconded by the opinion of many Divines (who differ in other things) that the alienation of them would be no less than *Sacrilege*.

4. That he would confirm their Ordinance, for the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines.

5. That he would confirm the form of Church-government presented to him, with the *Directory*; and repeal those Statutes, which enjoyn'd the use of *Common Prayer*: and all this for three years; provided that a consultation should be had, between the *Assembly of Divines*, and twenty of His Majesty's nomination added to them, in the mean time, for the farther settling of the Church, at the end of those three years; and that

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Himself and His might have the use of the *Common-prayer*. But, for the *new Articles of Religion*, His Majesty having not had time sufficient, as yet, for consideration of so weighty matters, as concern *Faith* and *Doctrine*, desired, that that part of the *Proposition* might, for the present be omitted.

6. That he would confirm the *Ordinance* for the better observation of the Lord's day : provided, that in this *Ordinance*, and others likewise presented to him, alterations should be made of some expressions in them, which did reflect on former establishd Laws ; it being therefore necessary, that they should be penned in other termes.

7. That he would pass an Act; for prevention of saying Mass in Court, or other places : provided onely, that his Queen might have free exercise of her Religion, for her self and her ordinary servants, according to the Articles of Marriage, made between the two Crowns, **France** and **England**.

8. Lastly, that for the *Covenant*, he could not in Conscience take it himself, nor impose it upon others ; therefore hoped that it should not be insisted on, in regard the imposing thereof could not tend to peace ; a great part, even of the Parliaments-party, being utterly persuaded against it : And further, because all the ends of the *Covenant* would be obtained, if an agreement were made in the rest of the *Propositions*.

These were the chief ; referring the rest untill his coming to **Westminster**, where he might personally advise with his two Houses, and deliver his opinion, with the reasons thereof, which done ; he would leave the whole matter of those remayning *Propositions* to the determination of his two Houses.

But, as His Majesty had formerly well observed the humours of these impious men to be restless ; ever altering and changing their Principles with their success : So did he then find the greatest and most wofull experiment

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ment thereof. For, having, by the defeat of D. *Hamilton's* Army; the reducing of **Colchester**, and subduing the Welch, in *Pembrokeshire*, cleared all opposition, which any could make against them; they then did openly manifest to the world, that nothing should suffice; but the absolute destruction of the King, and utter extirpation of Monarchy.

Towards the accomplishing of which execrable designe; a prodigious *Remonstrance* (t) was contrived by *Cromwel*, and his son *Ireton*, with some other venomous-minded officers in the Army, then at **St. Albans**, and presented to the House of Commons by Colonel *Eyre* and seaven other Officers of the Army, whereby they *fiercely declaymed against any peace at all with the King; and likewise against his Restauration: demanding, that he should, by a Tryal, be brought to Justice.* So likewise against those Members of Parliament, as had been impeached the year before; and all others that fate, when the Speaker and Members fled to the Army, that they might be excluded the House: Requiring, that the Souldiers arrears should be paid out of the King's and Dean and Chapters lands. Moreover, that a certain terme should be prefixed to that present *Long-Parliament*; as also a more equal number of persons, as *Representatives of the People*, to be thenceforth elected, in whom the supreme power should thereafter reside.

t 16. Nov.
Declaration
of the Army
at *St. Albans*.

In which *Remonstrance*, it is not unworthy observation, that they said; *whereas it might be objected, that by the Covenant they were obliged to the preservation of His Majestie's person and authority*; it was with this restriction; *viz. in the preservation of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdome.* So that; *considering Religion and the publick Interest, were to be understood the principal and supream matters engaged for; and of the King's person and authority, as inferiour and subordinate thereto.* As also, *whereas the preservation of his person and authority was not consistent with the preservation of Religion, and the publick Interest; they were therefore, by the Covenant, obliged against it.*

Anno 1648.

‡ 20. Nov.

* 27. Nov.

And the better to illustrate this, they instanced the practice of the Parliament, all along the late wars; *which not onely opposed his Majesty and his authority, but really endeavoured to kill and destroy both his person and authority by Bullets and otherwise, in order to the preservation of Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdome.* Which *Remonstrance* was soon after presented (v) to the House of Commons, and tendred to the consideration of the whole Kingdome. But three days after, the *Treaty* (having continued fourty days, whereunto they limited it) ended (x).

And here it is not improper to take notice; that as they had frequently used to procure *Petitions* from sundry places, to countenance the carrying on of any notable design, which they had in hand: So now, having publiht this wicked *Remonstrance*, they obtained *Congratulations* from those called the *Well-affected* in several parts; to the end that others might be the more danted from any opposition thereto.

CHAP. XXX.

HIS business of the Treaty being therefore thus over, I come now to the last Act of this afflicted King's life. A Scene (indeed) of much sorrow, and which cannot well be represented without great lamentation and the deepest expressions of sadness, wherein I shall be as brief as well may be; pointing chiefly at the times of the most notable passages therein; but leaving the larger Narrative thereof to such of our Historians, as have already, or shall hereafter set forth the Life and Sufferings of this incomparable Prince.

As an Introduction whereunto, it may be fit enough to observe; that though the Parliament had been garbled (as before is shewed) whereby the Remnant of the *Presbyterians* was totally disheartened: Yet did the Invasion from **Scotland**, and Risings in other Parts, about that time, put so much Life and Courage into the drooping Spirits of that Party; as that, having with no little difficulty carryed the Vote for a *Treaty*; they struggled to their utmost, for such an issue thereof, that the King might be at some better Liberty, than he was at that time: and the Administration of his Authority, in the Two Houses, as formerly. And then, though the Army stood not right to them at present; the Majority of Votes might some time or other, so alter the case, as that the sweetness of Dominion might return to them again.

To second therefore what they had so vigorously begun, discerning that the Army in pursuance of their late *Remonstrance*, were on their March towards **London**, they Voted y a Letter to the General, forbidding his nearer approach. y Hist. of Indep. part 2: Which Vote so irritated the Souldiary, that immediately they publisht a sharp *Declaration*; z p. 25. & 26. therein accusing the Parliament with *Breach of Trust*, *Inconstancy* and *Indiscretion*; saying that *they would appeal from them to the People*; threatening forthwith to advance up to **westminster**, and there to do what God should enable them; and accordingly came up ^a to the corner of **Hyde-Park**. Where a 30. Nov: upon it was put to the Question in the House; *whether that*

An. 1648. *approach of the Army were not prejudicial to the Freedom of Parliament.* But into such a terror were the *Presbyterian* Members then smitten, that they durst not hold up their Heads to give their Votes therein.

Nevertheless, within two days following they took better heart, and set on foot a debate, ^b touching the satisfaction of His Majesties Answer to the *Propositions in the late Treaty.* And, though the same day, the General entered **Westminster** with Four Regiments of Foot, and Six of Horse, taking up his Head Quarters at **White-hall**: and that soon after the King was seized on in his Bed-chamber, and carried ^c to **Hurst-Castle** (a Block-house in the Sea, not far from the Isle of *Wight*, where the cold was most sharp, and the Air very unwholsome) as men inflam'd, in this desperate condition, they again took courage, and held out a stout contest with the *Independant-Party*, for the space of a whole day and night together: And, notwithstanding the many sharp Menaces, which they had from the Sword-men, on the other side; they then Voted, ^d that the *King's Answer to the Propositions from both Houses, was a ground for them to proceed on, to the settlement of the Kingdoms Peace.*

^c *Ib. p. 29.*

^{4.} *Dec.*

The King taken from the Isle of *Wight*, and sent to *Hurst-castle.*

^d *6. Dec.*

Ib. 1. 29.

Which put the Army into such a rage, that they forthwith sent a Paper to the House by *Pride* and *Hewson* (two of their Collonels) requiring, that the formerly impeached Members, together with Major General **Browne** (whom they charg'd to have been an Inviter of Duke *Hamilton* with the *Scottish Army*) might be secured, and brought to Justice. As also, that the Ninety and odd Members, who refused to Vote against the late *Scottish Engagement*; and all that Voted for recalling the Votes of *Non-Addresses*: and likewise those that Voted for the late *Treaty*; and that the *King's concessions* therein were a ground for the Houses to proceed to a settlement, should be immediately suspended the House. And that all such faithful Members, as were innocent of those Votes, should by protestation acquit themselves from any concurrence in them, to the end they might be distinguished.

And scorning to make any long stay, for an Answer to that their Paper, they sent, the next Morning, certain Regiments of Horse and Foot to **Westminster**, who setting Guards upon all the Avenues to the Parliament House, seized upon one and Forty of the Members, then Sitting, *viz.*
Major

Major General Browne.	Colonel Edward Leigh.
Mr. John Buckley.	Mr. ----- Lane.
Colonel Birch.	Sir Samuel Luke.
Mr. Thomas Boughton.	Sir William Lewes.
Mr. Francis Buller.	Major General Massy.
Sir John Clotworthy.	Sir John Merrick.
Mr. Lionel Copley.	Sir Richard Onslow.
Mr. John Crew.	Mr. Henry Pelham.
Sir Simonds D'ewes, Knight and Baronet.	Sir Robert Pye, Kt.
Mr. Drake.	Mr. William Pryn.
Sir Walter Earle.	Mr. ---- Preistley.
Mr. Nathaniel Fienes.	Sir Benjamin Rudyard.
Mr. Giles Greene.	Mr. William Strode.
Sir Gilbert Gerard.	Sir Thomas Soame.
Sir Herbottle Grimston Kt.	Mr. Edward Stephens.
Mr. Francis Gerard.	Mr. John Swinfen.
Sir Robert Harley, Kt.	Mr. Charles Vaughan.
Colonel Edward Harley.	Sir William Waller.
Sir Anthony Irby.	Mr. William Wheeler.
Mr. John Knightley.	The Lord Wenman.
Sir Martin Lyster.	Mr. Clement Walker.

Of whose Names Mr. *Hugh Peters* (one of their hot-headed Preachers) came to take a List; and then convey'd them into their great Victualling-house, near **Westminster-hall**, called **Hell**; where they kept them all night, without any Beds. Whence, being driven as Prisoners, (through Snow and Rain) by the Guards, to several Inns in the **Strand**; the Souldiers upbraided e them in their passage; *that they were the men, who had cousened the State of their Money, and kept back the Armies Pay.* Which signal Act hapned the very day, that their great Master, *Oliver Cromwel* return'd from **Scotland** to **Loudon**. e Ib. p. 313

And, as they made Prisoners of these, so they denyed entrance into the House unto above one hundred and Sixty more. Whereupon the rest of the *Presbyterian* Party, being terrified with this usage of their Fellow-Members, declin'd the House, leaving f it to about an hundred and Fifty, who, for the most part, being Officers of the Army, perform'd whatsoever the Grandees of that Faction prompted them to do: This Exclusion of those Members, being call'd *Colonel Pride's Purge*. f 7. Dec.

An. 1648.

¶ It is very well known to the world, that throughout the whole course of this grand Rebellion, it was the usual practise of the *Presbyterians*, to make great advantages unto their Party, by frequenting of Sermons, and performance of other pretended exercises of Religion. Amongst which the strict observance of such dayes, as were set apart by their Leaders for *Seeking of God* (as they call'd it) by *Fasting and Prayer*, and other wayes of Humiliation, were not the least. In which act of deluding the People, they were at length grown to be such excellent Masters; that, when any transcendent work was to be done, it was always ushered in, with this sanctified veile; under pretence, that in the zealous performance of those Duties, they *did ask Council of the Lord*: and thereupon, by some more than ordinary Illumination, were directed to proceed in the business design'd.

8. Dec.

Which notable example the *Independants*, deeming fit to be imitated, in order to their own High and Mighty designs; they kept a Fast ^z in the House of Commons, upon the Eighth of *December*. Where Mr. *Stephen Marshall* (formerly the Great Bell-weather of the *Presbyterian* Flock) Mr. *Carrill* and *Hugh Peters* Preacht that day to them; under pretence of directing them to humble their Spirits, now that God had so signally appeared to them in their great Victory over the *Scots* at **Preston**, and other eminent manifestations.

h Ib.p.37.&
38.

Next to which devout work, the remaining Members, that sate after this *Grand Purge*, damn'd ^h all the Votes, which the *Presbyterians* had made, either in reference to the *Treaty*, or to their secluded Brethren. And, within few days after, divers of the Lords went to the General, to exprest their good affections to him, and concurrence with his purposes for the Common Good: as also to let his Excellency know, that they would wave their *Priviledges* and *Titles*, in case they should be found burthensome to the Liberties of the People.

i Ib.p.48.&
49.

And, as the Lords had thus manifested their obsequiousness to the Army: so did also the most Godly men of the House of Commons; by subscribing ⁱ a *Protestation* against the late *Treaty* with the King, in the Isle of **Wight**: but especially against that Vote of 5. Dec. allowing His Majesties Answer to the *Propositions* of Both Houses, to be a ground

ground for them to proceed on for a Settlement; the names of which worthy Members I have here added. *An. 1648.*

<i>Philip Lord Lisle.</i>	<i>Colonel Ludlow.</i>
<i>Colonel Boswell.</i>	<i>Gregory Clement.</i>
<i>Mr. John Gourdon.</i>	<i>Colonel Purefoy.</i>
<i>The Lord Grey of Groby.</i>	<i>Colonel Stapeley.</i>
<i>Mr. Peregrine Pelham.</i>	<i>Mr. Dunch.</i>
<i>Colonel Jones.</i>	<i>Mr. Cawley.</i>
<i>Colonel Temple.</i>	<i>Colonel Downes.</i>
<i>Colonel Ven.</i>	<i>Mr. John Carey.</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Maleverer.</i>	<i>Mr. John Blakeston.</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Wrothe.</i>	<i>Mr. Thomas Scott.</i>
<i>Sir John Bourcher.</i>	<i>Colonel Hutchinson.</i>
<i>Colonel Peter Temple.</i>	<i>Sir Henry Mildmay.</i>
<i>Mr. Humphry Edwards.</i>	<i>Sir James Harington.</i>
<i>Mr. Thomas Chaloner.</i>	<i>Colonel Edward Harvey.</i>
<i>Sir Gregory Norton.</i>	<i>Alderman Penington.</i>
<i>Michael Oldsworth.</i>	<i>Alderman Atkins.</i>
<i>Augustine Garland.</i>	<i>Mr. Daniel Blagrove.</i>
<i>Sir John Danvers.</i>	<i>Colonel Moore.</i>
<i>Mr. Dove.</i>	<i>Colonel Millington.</i>
<i>Mr. Henry Smith.</i>	<i>Mr. Prideaux.</i>
<i>Mr. Frye.</i>	<i>Mr. Roger Hill.</i>
<i>Mr. Searle.</i>	<i>Mr. Dennis Bond.</i>
<i>Mr. Nicholas Love.</i>	<i>Colonel Harrington.</i>
<i>Mr. John Lisle.</i>	<i>Mr. Hodges.</i>
<i>Colonel Rigby.</i>	<i>Mr. Benjamin Valentine.</i>
<i>Mr. Cornelius Holland.</i>	

The work being therefore thus smoothly carryed on, to accomplish their chief design for murthuring the King, they remov'd ^k him from **Hurst-Castle** to **Winchester**, and thence to ^l **Farnham-Castle** in *Hants*shire.

And that they might effect their business with the greater Formality, they held a solemn *Fest* in St. *Margarets* Church at **Westminster**; four of the most zealous Lords being present thereat; and of the House of Commons at least Twenty; where their Pulpit Buffoon, *Hugh Peters* Preacht ^m to them of bringing the Children of *Israel* out of *Aegypti-* ^m *an* Bondage, whereunto he Parallel'd the State of this King- ^m *dom.* And the better to shew how they should be brought ^m out

The King removed from *Hurst-Castle* to *Winchester*.
^k 21. Dec.
^l 22. Dec.
 Thence to *Farnham*.

^m *Ib.* p. 49. &c.
 50.

An. 1648. out of this Bondage; having put his hands before his eyes, and laid his head on the Cushion; thence raising it up again (after a while) he told them, *that he had a Revelation how to do it; which was, by Extirpating of Monarchy, both here, and in all other places.*

Thence to
Windsor.
ⁿ 23. Dec.
^o 27. Dec.

In order whereunto they removed ⁿ the King to **Windsor-Castle**, where it was concluded ^o on by his Guards, that all State and Ceremony towards him should thenceforth be forborn, and his attendants lessened.

^p *Ib.* p. 44.

At the same time also it was first moved ^p in the House of Commons, that they should proceed Capitally with the King. Whereupon *Oliver Cromwell* stood up and said,

^q *Ibid.*

^q *that if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest Traytor in the World: but since Providence and Necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their Councils, though he was not provided, on the sudden, to give them Council.*

* *Life of K. Charles by Dr. Perincheif* p. 153.

But not long after he was: for being a great Pretender to *Enthusiasms* and *Revelations*, he told ^{*} them, that as he was praying for a Blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the King to his pristine Majesty, his Tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of Prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King. And to others he did impudently assert, that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud.

^r 28. Dec.
Hist. of Indep. part. 2.
p. 55.

Whereunto, the very next day ^r Mr. Thomas Scott, brought in the Ordinance for Tryal of the King; which was then read, and recommitted three several times; and the names of the Commissioners (consisting of some Lords, some of the House of Commons; some Citizens of **London**, and some Officers of the Army) added thereto. Which Ordinance, being soon agreed on, and sent up to the House of Lords, by the Lord Grey of **Groby**, was by them rejected.

Whereupon the Commons fell to voting again, and ^r declared, ^r *That all Members of that House, and others appointed by order of that House, or Ordinances of both Houses of Parliament, to act in any Ordinance, wherein the Lords were joyned, should be impowred, and enjoyned to sit and act, and execute in the said several Committees of themselves; notwithstanding the House of Peers should not joyn with them therein. Some of them being so fierce against the Lords for this their refusal; as that*

that they moved for an Impeachment to be framed against them, *An. 1648*
 for thus favouring the grand Delinquent of **England**.

And that they might not fall short in imitation of their Parent, the Presbyterian (which first laid the Foundation of all this mischief) they brought * upon the Stage, such * 29. Dec. another Prophetess, † as the Brethren of Scotland produced, † The daughter of one Michelson. in order to the carrying on their Blessed work, in *An. 1638*. (whereof I have then taken notice) viz. a Godly Woman out of *Herefordshire* (the News-book of that Week, calls her a Virgin;) who coming to the General and Council of War at **White-hall**, said she had a Revelation from God, whereby she was incited to encourage them to go on in their designs. Of which they made no small advantage, approving thereof, as most seasonable at that time; and accordingly proceeded: First Voting, † that the people were, under God, the † 4. Jan. Original of all just power: Secondly that the Commons of **En- lb. p. 56.** gland, in Parliament Assembled, being chosen by, and representing the people, were the supream power of the Nation: and Thirdly, that whatsoever is enacted or declared for Law by the House of Commons, Assembled in Parliament, hath the force of Law.

In pursuance of which monstrous Votes, they fram'd a bloody Ordinance; * whereby they constituted these Per- * 6. Jan. sons, whose names I have here inserted; or any Twenty lb. p. 57. or more of them, to be Judges, for the Hearing, Trying and Judging of the Kings Sacred Majesty, which were thereby also constituted and called an High Court of Justice.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| ¶ Thomas Lord Fairfax, General of the Army. | * Colonel Richard Ingoldsbj. |
| * Oliver Cromwell Lieutenant General. | * Sir Henry Mildmay, Kt. |
| Henry Ireton Commissary General. | Sir Thomas Honeywood, Kt. |
| Philip Skipton Major General. | * Thomas Lord Grey of Groby. |
| * Colonel Valentine Walton. | Philip Lord Lisle. |
| * Colonel Thomas Harrison. | * William Visc. Castlemaine. |
| * Colonel Edward Whalley. | (aliter Lord Munson.) |
| * Colonel Thomas Pride. | * Sir John Danvers, Kt. |
| * Colonel Isaac Evre. | * Sir Thomas Maleveren, Bar. |
| | * Sir John Bouchier, Kt. |
| | * Sir James Harrington, Kt. |
| | Sir William Brereton, Bar. |
| | * Robert Wallop, Esq; |
| | * William |

- An. 1648. * *William Heveningham*, Esq; * *Peregrine Pelham*, Esq;
 * *Isaac Pennington*, Alderman. *John Gourdon*, Esq;
Thomas Atkins, Alderman. *Francis Thorpe*, Serjeant at
 * *Colonel Rowland Wilson*. Law.
Sir Peter Wentworth, Knight *John Nutt*, Esq;
 of the Bath. *Thomas Chaloner*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Henry Martin*. *Colonel Algernon Sidney*.
 * *Colonel William Purefey*. * *Sir Hardres Waller*, Kt.
Colonel Godfrey Boswell. * *Colonel John Barkstede*.
John Trenchard Esq; *John Anlaby*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Mathew Tomlinson*. * *Colonel John Moore*.
 * *John Blakeston*, Esq; *Richard Darley*, Esq;
 * *Gilbert Millington*, Esq; * *William Say*, Esq;
 * *Miles Corbet*, Esq; * *John Alured*, Esq;
 * *Sir William Constable*, Kt. *John Fagge*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Edward Ludlow*. *James Nelthorpe*, Esq;
Colonel John Lambert. *Sir William Roberts*, Kt.
 * *Colonel John Hutchenfon*. *Colonel Francis Lascelis*.
Sir Arthur Haselrigg, Bar. *Colonel Alexander Rigby*.
 * *Sir Michael Livescy*, Bar. * *Henry Smith*, Esq;
Richard Soloway, Esq; *Edmund Wilde*, Esq;
Humphrey Soloway, Esq; *James Chaloner*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Robert Tichburne*. *Josias Barnes*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Owen Roe*. *Dennis Bond*, Esq;
Colonel Robert Manwaring. * *Humphrey Edwards*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Robert Lilburne*. * *Gregory Clement*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Adrian Scrope*. *John Fray*, Esq;
 * *Colonel Richard Deane*. * *Thomas Wogan*, Esq;
 * *Colonel John Okey*. * *Sir Gregory Norton*, Kt.
Colonel Robert Overton. * *John Bradshaw*, Serjeant at
Colonel John Harrison. Law.
Colonel John Desborough. * *Colonel Edward Harvey*.
 * *Colonel William Goffe*. *John Dove*, Esq;
Colonel Robert Duckenfeild. * *Colonel John Venn*.
 * *Cornelius Holand*, Esq; *John Fouke*, Alderman of
 * *John Carue*, Esq; London.
Sir William Armine, Kt. * *Thomas Scott*.
 * *Colonel John Iones*. * *Thomas Andrews*, Alderman.
 * *Miles Corbet*, Esq; * *William Cauley*, Esq;
 * *Francis Allen*, Esq; *Abraham Burrell*, Esq;
Thomas Lister, Esq; * *Colonel Anthony Stapeley*.
Benjamin Weston, Esq; *Roger Gratwick*, Esq;

An. 1648.

- | | |
|--|---|
| * <i>John Downes</i> , Esq; | <i>Sir Peter Temple</i> , Bar. |
| * <i>Colonel Thomas Horton</i> . | * <i>Colonel Thomas Wayte</i> . |
| * <i>Colonel Thomas Hamond</i> . | <i>John Browne</i> , Esq; |
| <i>Colonel George Fenwick</i> . | <i>John Lawry</i> , Esq; |
| <i>Robert Nicholas</i> , Serjeant
at Law. | * <i>John Bradshaw</i> , Serjeant at
Law named President. |
| * <i>Colonel John Hewson</i> . | Councillers-Assistants to this
Court, and to draw up the
Charge against the King. |
| <i>Robert Reynolds</i> , Esq; | * <i>Doctor Isaac Dorislaw</i> . |
| * <i>John L'isle</i> , Esq; | * <i>Mr. William Steele</i> . |
| * <i>Nicholas Love</i> , Esq; | * <i>Mr. Aske</i> . |
| * <i>Vincent Potter</i> . | * <i>Mr. Cooke</i> , Sollicitor. |
| <i>Sir Gilbert Pickering</i> , Kt. | * <i>Serjeant Dandy</i> , Serjeant at
Armes. |
| <i>John Weaver</i> , Esq; | * <i>Mr. Phelps</i> } Clerks to |
| <i>John Lenthall</i> , Esq; | * <i>Mr. Broughton</i> } the Court. |
| <i>Sir Edward Baynton</i> , Kt. | Messengers and Door- |
| <i>John Corbet</i> , Esq; | keepers. |
| <i>Thomas Blount</i> , Esq; | <i>Mr. Walford</i> . |
| <i>Thomas Boone</i> , Esq; | <i>Mr. Radley</i> . |
| * <i>Augustine Garland</i> , Esq; | <i>Mr. Paine</i> . |
| <i>Augustine Skimmer</i> , Esq; | <i>Mr. Powell</i> . |
| * <i>John Dixwell</i> , Esq; | <i>Mr. Hull</i> . |
| * <i>Colonel George Fleetwood</i> . | <i>Mr. King</i> , the Cryer. |
| * <i>Simon Maine</i> , Esq; | |
| * <i>Colonel James Temple</i> . | |
| * <i>Colonel Peter Temple</i> . | |
| * <i>Daniel Blagrove</i> , Esq; | |

And that these their Sanguinary proceedings might carry the more shew of Authority; upon the Third day^y follow-^y 2.7
ing, they sent their Serjeant at Armes with his Mace, accompanied by six Trumpets on Horse-back, into **Westminster-Hall**, (great Guards of Souldiers waiting in the Palace-yards.) Where (in the midst of the Hall) after the Trumpets had sounded, he made solemn Proclamation, on Horse-back; that if any man had ought to alledge against Charles Stuart, they should repaire, the day following, at Two of the Clock After-noon, into the Painted Chamber; where the Committees to receive the same were to Sit.

The like Proclamation he made at the Exchange, and other places in **London**.

The same day also they Voted, that Writs should no longer run in the King's Name; and the making of a new

An. 1648. Great Seal, with the Armes of **England** and **Ireland** (viz. the *Cross* and *Harpe*) on the one side, and this Circumſcription; viz. *The Great Seal of England*. On the other ſide the Figure of the Parliament and the Circumſcription; *In the firſt year of Freedom, by Gods Bleſſing reſtored, 1648.*

According to which Proclamation, ſo made in **West-**
^{a 10. Jan.} **minster-hall**, the next day ^z following thoſe High
 Court of Juſtice-men ſate formally in the *Painted Chamber*,
 to receive Informations from ſuch, whom they had then
 prepared to come in for that purpoſe. For which time,
 for the ſpace of Nine days, the Grandees had frequent
 Meetings, to frame and ſettle the ſpecial order and form
 for executing of that their accuſed deſign. And, having
 in the Interim, erected a Bloody Theater at the upper
 end of **Westminster-hall**, which they call'd *The High*
 Court of Juſtice, they removed ^a His Maſteſty from **Wind-**
^{a 19. Jan.} **ſor-Caſtle**, to **St. James's** (near **Westminster**) and
 upon *Saturday January* the Twentieth, made their entrance
^{b 20. Jan.} ^b in State into **Westminster-hall**, *Bradshaw* the Preſi-
 dent having a Sword and Mace carryed before him; and
 for his Guard Twenty Souldiers with Partizans, under the
 Command of Colonel *Fox* the Tinker.

Where, after this Prodigious Monster (*Bradshaw*) with
 the reſt of that Bloody-pack (in all to the number of Se-
 venty two, the reſt then declining to ſhew their Faces in
 ſo Horrid an Enterprize, though moſt of them afterwards
 avowed the ſame) were ſet; and that Hellish Act read,
 whereby they were conſtituted the King's Judges; His
 Maſteſty was brought to the Bar by Colonel *Hacker*,
 Guarded with a Company of Halberdeers. In whoſe
 paſſage, it is not unworthy of note, that *Hugh Peters*
 (one of their wicked Preachers) did ſet on divers of the
 Souldiers to cry out *Juſtice, Juſtice*, againſt him, and that
 one of them did then Spit in the King's Face.

Which being done, that insolent *Bradshaw* ſtood up, and
 moſt impudently told the King (calling him *Charles Stu-*
^{c Hiſt. of In-} ^{art}) that the Commons of **England** Aſſembled in Parliament,
^{dep. Part. 1.} being ſenſible of the great Calamities brought upon this Nation;
^{p. 87.} and of the Innocent Blood ſhed (which was referred to him as the
 Author) according to that duty which they did owe to God, the
 Nation, and themſelves; and according to that Power and Fun-
 damental

amental Trust reposed in them by the People, had Constituted *Am.* 1648. that High Court of Justice, before which he was then brought; and that he was to bear his Charge, upon which the Court would proceed.

Then Cook their Sollicitor, went on, and said, ^d that ^d he did accuse Charles Stuart, there present, of High Treason, and Misdemeanors; and did, in the Name of the Commons of **England**, desire that the Charge might be read against him.

Whereupon they caused their most false and Infamous Charge to be read. Which importing, that he being admitted King of **England**, and trusted with a limited Power, for the good and benefit of the People, had Trayterously and Maliciously levied War against that present Parliament, and the People therein represented; and caused and procured many Thousands of the Free People of this Nation to be slain. Concluding, that he did therefore impeach him, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of **England**; Praying, that he might be put to answer the premisses; and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence and Judgment might be thereupon had, as should be agreeable to Justice.

I shall not stay here to give instance of the particular expressions then made by His Majesty unto those Blood-thirsty-men. Which were with the greatest Wisdom, Gravity, and Christian Courage imaginable; considering that they already are by some Historians, and others, so exactly publisht to the World: He absolutely denying and renouncing that their usurped Jurisdiction, and Authority thus to convent him; and stoutly refusing to submit to their power. In which he most undauntedly persisted every time he was brought before them, with incomparable magnanimity of Spirit.

On the Second ^e day of their Sitting, they held a Fast at ^e 21. Jan. **White-hall**.

And on the Third day, ^f the Scots Commissioners ^f 22. Jan. deliverd in certain Papers to them, with a Declaration from the Parliament of **Scotland**, importing a dislike of those their Proceedings against His Majesty, but nothing regarded.

After which, to the end that these Barbarous Regicides might the better consult touching the manner of his Execution, and to perform it with the greater Ignominy,

An. 1648. they respited his Sentence of Death for Four or Five days. But then, having fully determined thereon, upon *Saturday* ^{27. Jan.} the Twenty Seventh of *January*, they caused Him to be brought before them again. Where, after a most insolent Speech, made by the same *Bradshaw* the President, His Sentence of Death was read; there being then present no less than Seventy two of those His Bloody Murthurers, called Judges, who stood up and avowed the same, the Names of which I have noted with an *Asterism* in the preceding Catalogue.

^h Ib. p. 108. Which being done, a Publick Declaration ^h was appointed to be drawn against the Proclaiming of Prince *Charles*, after the removal of His Father out of this Life; denouncing it to be High Treason for any one so to do. Likewise, that no person upon pain of Imprisonment, and such other punishments as should be thought fit, might speak or divulge any thing contrary to those their proceedings.

ⁱ 28. Jan. ^{ib. p. 109.} And upon the Morrow, being *Sunday*, ⁱ some of the Grandees came, and tendred to him a Paper Book, with promise of Life, and some shadow of Regality, in case he would Subscribe it; which contained many particulars destructive to the Religion establisht, to the Laws of the Land, and to the Liberties and Properties of the People. Whereof one was, that he should pass an Act, for keeping on Foot their Army during the pleasure of such, as they should nominate to be entrusted with the *Militia*; with power, from time to time, to recruit and continue them, to the Number of Forty Thousand Horse and Foot, under their present General and Officers, and that the Council of War, should have power to make choise of new Officers, and Generals, from time to time, as occasion should happen, and they think fit: as also to settle a Tax upon the People, by way of Land-rate for supporting the same Army; to be Collected and levyed by the Souldiers themselves. And for the establishing a Court-Marshal of extraordinary extent. But so soon as His Majesty had read some few of those Tyrannous Proposals, he threw them aside; saying, that he would rather become a **Sacrifice** for his People, than thus betray their Laws, Liberties, Lives, and Estates, with the Church, the Common-wealth, and Honour of the Crown; to so intolerable a Bondage of an Armed Faction.

And

And such a Sacrifice they really made him, upon the *Tuesday* following (which was the Thirtieth ^k of *January*) having (the more to affront and deject him, had it been possible) built a Scaffold for His Murther, before the Great Gate at *White-hall*, whereunto they fixed several Staples of Iron, and prepared Cords, to tye him down to the Block, had he made any resistance to that Cruel and Bloody stroke. To which place they then brought him on Foot, from St. *James's*, attended by Guards of Souldiers; having filled all the Streets, from *Charing-Cross* to *Westminster*, with Troops of Horse, and Companies of Foot.

An. 1648.
^k 30. *Jan.*
 1b. p. 110.

Whereon, being ascended with the Greatest Christian Magnanimity imaginable; he told them, *that they were in a wrong way to the Kingdoms Peace, their design being to do it by Conquest, in which God would never prosper them.* Farther declaring to them, *that the right way thereto, would be first to give God his due, by regulating rightfully the Church, in a National Synod, freely call'd and freely debating.* Secondly the King (his Successor) his due: wherein the Laws of the Land would sufficiently instruct them. Thirdly the People, theirs; in such a Government, whereby their Lives and Goods might be most their own.

It was for that (quoth he) I come now hither; for would I have given way to an Arbitrary sway, to have all Laws changed, according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here. Telling them farther (but praying God, it might not be laid to their Charge) that he was the Peoples Martyr.

And then, most Christianly forgiving all, praying for His Enemies, he meekly submitted to the stroke of the Axe. It is not unworthy of Observation (and therefore, not finding a more proper place for it, I have thought fit to insert it here,) that some of those most Impious Regicides, who late, and gave judgment of Death upon this Blessed Martyr, when, (after the happy Restoration of our present Sovereign) they were brought to their Tryals for that unparallel'd Murther; stuck not (in justification of themselves) to plead, *that they were not within the compass of Treason, as it is declared by the Statute of 25. E. 3. For that, questionless, (said they) must intend private Persons, Councilling; Compassing, or imagining the Death of the King: but you know (said they) that the War was first stated by the Lords*
 and

The King
 Murthered

An. 1648. and Commons, the Parliament of **Calgare**, and by virtue of their Authority was raised; they pretending by the Laws, that the right of the Militia was in them; whereupon, accordingly, they rais'd a Force; making the **Earl of Essex** General, and after that **Sir Thomas Fairfax**. This therefore they insisted on for a legal Authority; because (said they) that this Parliament was called by the King's Writ, and that the Members thereof were chosen by the People: Adding, that the Persons which acted under that Authority, ought not therefore to be question'd, as Persons Guilty; because, if that which they acted was Treason, then the Lords and Commons in Parliament began the Treason.

His Corps removed from *White-Hall* to *St. James's*.
1. Feb.
Thence to *Windsor*.
7. Feb.
There Buried. 9. Feb.

Having thus finish'd their Grand, and long designed work, they permitted the Duke of **Richmond**, the Marquess of **Hertford**, the Earl of **Southampton**, and Earl of **Lindsey** to Interr his Corps in the Collegiate Chapel, within the Castle at **Windsor**, refusing him Burial, with his Ancestors in the Church of **Westminster**, under colour of preventing such confluence of People, which out of a superstitious respect might resort to his Grave; reserving that place, therein, which had been built by King **Henry** the Seventh, purposely for the Sepulture of himself and his Posterity, for the Bones of his chiefest Murtherers. Some of which being afterwards, accordingly, there deposited, have since been Translated, and laid, more properly under the Gallows.

Being thus come to the Period of this incomparable Prince's Life, I may not omit to take notice; that the time was, when these Monsters of men, did publickly declare, that they would make *His Majesty* a *Glorious King*: which now we see most truly verified, though not as they then seem'd to intend it. So Glorious indeed, as Mortal man never was more.

1. First, In that he suffered as an Heroick Champion for the Rights of the Church, the Laws of the Land, the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament; in stoutly (to his utmost) withstanding the conjunctive Power of his Rebellious Subjects; which under the colour of asserting these, most Trayterously assaulted him in divers sharp Battels.

2. Next, by his cheerful undergoing the many hardships of a destructive War, and a tedious Imprisonment.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, by his patient enduring the many insolent affronts of this subtle, false, cruel, and most implacable Generation, in their Barbarous manner of conventing, and Condemning him to Death; and to see his most blood-thirsty Enemies then Triumph over him.

An. 1648.

3.

And that no part of true felicity might be wanting to him, they have made him *Glorious* in his Memory, throughout the World, by a Great, Universal and most durable Fame; and *Glorious*, by his enjoyment of an Immortal Crown, with the Blessed Saints, Martyrs, and devout Confessors in the highest Heavens.

CHAP. XXXI.

AND here, having made a mournful stop, for a while, to contemplate the unspeakable loss of this excellent Prince, and the direful actings of these matchless Conspirators; I begin to consider, that the *Presbyterians*, may (possibly) take much exceptions at this Historical Narrative, in regard that the Life of the King was not taken away by them, but by that Sect which are usually called *Independants*.

Whether the *Presbyterians* or *Independants* were the chief Actors in Murthing the King

Whereunto I answer, that, it is not denyed, but that he was actually put to death, by those who (in common discourse) do pass under that name. But whether the *Presbyterians* can clear themselves from the Guilt of his Murther, as I know not how to excuse them; so am I somewhat doubtful thereof.

For in the First place I would ask, whether they were not the men, which Originally put themselves in Armes against him, and strenuously endeavoured to kill him in sundry Battels? and whether the name of *Independant* was ever then heard of?

Next, whether they did not *Covenant* with the *Scots*, and therein vowed to endeavour the establishing of Church-Government here, consonant to that of theirs, which is well known to be *Presbyterian*?

Likewise,

An. 1648. 3. Likewise, whether they, either before, or whilst the King was in their Hands, did ever make *Proposals* to him; but that the establishing of their *Discipline* was chiefly insisted on?

4. Moreover, whether they were not the first that distinguished betwixt *His Person* and *His Office*? and by the strength of their Armies, Murthered him in his Politick Capacity, usurping with great boldness, the Power and Authority thereof?

5. Likewise, whether they were not the very men, that made him their Prisoner at *New-Castle*, and *Holdenby*, refusing him the comfort of any one of his own Chaplains?

6. Finally, whether they did not perpetually torment him, with their incessant importunities; not only to become a *Felo de se*, in Murthering himself in his Regal capacity, by giving up the Power of the Sword, into their ambitious Hands: but by endeavouring to extort his consent, for the Sacrificing the Lands of the Church to their greedy Appetite; aiming therein, as much as in them lay, at the very ruine of his Soul, by making him a Robber of God; and thereby pulling upon him all those heavy Curses, denounc'd by the Pious Donors of those large Possessions, on the Violaters of their devout Gifts, which they full well knew, that by his *Coronation Oath*, he was strictly obliged to defend.

And, though a more violent and rigid sort of these men, who severed from the rest, not so much in point of difference in Religion (if I may say they have any Religion in them at all) as to secular Interest; did get the King out of their Hands; using him no less Barbarously, and at length did put an end to his Life by an insolent and cruel Murther of his Royal Person: what was this worse, than was done to him by the *Presbyterian*? who most inhumanely tormented him, by a lingering and disconsolate Imprisonment; wherein he was in perpetual fear of Murther, by Pistol, Dagger, or Poyson. Nay I would ask of any Rational man, whether he would not rather choose to have an end to the like Miseries, by an open and Publick Death, as His Majesty had, whereby the World might be the more convinc'd of his Innocency, and Goodness; than to be so strictly immur'd in the merciless hands of such,

such, who might thereby take advantage to divulge what they list of him. An. 1648.

I cannot deny, but that so soon as this Hellish-Murther was committed, many of the *Presbyterians* did loudly de-claim against it; seeming as much to wash their Hands of the Guilt, as *Pilate* did from the Death of our Blessed Saviour. And I am not ignorant, that whosoever shall, in any sort, charge the Guilt of his Blood upon them, must expect to be severely censur'd by all that Party.

Therefore I shall herein refer the decision of this point, to a Person wholly unconcern'd, and without exception; being a Forreigner both by Birth and Residence, most Eminent for his Learning, throughout the Christian World, and who had no reason to deliver any partial opinion herein: I mean the late Famous *Claudius Salmasius*; who having most judiciously and elegantly Written upon this Subject, of the King's just Rights, as a Monarch here; and concisely Historiz'd the chief particulars in the late Rebellion against him, until his Generally deplored Murther: at length, by reason that the *Independants* did actually cut off his Head; coming to State the case rationally (in brief) layes the main Guilt of his Blood at the *Presbyterians* Door, his expression being (in short) this ¹ ----- *Nunc ad eam questionem pervenimus, quâ tractandum est, quinam fuerint Rebellionis illius, & Condemnationis præcipui autores; quis Anglis, Scotis, & Hibernis, optimum Regem pessimo facinore abstulit; & tria hæc Regna magnæ Insule, sub uno Rege, quondam florentia & beata, tot ruinis, stragibus, & incendiis miscuit.*

The opinion herein of the Learned *Salmasius*.

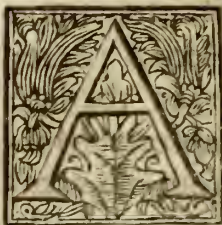
¹ *Salmasii* defensio regia, pro Carolina primo. c. 10. p. 343

----- *Et in quinam alii meritò Regis occisi crimine notari magis debuère, quàm qui viam ad eum occidendum munierunt? Illi sunt, qui nefariam illam securim cervicibus ejus inflixerunt, non alii. Si Latro viatorem per sylvam transeuntem insidiis exceperit, gladio discinctum, & crumenâ spoliatum, vestimentis etiam postremò nudatum, ut plerique faciunt, ad arborem religaverit, & fera silvestris de nocte superveniens, & miserum sic revinctum offendens, invaserit, laniaverit & consumpserit, cui debet ascribi mortis ejus causa Latroni an Fera? ille amovit enses viatori, quò se defendere poterat; & insuper, devinctum, dilacerandum lupis objecit; ergo ille potiùs titulum hujus cædis quàm bellua feret. Mutatis nominibus hæc fabula Presbyterianis convenit, nam res eadem est. Illi aliquot annis antè, omnibus modis, per varias*

An. 1648. *Petitiones, jus Regis immutare, & Auctoritatem ejus infringere moliti fuerunt, &c.*

Ib. p. 468. ----- *Scitum est, & verè dictum à quodam de Sectâ Independentium, Regem in Carolo primùm perdidisse Presbyterianos: deinde & Carolum ipsum trucidasse Independentes. Ita justum Regem & sanctum extinxere Presbyteriani; Carolum verò, virum probum & pium, non tantum innocentem Independentes condemnarunt. Thus far Salmasius.*

CHAP. XXXII.



AND now, before I proceed farther in this Historical Discourse, there are two malicious Scandals, wherewith these wicked men, since that execrable Murther of their Lawful Sovereign, have endeavoured to bespot his precious Memory.

The first is, that to colour these their most perfidious and Barbarous dealings, they have not stuck to say, that *Cromwel* had a real purpose (after the King was so taken from *Holdenby*) to restore him to his just Rights (as hath been already observed,) with this condition, that he should wholly rely upon him, and his Party, and not endeavour to procure any aid from the *Scots* for that purpose: But, that after he was brought to *Hampton-Court*, a certain Letter from the Queen was intercepted by them, and privately opened; the Contents whereof were, that she did thereby acquaint him, that the *Scots* were Raising, or preparing to Raise an Army in order to his Restoration, or expressions to that effect. And, that *Cromwel*, having seen this Letter, and made it up again so artificially, that no violation of the Seal could appear, convey'd it to the King, and the next Morning sent *Ireton* on purpose to His Majesty, to enquire of him what he knew of any Hostile Preparations then in hand by the *Scots* to the purpose aforesaid. Unto whom the King briefly saying, that *he did neither know nor believe any thing thereof*, *Ireton* return'd with this answer; and that thereupon both of them concluding that

that His Majesty was not to be farther trusted, they did thenceforth resolve to proceed against him, as hath been already shewed. *An. 1648.*

To the which Story, as to the improbability of it, I reply, that 'tis very well known the King was in that open Freedom at **Hampton-Court**, all the time he remained there, that divers of his old and Faithful Servants were not only permitted to attend on His Royal Person, in their respective places, but many others had the Liberty of Free access to him: So that it is not at all likely, that any Letter from the Queen should come to him at that time, by other hands than those who were of known trust.

Besides, what could he expect from the Scots, which might conduce to the Restoring him to any part of his Regal Authority, without submitting to their solemn *League and Covenant*, which they full well knew he could never be prevail'd with to do.

Next, that he had no great reason to confide much in Duke *Hamilton's* fair intentions towards him, in case he should have vanquish't those men. And lastly, that it had been no Prudence to depend upon the strength of their Armes, considering that the Events of War are uncertain; especially, having so much reason to hope, and believe, that *Cromwell* and his Party (who had such an influence upon those Members which then Sate in their Parliament, as on the Army) would accomplish what he had so solemnly promised; considering also, (in all Humane reason) it would conduce to his own proper Interest. Thus much as to the Improbability of any Truth herein.

But now to the Impossibility thereof. Let it be considered, that the Scots could not foresee any danger towards His Majesty till after he left **Hampton-Court**, which was upon the Eleventh of *November 1647*. Nor then, till the Month of *December* next following, that they saw the Four *Dethroning Bills*, which through the influence of *Cromwell* and his Party were sent to him; and the Vote on the Third of *January* ensuing, of *No more Addressses*; Shortly after which he was made close Prisoner by Colonel *Hamond*.

Which destructive Bills, and malevolent Votes, was that which in truth alarm'd the Scots, as it did the *English* in divers Parts: who, discerning His Majesty in this miserable

An. 1648. condition, made several attempts in order to his rescue (though without success, as hath been already observed:) who thereupon, and not till then did constitute * a *Committee of Danger at Etonborough*, (which was previous to any preparation for Raising an Army) and necessitated them to consider what was without delay to be done in this great exigent; foreseeing well, that the Tyranny of these Antimonarchists would, in the end, overwhelm them there, as well as the *English* here. Whereupon they resolv'd to Raise an Army in order thereto.

Scots entred
England
with a third
Army,
13. July,
1648.

Besides, most apparent it is, that the King was so ignorant of any Preparations made by the *Scots* to that purpose, that, until the Month of July 1648. when it was told him, that Duke *Hamilton* was entred **England** with an Army, he was so strangely surprized with the News, that he suddenly said, *Then he is undone.*

To pass by this base Fiction therefore, meerly devised to give some colour for the perfidiousness of *Cromwell*, I descend to the next device they had, to countenance their wicked Actions; which was to detract from his deserved Fame in another kind.

For discerning, soon after his Death those most *Divine Meditations* made publick by the Press, and Intituled *Icon Basilike*, which in his deplorable and disconsolate solitudes he had Pathetically put in Writing; whereby his Great Prudence, Patience, and Piety, in those his woful Sufferings would be made openly conspicuous to the World; and not being able to suppress them, (as they did earnestly endeavour to do) they made it their work to blast them, by their false and Impudent Reports, that they were none of his own, but composed by some Royallist to gain a Reputation to his Memory, which they studyed by all malicious projects and practises to suppress, and to that purpose encouraged a needy Pedagogue, preferring him to the Office of a Secretary, to write that Scandalous Book called *Icon Basilike*, being a bitter invective against those his *Divine Meditations*.

But to manifest that these were no borrowed wares, but by the Good and Gracious assistance of Almighty God were totally of his own composure in the midst of his most sad afflictions; besides the unlikely-hood, that any such expressions could flow from an Heart not oppress'd and grieved with

with such a weight of sorrow as his was; I shall make it evident from the Testimony of very credible persons yet living, that he had begun the Penning of them long before he went from *Oxford* to the Scots: For the Manuscript it self, written with his own Hand, being found in his Cabinet, which was taken at *Navisby* Fight, was restored to him, after he was brought to *Hampton-Court*, by the hand of Major *Huntington*, through the favour of General *Fairfax*, of whom he obtained it. And, that whilst he was in the Isle of *Wight*, it was there seen frequently by Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, who then waited on His Majesty in his Bed-chamber; as also by Mr. *William Levett*, (a Page of the back Staires) the Title then prefixt to it being *Suspiria Regalia*, who not only read several parts thereof, but saw the King divers times writing farther on it.

Which Mr. *Herbert* (being that Learned Person, who hath publisht his Observations upon his Travels in *Asia*) hath since the Kings most happy Restauration, been honoured with the Title of Baronet, in Testimony of the Gracious sence His Majesty hath of his dutiful demeanour and perfect fidelity, in those Perillous times to his dear Father of Blessed Memory. Add hereunto the Testimony of Mr. *Richard Royston* a Bookseller at the *Angel* in *Juy-lane*; who having in those Rebellious times adventured to Print divers of His late Majesties Declarations, Speeches, and Messages; about the beginning of *October* 1648. (the King being then in the Isle of *Wight*) was sent to by His Majesty to prepare all things ready for the Printing some Papers which he purposed shortly after to convey to him. Which was this very Copy, brought to him on the *Twenty Third* of *December* next following, by one Mr. *Edward Symmons*, a Reverend Divine, who received it from Dr. *Bryan Duppa*, then Bishop of *Salisbury*, and afterwards of *Winchester*. In the Printing whereof Mr. *Royston* made such speed, that it was finished before that dismal *Thirtieth* of *January*, that His Majesties Life was so taken away, as before is observed.

What I have here instanced to wipe off this foul stain; which the malice of wicked men have cast upon the Memory of His late Majesty, will be sufficient, I am sure, to satisfie all such, who through those most venomous Insinuations have been doubtful herein; and enough to stop
the

An. 1648. the mouths of those vile Detractors, which are any way favourers of that execrable Murder of their Lawful Sovereign.

Whose last Legacies of what he had left the night before his Suffering, and afterwards delivered by the hands of Mr. *Herbert*, were as followeth, *viz.*

To the Prince (our now Gracious King) his Bible, in the Margin whereof he had with his own hand Written many Annotations. To the Duke of *York* his large Ring-Sun-Dial of Silver, which His Majesty much valued, it having been invented and made by *Monsieur De la maine*, an able Mathematician; and who, in a little Printed Book hath shewed its excellent use, for resolving many Questions in Arithmetick; and other rare operations in the Mathematicks, to be wrought by it.

To the Princess *Elizabeth*, his Daughter, the Sermons of the most Learned Dr. *Andrews* sometimes Bishop of *Winchester*; and Arch-bishop *Laud's* Book against *Fisher* the Jesuit, which he said, *would ground her against Popery*; with Mr. *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy*. As also a Paper to be Printed, in which he asserted Regal Government to have a *Divine Right*, with Proofs out of sundry Authors Civil and Sacred.

To his Son the Duke of *Gloucester*, King *James* his works, and Dr. *Hamond's Practical Catechism*: To the Earl of *Lindsey* *Cassandra*; To the Dutchess of *Richmond* his Gold Watch: And to Mr. *Herbert* himself the Silver Clock, which usually hung by his Bed-side.

Hereunto it will not seem impertinent, I presume, to add a Catalogue of the other Books, which His Majesty had with him in this His disconsolate condition; they being these, Dr. *Hamond's* other Works; *Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*, &c. *Sands* his Paraphrase upon King *David's Psalmes*; *Herbert's* Divine Poems: *Godfrey of Bulloign*, Written in *Italian* by *Torquato Tasso*, and Translated into *English Heroick Verse* by Mr. *Fairfax* (a Poem which His Majesty much commended) as he did *Ariosto* by Sir *John Harrington* a Facetious Poet; *Spenser's Fairy Queen*, and the like, for alleviating his Spirits after serious Studies.

Nor can I here omit to tell, that this excellent Prince, with his own hand Translated that Learned Discourse written in *Latin* by Dr. *Saunderson* (afterwards Bishop of *Lincolne*)

colue) de Juramentis, which he caused Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Harington* to compare with the Original, who found it most accurately done. An. 1648:

Those particulars are such, whereof those who have publisht much of his Life and Reign have not taken notice.

To give a Character of his Eminent virtues I shall not need, it being already so well done by Dr. *Pireinchief* in the short History which he hath publisht of his Life; but shall take notice, that his delight in Learning was such, that he understood *Greek, Latin, French, Spanish* and *Italian* Authors in their Original Languages, which Three last he spake perfectly; no man being better read in Histories of all sorts, being able also to Discourse in most Arts and Sciences.

In one of his Books he wrote this Distich of *Claudian*.

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam,
Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*

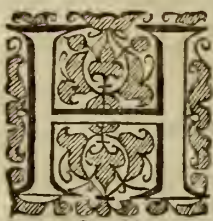
And out of another Poet, against the Levellers and Antimonarchists then predominant:

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit
Servitium. Nunquam libertas gratior extat
Quàm sub Rege pio-----*

Whereunto I shall add, that after Mr. *Herbert* had much sollicited those who were then in Power, that His Royal Corps might be Buryed in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel at *Westminster*, near to the Grave of King *James*; which they refused, alledging the danger of much concourse to that place out of a superstitious respect; they thereupon granted a Warrant to him, bearing Date the Sixth of *February* for the Interring thereof at *Windsor*. Hence it was, that Mr. *Herbert*, having often heard His Majesty speak with Great Honour of King *Edward* the Fourth, from whom he was descended, he resolved to Bury the Corps in that Vault under the Monument of that King (which is betwixt the High Altar and the North Isle) and gave order for the opening thereof accordingly: but the

An. 1648. the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquess of *Hertford*, Earl of *Southampton*, and Earl of *Lindsey*, coming to *Windsor* to perform their last duty to His Memory, in seeing His Royal Corps decently Interred; and walking up the Quire, where they found by knocking on the Pavement an hollow sound, they caused the place to be opened, it being near to the Seats, and opposite to the Eleventh Stall on the Sovereign's side; in which were Two Coffins, one very large, of King *Henry* the Eighth, the other of Queen *Jane* his Third Wife, both covered with Velvet; whereupon they concluded to deposit it there. It was therefore brought down accordingly out of the King's Lodgings, in the upper Ward of the Castle, into the Court, the Air being then Serene: but (which is observable) before they came to the Door of the Chapel, there hapned Snow to fall, which covered the Hearse of Black Velvet, in which it was carryed, that it was all White. It being brought to the Grave, the Reverend Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, who had been permitted to wait on His Majesty in the time of His Preparation for Death, and on the Scaffold, was there ready to have performed the Office of Burial, as it is prescribed in the Publick Liturgy of the Church; but the Governor of the Castle (Colonel *Whitchcot*) would not suffer it.

CHAP. XXXIII.



HAVING thus finished what I thought proper to be said in reference to His Late Majesty King *Charles* the First, thus destroy'd by these great Pretenders to Godliness (as hath been observed;)

I shall now go on with the remainder of this Story, until I come to the most happy, and Miraculous Restoration of our present Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, whom God long preserve, and continually defend from the Infernal Plots, and subtile Machinations of this dangerous Brood of Cruel men.

Procla-

Proclamation^o being therefore made in **London** (and afterwards throughout all **England**) forbidding to Proclaim Prince *Charles*, the Members remaining in the House of Commons, passed an *Act*^p (for thenceforth their Edicts were so called) that such as had assented to the Vote of December the Fifth, viz. that the King's concessions were a ground for the House to proceed to a settlement, should not be re-admitted to Sit as Members: As also, that such as were then in the House, and Voted in the Negative, should first enter their dissent to the said Vote: And that such as were absent should declare their disapproval before they Sate.

An. 1648.
o 30. Jan.
Hist. of In-
dep. part 2.
p. 113.
p 1. Febr.
Ib. p. 115.

Soon after this, they passed an Act,^q for the setting up of another High Court of Justice, for the Tryal of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*. Which Court, upon the Fifth of *February* met^r in the *Painted-Chamber*, and Elected their President: It being then also debated in the House of Commons, whether they should continue the House of Lords, as a Court of Judicatory, or Consultatory only. And the day following, it being put to the Question, both were carryed in the Negative; and farther Voted; that the House of Peers in Parliament was Useless and Dangerous, and ought to be abolished; and that an Act should be brought in for that purpose: as also that the Peers should not be exempted from Arrests: but did admit, that they should be capable of being *Knights* and *Burgesses* in Parliament, in case they were elected.

q 3. Febr.

r 5. Febr.

s 6. Febr.

t Ib. p. 115.
Et Perf. Di-
urnal.
p. 1250.

House of
Peers abo-
lished.

¶ The next thing of Note that hapned, was the Proclaiming^u of Prince *Charles* at **Edenborough**, in **Scotland**, to be King of Great **Britain**, **France**, and **Ireland** (his Royal Father being thus destroy'd:) But 'tis to be noted, that this Proclamation ran thus ----- *Whom all the Subjects of his Kingdom, are bound humbly to obey, maintain, and defend, according to the National Covenant, betwixt the Two Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods against all, deadly. And that before he should be admitted to the exercise of His Royal Power, he was to give satisfaction to that Kingdom, in those things that concern'd the security of Religion, the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of that Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant.*

u 5. Febr.

An. 1643.

And for Establishing the Dominion of these Bloody Regicides at **Westminster**, the Members there Sitting went on Vigorously; First Voting the absolute abolition of the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy. Next in devising and appointing *A new Stamp for Coyne*. And by Erecting a Council of State, consisting of Thirty Persons, viz. the Earles of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, Lord Grey of Warke, Lord General Fairfax, Lord Grey of Groby, Lord L'isle (Son to the Earl of Leicester) Lord Chief Justice Rolls, Lord Chief Justice St. John, Lord Chief Baron Wylde, Lord President Bradshaw, Lord General Cromwell, Major General Skippon, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir William Masham, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Vane, Jun. Sir John Davers, Sir William Armyn, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir William Constable, Alderman Penington, Alderman Wilson, Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq; Henry Martin, Esq; Colonel Ludlow, Anthony Stapeley, Esq; William Heveningham, Esq; Robert Wallop, Esq; John Hutchinson, Esq; Dennis Bond, Esq; Alexander Popham, Esq; Valentine Walton, Esq; Thomas Scot, Esq; William Puresey, Esq; John Jones, Esq;

But the Lord Grey of Warke waving that employment, Mr. John L'isle of Hantshire, Cornelius Holand, and Luke Robinson were added to this Number, who were called the *Committee of Estates appointed by Parliament*.

¶ It is not unworthy of Observation, that as the Scots and this unhappy Long Parliament, at the beginning of their desperate Practises against the King, did declare, that their whole Proceedings, then were according to the **Fundamental Laws**. So these wicked Regicides, after their Bloody Murther of the King, in answer to an Embassy from the Dutch, expressed; ^x that these their Proceedings against the King, were consistent with the **Fundamental Laws** of this Nation of **England**, which were best known to themselves.

x Moderate
Intelligen-
cer. p. 315.

y The Ar-
mies weekly
Intelligen-
cer, p. 33, &
34.
z Febr. 16.

Nor was the project for their new Church-Discipline less notable, as may seem by this following *Petition*^y and *Advice*, which was presented^z to the General of their Army, and the Council of War, by many Christians (as they call'd themselves) dispersed abroad, throughout the County of Norfolk, and City of **Norwich**, in these words;

-----That your Petitioners acknowledge themselves unspeakably engaged to the God of Heaven and Earth, for his great Mercy

to us, in giving you Hearts to offer your selves so willingly among the People, in the late Great undertaking of the Nation, against the Enemies of the Peace thereof, and Blessing your Faithful endeavours, with such Glorious and wonderful successses; whereby, as the Lord hath put great Honour upon you, Crowning your Valour with Victory, and making you the War-like Glory of the World; so hath he no less put great Obligations upon you all, to exalt him that hath exalted you, and to lift up his Glory in the World, where he hath given you a name so Great and Glorious, &c. ----- Therefore our dayly Prayers shall be for your selves, and your Noble Army, that you may never stumble at the stumbling-stone; nor take the honour to your selves, that is due to Christ; nor be Instrumental for setting up of a meer Natural and Worldly Government, like that of Heathen-Rome, Athens, &c.---- To which end we humbly pray, that your selves would enter into Serious and Grave consideration, and debate the Particulars in the Papers here humbly offered to you: and also present them to the Honourable Parliament, that they may be improved so far, as shall be found agreeable to the will and word of God. Which done, we doubt not, but God shall have much Glory, the Godly Party shall be comforted: Natural men (enjoying their Estates) will be at rest also, and much satisfied, and this Common-wealth will be exalted, to be both an Habitation of Justice, and Mountain of Holiness; even such a People as God shall Bless.

An humble Advice, concerning the Government of the Kingdom, according to the former Platform, or Model.

1. That you would stir up Godly Ministers, and People, throughout the Kingdom, to Associate, or incorporate into Church-Societies; and grant them your special Favour, Provision and Protection; so shall you be the Saints Nursing Fathers.

2. That you would please to satisfie the Godly=dissenting=Brethren, both of Presbytery and Independency (by such ways and means as your Wisdoms shall think fit) how both their Interests may meet herein, that so they may concur with one heart in the work.

3. That Sister=Churches over-see such Incorporations, and Imbodyings, that only such as be of approved Godliness, may have the Right=hand of Fellowship given to them.

4. That such Churches, where more of them are thus Collected and imbodyed in any Division, Circuit, Province, &c. may choose and send out some Delegates, Members, and Officers to Meet in one Session, Lesser-Parliament, Presbytery, or Assembly,

An. 1648. for ordering of all such affaires as there occur, according to the word, if appertaining alone to that division.

5. That all such Churches, and the Members thereof, have voices in Elections of such as are to Sit in General Assemblies, or Church-Parliaments, so often as occasion is; and those Elected to Sit there as Christ's Officers, and the Churches Representatives; and to determine all things by the word, as that Law, which God will exalt alone and make honourable.

6. That you take special care to send out, and encourage Godly Preachers, that may go into the rest of the Kingdom, to Preach the Gospel; that so, when others are converted, and the Son of God makes them Free, they may enjoy the former Freedom with the rest of the Saints.

And in farther order to the utter abolishing of Kingly Government, they appointed all those Antick and most Venerable Regalia, conserved in the Treasury at Westminster, and chiefly made use of at the Magnificent Coronations of the Kings of the Realm, and solemn Proceedings to Parliament: Also the costly Hangings, precious Jewels, with other of the Kings Goods, and rich Furniture for his several Princely Palaces, to be sold. And, within few days following, caused the Heads of James Duke of Hamilton, Henry Earl of Holand, with that truly Noble Arthur Lord Capel, to be cut off. Touching whose actings against them, having already made some brief mention, I shall only take notice of their dealing with Duke Hamilton a little before his Execution, which was that in order to his discovery of such Members of Parliament, and Citizens of London, as had any Hand in calling him in, Cromwel took a Journey on purpose, to Windsor, and there flattered him with fair promises of Life: and though he could get nothing out of him; nevertheless he caused Bradshaw to carry a favourable countenance towards him upon his Tryal in Westminster-Hall; the Lord Grey of Groby, Colonel Wayte and Hugh Peters being likewise imploy'd to him upon the like Errand: who told him, that they would not much obstruct his Pretended Plea of Quarter from Lambert, upon Articles: Peters also promising him to witness the same for him (though Wayte upon his Report to the House of Commons, of the manner how he took him, had affirmed, that he yielded at discretion, and that Lam-
bert

18. Febr.

2. Hist. of In-
dep. P. 2.
P. 131.

bert was not near him.) Nay honest *Hugh* seem'd so An. 1648
zealous in his behalf, that he Prayed openly for him as his
Lord and Patron, and fed him with no small hopes in case
he would impeach those whom they suspected. But *Ha-*
milton, in stead of complying with them therein (expect-
ing otherwise to save his Head) did not only offer them
an hundred thousand Pounds for his Life, intimating what
Service he would do them in **Scotland**; but assured
them, that he would joyn Interests with *Argile*, and be a
Servant to them there. Whereupon Messengers were sent
Post thither, to know *Argile's* mind; who resolving, that
none should share with him in so Glorious a Work, refused
any conjunction with him. The Wind, therefore, blow-
ing in that Door, *Bradshaw* used him more roughly, up-
on his farther Tryal, than before; and *Hugh Peters* re-
nounc'd what he had formerly testified; insomuch, as
Sentence of Death was given against him. Nevertheless,
that he might still expect Life, and not give that Glory
to God in this his Judgment, and cast Infamy upon them,
by a Christian acknowledgment of his own and *Argile's*
mutual Practises, they soon cut off his Head.

And immediately after this, they passed an Act, ^a for ^a 17. Martii
Scob. Coll.
p. 7.
discharging all people from their Allegiance to the late
King's Issue, and abolishing ^b the Kingly Office. Likewise for
abolishing the House of Peers, as useless and dangerous: but
with favour to some Lords, who had demeaned themselves with
honour, courage and fidelity to the Common-wealth (as the words
are) so that they might be capable of Voting in Parliament, if
elected; Philip Earl of Pembroke, being ^c the first, which ^b Ibid: p. 8.

^c 16. Apr.
had the benefit of this Act, being admitted a Commoner
in this new fram'd Parliament; and the Lord *Howard*
of **Eserick** the Second. After whom followed *William*
Earl of **Salisbury**-----

And wisely considering; that as the *Preachers* had been An. 1649.
their chief Instruments, for infusing such Principles into
the Vulgar sort of People, by their Seditious Lecturing
Sermons, as had at last accomplisht their long studied
design, for the abolishing of Monarchical Government:
Left therefore, that by the same Engine, the like ruine in
time, might be brought upon themselves; they ordered,
that no *Minister*, in the Pulpit, should meddle with any State-
Matters.

An. 1649. Matters; therein pursuing the practise of the *Netherlanders*, who had done so before, for the prevention of mischief to their own Common-wealth.

But now to digress a little; let us here behold what a Brain-sick Generation in a short space of time sprung up from this precious root of *Presbytery*.

*d Hist. of In-
dep. P. 2.
p. 152.*

About a this time, there came Six Souldiers into the Parish-Church of *Walton upon Thames*, in *Surrey*, near *Twylight* in the Evening (*Mr. Faucet*, the Preacher there, having not till then ended his Sermon) one of which number with a Lanthorn in his hand, and a Candle burning in it; and in the other Hand, four Candles not lighted, desired the Parishoners to stay a while; saying, that he had a Message from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go up into the Pulpit. But the people, refusing to give him leave so to do, or to stay in the Church, he went into the Church-yard, and there told them, that he had a Vision, wherein he had received a command from God, to declare his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive, upon pain of damnation; it consisting of Five Lights.

1. That the Sabbath was abolisht as unnecessary, Jewish, and meerly Ceremonial; And here (quoth he) I should put out my first Light, but the wind is so high I cannot kindle it.

2. That Tithes are abolisht, as Jewish and Ceremonial, a great Burthen to the Saints of God, and a discouragement of Industry and Tillage; and here I should put out my Second Light, &c.

3. That Ministers are abolisht, as Antichristian, and of no longer use, now Christ himself descends into the hearts of his Saints, and his Spirit enlighteneth them with Revelations, and Inspirations. And here I should put out my Third Light, &c.

4. Magistrates are abolished, as useles, now that Christ himself is in purity of Spirit come among us, and hath erected the Kingdom of the Saints upon Earth. Besides they are Tyrants and Oppressors of the Liberty of the Saints, and tye them to Laws and Ordinances, meer humane Inventions: And here I should put out my Fourth Light, &c.

5. Then putting his Hand into his Pocket, and pulling out a little Bible, he shewed it open to the People, saying, Here is a Book you have in great Veneration, consisting of Two parts, the Old and New Testament: I must tell you, it is
abolished,

abolished, it containeth Beggarly Rudiments, Milk for Babes: *An. 1649.*
 but now Christ is in Glory amongst us, and imparts a farther
 measure of his Spirit to his Saints, than this can afford, I am
 commanded to burn it before your Face. So taking the Candle
 out of his Lanthorn, he set fire on it. Then putting out
 the Candle he said; and here my Fifth Light is extinguished.

Nay, the stream at that time carried Multitudes, so
 violently, this way, that the Souldiers fell to Preaching
 in many places; six of them, in one day, exercising ^e lb. p. 153.
 their Gifts, in that kind, at **White-hall**; in so much,
 as that Grand Impostor *Cromwel*, subrilly observing the
 bent of this Tide, ascended the Pulpit there himself, pre-
 tending that he was called up by the Spirit of God; and
 standing a good while with his Eyes lifted up (as it were
 in a Trance) his Head inclining to one side, he fetcht ma-
 ny deep Groans; spent one hour in his Prayer, and near
 two in his Sermon. In which Prayer, his Humility was
 such; that, in imitation of *Moses*, he desired God to take
 off from his Shoulders the Government of this Mighty
 People of **England**, as being too heavy for him to
 bear.

And so much did he then pretend to *Revelations*, and
Inspirations; that when any weighty matter was propound-
 ed to him, he usually retired for a quarter of an hour, or
 more, and declared what was revealed to him. But to
 proceed.

About this time they passed an Act, ^f for supporting ^f 7. April.
 of their Military Forces, by imposing a Tax of Ninety ^{Scob. Coll.}
 thousand Pounds *Per Menssem* upon the Kingdom. ^{p. 8.}

And that the people might be totally confounded as to
 matter of Religion, or have any regard to Moral Honesty,
 but wholly guided by those whimsical Fantasies, which
 were, by their Ring-leaders called the *Revelations* and
Inspirations of God's Holy Spirit; it was referred ^g to a ^g 12. April.
 Committee, to consider of a way for the Raising of ^{lb. p. 156:}
 Pensions, and allowances out of Deans and Chapters
 Lands, to maintain certain *Itinerant Preachers*, who were
 Authorized to go up and down, and spread abroad their
 Antimonarchical Doctrine, whereby the Rabble might
 be set up, and comply with the Souldiery against the No-
 bility and Gentry, Clergy, Lawyers, and all orderly
 Government. But upon better consideration, fearing
 that

An. 1649. that the Liberty, might in time, overwhelm them with confusion; and give such a countenance to the *Levellers* (of whose help they had made no small use, for the King's Destruction) as would bring upon them inevitable ruine;

^h *Ib. p. 157.* *Cromwel* moved ^h in their Parliament, that the *Presbyterian Government* might be settled, promising his endeavours thereto; and that the secured and secluded Members might be again invited to return into the House.

They likewise employ'd divers of their Preachers (of which Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Carrel*, Mr. *Goodwyn* and *Hugh Peters* were the chief) to cajole others of their own Coat, together with the Citizens and expulsed Members, with certain Discourses and Proposals; telling them, that the *Presbyterians* did differ with the King in point of Civil Interest, which was much more irreconcilable, than the Interest of Church Government, whatsoever

ⁱ *Ib. p. 158.* shew was made to the contrary: Also, ⁱ that it was the *Presbyterians* who first made War against the late King, brought him low, and prepared him to receive his deadly blow from the *Independants*: and therefore, that the King would look upon them, as equally Guilty with the *Independants*, and endeavour equally to cut them off; their design being thereby to cast the *Presbyterians* into utter despair; and so, to bring them in point of self Preservation, to joyn with their Interests, for common defence.

And to carry on their work with the more shew of Sanctity, they ordered, ^k that a strict Fast should be kept, to humble themselves, and implore God's Forgiveness, for the Ingratitude of the People, who did not sufficiently acknowledge, with Thankfulness, Gods Great Mercies upon this Land, in Freeing them from Monarchy, and bestowing Liberty upon them, by changing *Kingly Government*, into a *Free State*; or Republick.

To sweeten, likewise, the affections of the Vulgar towards them, they made most specious pretences of paying all the publick Debts, and raising Three Hundred thousand Pounds for supplying the necessities of the Common-wealth (as they term'd it) without any charge or burthen to the people; and to that end passed an Act ^l for abolishing all Deans and Chapters, and for sale of their Lands.

^l 30. April.
Scob. Coll.
p. 16.
Act for sale
of Deans
and Chap-
ters Lands.

And the better to fortifie themselves, and their Usurped Dominion, they fram'd another Act, ^m whereby they declared certain particulars to be Treason, *viz.*

An. 1649.
^m *1. May.*
Hist. of In-
dep. p. 2.
p. 167.

1. If any man should maliciously affirm their present Government to be Tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful: or that the Commons in Parliament were not the Supreme Authority of the Nation; or that should endeavour to alter that their Government.

2. If any should affirm their Council of State or Parliament to be Tyrannical or unlawful, or endeavour to Subvert them, or stir up Sedition against them.

3. For any Souldiers of their Army to contrive the death of the General, or Lieutenant General; or endeavour to Raise Mutinies in the Army; or to Levy War against the Parliament, or to joyn with any to Invade **England** or **Ireland**, to Counterfeit their Great Seal, or kill any Member of their Parliament; or any Judge or Minister of Justice in their duty.

Soon after this, they framed and passed another Act, ⁿ declaring **England** with all the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, to be a *Free State*, and to be Governed by the Representatives of the People in Parliament, without any King or House of Lords. Which Act was Proclaimed ^o in the City of **London**, by Alderman *Andrews* then Lord Mayor.

ⁿ *19. May.*
Scob. Coll.
p. 30.

^o *30. May.*
Hist. of In-
dep. part 2.
p. 184. &
185.

Alderman {	Pennington	Edmunds	Avery	
	Wollaston	Pack	Wilson	
	Fowkes	Bateman	Dethick	
	Kenrick	Atkins	Foote	then attending him.
	Byde	Viner.		

The *Londoners* being by that time brought unto so much Vassalage by these insolent Regicides; as that, in obedience to a Vote, made by their servile Parliament, they were constrain'd to invite ^p that wicked Conclave to a *Thanksgiving Dinner*; whereat all of them were to rejoyce together, for bringing the Grand Delinquent to punishment (that is to say for the Murther of the King) for the greater honour of that day, the Lord Mayor met the Speaker, and the other Members of Parliament at **Temple-Bar**: and there resigning the Sword to him, re-

^p *7. Junii.*
Ib. p. 187.

An. 1649. received it again, and carryed it before him to *Christs Church*. Whence, after a Canting Sermon, he conducted them to *Brokers-hall*, and entertain'd them in the quality of a *Free State*: the Cooks having every one of them an Oath to prepare for those Saints, nothing but wholesome Food.

Being therefore thus seeming firmly settled in their Tyrannical Dominion, they went on in passing sundry other Acts, in their Pseudo-Parliament, of which the Ruling Grandees had the chief benefit, *viz.*

q 25. *Julii.* 1. To encourage the Purchasers of Deans and Chapters Lands, by the sale of them at Ten years Purchase, in case of ready Money; or doubling what was due to those as should so purchase.

r 4. *Julii.* 2. Another for the sale of the Goods, and Personal Estate of the King, Queen, and Prince.

r 16. *Julii.* 3. A Third for sale of the Crown Lands, with particular Instructions to sell them at Thirteen years purchase.

r 17. *Julii.* 4. Soon after this they passed another Act, for Coyn- ing of new Money; with direction for the form of the stamp to be thereon.

u 17. *Julii.* 5. Another, declaring what Offences should be thenceforth adjudged Treason; *viz.* to express or publish their Government to be Tyrannical; or that the Commons in Parliament were not the Supream Authority.

6. And for the quicker riddance of Deans and Chapters Lands, they added farther Power and Instructions to the Trustees for the sale of them.

7. Next, to reward their Bloody President *Bradshaw*, who gave Judgment of Death upon the King, they passed another Act, for settling Two thousand pounds per annum upon him.

And that there might be a known mark of distinction, betwixt themselves and others they passed an Act, for the Subscribing an *Engagement*; whereby every man should promise to be true and Faithful to the Government then established, without a King or House of Lords; or in case of refusal to have no benefit of the Laws.

But the Crown-lands, so doom'd to be sold, went but slowly off: they therefore passed another Act to constitute a Committee to remove obstructions in the sale of them.

a 18. *Febr.*
Ibid.

r 2. *Jan.*
Scob. Coll.
p. 101.
Act for the
Engage-
ment.

them. Nor was all this sufficient to satisfy their greedy *An. 1649.* appetites, or was evident enough from the aim they had to devour all the Gleabe and Tithes throughout the whole Kingdom. To which purpose they passed an Act, ^b where- *b 22. Febr. lb. p. 104.* by they nominated certain Commissioners, to receive and dispose of all Rents, Issues, and profits of all Rectories, Vicaridges, Donatives, and all other Ecclesiastical livings; and of all Impropriations and Gleabe-lands, then under Sequestration; out of which to allow an yearly maintenance, for such as should be approved of for the work of the Ministry; this act being called *An Act for the better propagating and Preaching the Gospel in Wales*: For it was to extend no farther at present; their Resolutions being to go on as they found their success in this. Hereupon all the Church-doors in that part of the Realm being soon shut up; they imploy'd three or four most Impudent Schismatical Knaves (*viz. Jenkin Jones, Vavasor Powel, and David Gam*) to range about in those Parts as Itinerants, there to Preach to the People, when, where, and what they pleased, in order to the more firm establishment of their own Tyrannical Dominion.

The next work was to make sale of the Fee-farm-Rents of the Crown: to which end they passed an act. ^c Also, *c 11. Martii. lb. p. 106.* for the farther enslaving and terrifying of the People, they passed another ^d for the establishing *An. 1650:* an High Court of Justice; by which act Commissioners were named, to hear and determine of all Crimes and Offences, contrary to the Articles therein contained. And having built Three Famous new Pinnaces, the better to spread forth and perpetuate the Memorial of some of their Grandees; upon the launching ^e of them (which the States went to see) they *e 15. Apra* named one of them the *Faithful Speaker*; another the *successful Fairfax*; and the Third the *Bold President*: and soon after, for the surer obliterating of Monarchy, they Voted ^f that the Kings Armes in all places should be pull'd down *f 3 Maii.* and defaced.

An. 1650.

CHAP. XXXIV.



§ Hist. of In-
dep. part 2.
p. 14. & 15.

ABOUT this time the *Scots* (in whose power it once was to have restored the late King to his Royal Throne; had they been really sensible of that whereof in their many *Declarations* they so boasted) seeing the Clouds thicken apace from **England**, which threatned the like Slavery to them, as their Presbyterian Brethren here did then suffer under the power of the Independant Saints; resolving to adventure an after-Game, for the recovery of their power, dispatcht ^e the Lord *Libertoun* into the **Netherlands**, unto the young King (*Charles* the Second) by the colour of whose Title, they knew full well, that an Army might easily be Raised: But withall making advantage of his then distressed condition (instigated and animated by the Presbyterians here) they required that he should take the *Covenant*, and likewise submit to their *Directory* and *Catechism*, promising that in so doing, they would admit him to the Throne of that Realm; endeavour the recovery of his Rights, and assist him in bringing the Murtherers of his Father to condign punishment. Towards the accomplishment of which work, the Presbyterians here, were also by compact to have acted as opportunity might best serve.

Unto which dishonourable terms he being over-perswaded, by some greater Politicians than *St. Paul* (who prohibited the doing Evil, that Good might come thereof) against his own judgment, was drawn to assent, and to adventure His Royal Person into **Scotland**, for carrying on that work. Whereupon the *Scots* having by the help of their Preachers, soon Rais'd a powerful Host (and for that reason called the *Kirk-Army*) as a preamble to that Slavery which they intended to the King, welcom'd him thither with that most inhumane and infamous Murther, of the best of His Subjects; I mean the most Loyal and truly noble Marquess of *Montross*, whom the unhappy event of War had made their Prisoner.

The

The danger of which Army, so Rais'd in **Scotland**, being discerned here; it was Voted^h at **Westminster**, that General *Fairfax* should forthwith March into that Kingdom, and quell the Brethren: But he, being either toucht in conscience with the solemn *League and Covenant*, which had formerly so firmly knit these Brethren in iniquity together; or rather over-awed by some of the Godly Party here; declined that Service, laying down his Commission. Whereupon that Superlative Saint *Cromwel*, being constituted: General (having taken off the Heads of *Mr. Love* (one of the fiercest of the Presbyterian Pulpit-men) and *Gybons*, another active man for the Cause; the more to strike a terror into the rest of the Presbyterians here, Marcht into **Scotland** with no less than sixteen thousand Horse and Foot. Where, notwithstanding he had at first some hopeful effects of his Expedition, he became at length reduced to such desperate extremities, that he would gladly have retreated for the preservation of himself.

General Fairfax layeth down his Commission. ⁱ 26. *Junii.* *Oliver Cromwel* made General of the Army.

In this seeming lost condition, therefore when those proud Presbyterians of that Realm had in conceit swallow'd him up, Almighty God made him the apparent and signal scourge of that disloyal and most perfidious people, by the utter overthrow^k of their great and powerful Army at *Dunbar*; their word then being for *Kirk and Covenant*. As Trophies of which wonderful Victory, the colours then taken, were soon after hung^l up in **Westminster-Hall**.

^k Battail of *Dunbar.* 3. *Sept.*

^l 21. *Sept.*

It will not (I think) be amiss, before I proceed farther, to observe some particulars, which passed by Letters betwixt General *Cromwel*, and the Governour of **Edenborough-Castle**, within a few days after this great Victory at *Dunbar*; the Governour objecting; ^m *First that the English had not adhered to their first Principles, nor had been true to the ends of the Covenant.* And Secondly that men of Civil employments had usurped the calling and employment of the Ministry, to the scandal of the Reformed Kirks.

^m Perf. Diurnall. p. 476. &c.

To the first of these objections therefore, *Cromwel* demands of them; whether their bearing witness to themselves of their adhering to their first Principles, and ingenuity in prosecuting the ends of the **Covenant**, justifies them so to have done, because they themselves say so. Adding, that they must have patience,

An. 1650. *ence, to have the truth of their Doctrines and Sayings, tryed by the Touch-stone of the word of God: and that there be a Liberty and duty of Tryal, there is also a Liberty of Judgment for them that may and ought to trye. Which, if so, then they must give others leave to say and think, that they can appeal to equal Judges, who they are that have been the truest fulfillers of the most real and equitable ends of the Covenant. But if those Gentlemen (quoth Oliver) who do assume to themselves, to be the infallible Expositors of the Covenant, as they do (too much to their Auditories) of the Scriptures, account a different sense and Judgment from their own, to be a breach of the Covenant, and Herefie; no marvel (quoth he) that they judge of others so authoritatively and severely: but we (quoth he) have not so learned Christ.*

And to the second answered thus; *Are you troubled that Christ is Preached? Is Preaching so inclusive in your Function? Doth it scandalize the Reformed Kirks and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if it be so. I thought the Covenant and these could have been willing, that any should speak good of the name of Christ: If not 'tis no Covenant of God's approving; nor the Kirk (you mention) so much the Spouse of Christ. For a Conclusion. In answer to the witness of God upon our solemn Appeal, you say you have not so learned Christ, to hang the equity of your Cause upon events. We could wish, that blindness had not been upon your Eyes, to all those marvellous Dispensations which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly Appeal and Pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the Hand of the Great God, in this Mighty and strange appearance of his, but can slightly call it an event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited on God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our Appeales. And shall we, after all these our Prayers, Fastings, Teares, Expectations and solemn Appeales, call these bare Events? The Lord pittie you. Surely we fear because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us.*

I beseech you in the Bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our Prayers, that you may find it. For yet (if we know our Hearts at all) our Bowels do in Christ yearne after the Godly in Scotland.

It is not unworthy of Observation likewise, that as this signal disaster to the Presbyterians, did very much raise

raise the Spirits of the *Independant* Grandees; so did it in-
cite them to give all possible encouragement to the rest of
that Party, and to all other Sectaries, of whose help,
upon occasion, they might stand in need. They there-
fore first passed an Act, ^h Intituled *An Act for the relief of* ⁿ 27. *Sept.*
Religious and peaceable People, from the rigour of former Acts
of Parliament in matter of Religion: amongst which those of
primo and 35^o *Eliz.* which concern the Subjects obedient
repairing to Church, were repealed. And shortly after
that, another Act, ^o whereby they directed all proceed-
ings at Law, scil. Writs, Pleadings, Patents, Books of ^o 22. *Nov.*
Reports, and other Law Books to be in *English.* ^{Scob. Coll.}
^{p. 148.}

Next they imposed ^p a Tax of an hundred and twenty ^p 29. *Nov.*
Thousand Pounds a Month for the support of their Army: ^{Ib. p. 149.}
and not long after passed an Act, ^q declaring that their ^q 22. *Jan.*
new Great Seal, Engraven with a Cross and an Harp, ^{Ib. 151.}
with this Circumscription, *The Seal of the Parliament of the*
Common-wealth of England, should be the Seal of the Par-
liament of that *Common-wealth,* and be only used by order
of Parliament; and that it should be Treason to counter-
feit the same.

Most certain it is, that the late wonderful defeat,
which the *Scots* received at **Dunbar** by the *English* then
commanded by *Cromwel*, did not a little startle the whole
Godly Party in that Nation. For whereas before, though
it was through the advantage they made of the King's
Name (whom they had got thither, as hath been already
observed) that they rais'd their Army; 'tis very well
known, that His Majesty was not permitted to have any
hand in the conduct thereof; no not so much as to be Per-
sonally in that part of the Realm, in which it was; lest
his presence should have had any influence thereon, in re-
ference to his own just Rights; so much did their own
guilt of Disloyalty terrifie them.

But the case was now altered: For soon after this great
overthrow, they sent to His Majesty, earnestly desiring
his presence with them; and to Court him with the fairer
assurance of their fidelity, appointed a certain day for
his Coronation, ^r which was accordingly perform'd with ^r 1. *Jan.*
great Solemnity. So that then standing clear with his
best Subjects of that Kingdom, he began to form an Army
upon his own, and their Interest: Yet not without the
assistance,

An. 1651. assistance and Joynt-help^r of the Kirk-Party there, which
^r Hist. of In- in humane reason might have been thought to his advan-
 dep. p. 4. tage: In the Head whereof he entred: **England** at
 p. 20. **Carlisle** upon the Seventh of *August*; and Marcht to
^r 7. Aug. **Worcester** without any great opposition. But whe-
^r 22. Aug. ther there was any thing of Treachery in them that then
 over-perswaded His Majesty to make stay there, against
 his own judgment: or whether Almighty God would
 not give his Blessing to the aid of those who had former-
 ly been so false and perfidious to His Royal Father and
 himself, is hard to say. Sure we are, that so great was
 the confluence, from most parts of **England**, to *Crom-*
^r Ib. p. 22. *well's* assistance (the Presbyterians then joyning^{*} with
 him, and divers of their Preachers, Marching with him
 in a Military way) that after a most sharp dispute, at and
 near that City, being over-powered with strength and
^r 3. Sept. numbers, his Army was totally routed, and destroy'd;
 himself, and some few others being necessitated to escape
 by flight.

It may seem strange (I presume) to some, that I should
 here touch the Presbyterians so near the Quick, there
 being some of opinion; that though the most rigid of
 that Sect, were at that time forward against the King:
 yet, that His Majesty had many Well-wishers of them in
 this his adventure. But if I be herein censured, I desire
 to know, what this expression, used by those Thirty six
 Presbyterian and Independant Ministers, which joyn'd
 together in a Petition for respiting the Execution of
 Mr. Love (one of their own Coat, of whom I have alrea-
 dy given some touch) doth mean, viz. *that in putting him to*
death, the hopes and expectations of the Common Enemy, against
compliance with whom, he had made open protestation at his Tryal;
will be heightened. And, that the forbearance of so putting him
to death, would manifest to the World, that you (id est the
Parliament) do put a difference betwixt those, who offend from
Principles of Enmity against God and his People; and others, who
transgress through the mistakes of an erroneous conscience, in the
midst of great and various changes.

Again, I would gladly know what construction is to
 be made of those words, Printed in one of the News-
 books of that year, viz. *The Presbyterians in Lancashire;*
and parts adjacent, have not only declaimed against the late de-
fection

fection in Norfolk; but declared against the Conjunction and *Proceedings of Hockey*, and their Young King, with Middleton, Ogilby, and the rest of the Royal Party; and are resolved to adhere to the present Government, and to walk close and stedfast in the ways of Truth and Holiness. An. 1651.

¶ Here it will not be impertinent (I hope) to make a little pause, and contemplate the infinite goodness and mercy of God, in so wonderful a preservation of the King (our present Sovereign) after this fatal ruine of his Army at *Worcester*. Who, though pursued and sought for, with all the art and skill, that these Bloody Regicides, and their whole Party could devise; was through the signal fidelity of some few persons (of whom certain Narratives of the particular passages therein, which are already made publick, do make honourable mention) so well secured from their fury; and with such admirable contrivance and skill conducted, that he Landed safely upon the Fifteenth of *October* following at *New-Haven* in *France*.

And as so strange, and little less than Miraculous a Preservation of His Majesties Person, deserves (for a perpetual Thankfulness to God Almighty) to be specially recorded to Posterity: So doth the Memorial of Gods most evident Judgments upon the *Scottish Nation*, after their unhappy defection from the obedience which they did owe to His Royal Father their Native King; levying divers Armies; solemnly *Covenanting* with His *English* Subjects against him, and the *Establisht Government*; and lastly selling Him for Money, when for his Safe-guard and Protection, he became necessitated to fly from the fury of these, and to put himself into their Hands. For 'tis not unknown, that they did twice Raise their *Covenanting Brethren* in that Realm, to invade *this*, in an Hostile manner; and after much Spoil and Rapine made in this (no less than Three of their Armies being utterly destroy'd; the first at *Preston* in *Lancashire*; the Second at *Dunbar* in *Scotland*; and the last at *Worcester*) the flower of their Youth and most Eminent for Chivalry, were either slain in open Battail; Famisht and wasted by most cruel and merciless usage in Prison, or Barbarously sold to Forreign Plantations, there to be Enslav'd with perpetual Servitude.

An. 1651.

CHAP. XXXV.

BUT to go on with my Story. Certain it is, that this fatal blow at *Worcester* did not only much deject all true hearted and Loyal Persons; but seem'd so firmly to establish this Barbarous Generation, in their Tyrannous sway, that nothing but a Miracle was ever like to alter the Scene. Therefore the more to perpetuate their future oppressive Dominion, their next business was, to lessen and oppress the *Nobility*; and to Flatter the *Commonalty* into a Slavish subjection to their Usurped and Rigorous power: To which end they (shortly after) passed Two Acts ^a in their Grand Convention at *Westminster*, (called the Parliament) the one relating to the *Nobility*; which was to make void all Titles of Honour, Dignities, or Precedencies, given by the late King. The other a General Pardon, ^b in reference to the People; for the first moving, and at length obtaining whereof, *Cromwel* himself was known to be the sole Instrument.

^a 4. Febr.
Scob. Coll.
p. 178.

^b 24. Febr.
Ib. p. 179.

An. 1652. All being therefore now in their Power, and no visible Enemy to disturb their quiet; though at the beginning of their Rebellion (*Anno 1642.*) they highly complemented the *Dutch*, desiring that the King might have no manner of Supplies from them, in respect of the near Relation that was betwixt that Model, into which they themselves then aimed to cast this Government, and the State of their Provinces; and for that reason, expected not only their assistance, but a Loan of Money from them upon the *Publick Faith* (as in the Twelfth Chapter of this Work may more fully appear.) The case was now altered; For looking upon themselves, after all this wonderful success as Mighty Potentates in their New *Common-wealth* and *Free-State*; they employed *Oliver St. John* (the Chief Justice of their Court of Common Pleas) commonly called *Cromwel's Dark-Lan-thorn*, as Embassador into the *Netherlands*, not only

to

to make a firm alliance with the *Dutch* from the similitude of their Governments, against all Sovereign Monarchs and Princes; but to weaken the Interest of the Prince of *Orange* with them, who had Married the King's Daughter. *An. 1652.*

Which curteous overture being not at all relisht, was taken in great disdain by our Grandees here. But the *Hogen Mogens* on the other side; being the Elder Commonwealth, strong in Shipping, and expecting to make themselves absolute Lords of the Worlds Commerce, were resolved not to stoop, by yielding them the Flag or the old duty of Herring-Fishing. These differences therefore occasion'd a War at Sea with them, which began in the *Downes* this year, on the Nineteenth of *June*; and was again renewed ^b the Sixteenth of *August*, Westwards of the Isle of *Wight*; in both which the *Dutch* had the worst, Sir *George Ascue* then commanding the *English* Fleet.

So likewise on ^c the Twenty eighth of *October* following, *Blake* being then Vice-Admiral.

But upon another Fight ^d with them in the *Downes* on the Twenty ninth of *November* ensuing, *Blake* received a great defeat, which did not end the dispute: for on the Eighteenth of *February* not far from *Portland*, they had another ^e sharp Fight, in which both sides received no small loss. As also at *Legorne*, about the beginning of *March*, in which the *English* were worsted.

¶ Leaving therefore the farther Prosecution of these Sea Fights till the next year, I find, that at home, they better to secure themselves against the Royallists, they passed a Third Act ^g in their Parliament, for disabling of Delinquents (by which name the Royallists were call'd) to bear any Office of Trust, or Power in the Commonwealth; or to have any Voice or Vote in Election of any Publick Officer.

The King's Authority and Friends, being thus absolutely suppress'd, and *Cromwel* at every turn the chief Agent therein; not only in those his bold adventures against the *Scots*, but in many other, both here and in *Ireland* (as though Victory had been entailed upon his Sword) the time was now come, that he thought fit to act his own part more nearly; yet still under colour of solely minding

^a 19. Junii.
Heath's Chr.
p. 322.

^b 16. Aug.
Ibid. p. 323.

^c 28. Octob.
Ib. p. 327.

^d 29. Nov.
Ib. p. 329,
330.

^e 18. Febr.
Ib. p. 335.
^f 2. Martii.
Ib. p. 336.

^g 29. Sept.
Scob. Coll.
p. 209.

An. 1652. the Publick. As he had therefore made the Souldiery instrumental for the ruine of the King, by the influence of his inferior Officers, call'd *Adjutors*; so now did he, again set those active Engines on work, for the utter confusion of that Impious *Juncto* called the *Parliament*. Which *Adjutors* being readily inclinable to any thing of change, objected to the *Juncto*, that they had not approved themselves such worthy Patriots as they expected, but had sought themselves, and their own peculiar profit. And therefore (as good Common-wealths-men, and Friends to the Publick) required, that they should suddenly prefix a Period to their Sitting; to the end that the Godly Party, and good People of the Nation, might thereupon make choise of a more equal Representative, for the rectifying and amendment of what was still out of order.

An. 1653. But notwithstanding this fair pretence, the aim of the Souldiers, was by outing those old Saints, to reduce the whole sway of all under the power of themselves, which made them so earnest and forward in the work; being fed with those hopes, through the insinuation of *Cromwel*. The *Juncto* therefore, foreseeing this danger; for preventing thereof, were neither slack nor unactive: endeavouring first to break the Army by Disbanding; and in the next place, to spoil their design by delays: Nevertheless, with much zeal, seem'd earnest to retire; affirming, that they then were in contrivance for a new *Representative* to succeed them. All which availed nothing, there being no halting before an Old Cripple: for *Cromwel* was not ignorant of what they aimed at; being well assured, that if he let them alone, his design would be Cross'd: and therefore determin'd without more ado, to turn them out of Doors.

To which end, having well seasoned the Souldiery for his purpose; and for the better engratiating himself therewith, taken the Officers into his Council, he resolv'd (as 'twas usual with him) to carry on this great work, under the specious Mask of *Religion* and pretended *Revelations*; those standing him in such stead upon all his attempts, as that there were not a few that really believ'd, whatever he undertook could not easily miscarry.

Upon

Upon the Twentieth of *April* therefore, attended with strong Guards, he entred the Parliament-House (with *Fleetwood* his great Confident) commanding some few of his attendants to tarry without. Where, without moving his Hat, or going to any Seat, he first address'd his Speech to the Chief Justice *St. John*; telling him, that he then came to do that which griev'd him to the very Soul, and what he had earnestly, with Tears, pray'd to God against. Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: But, that there was a Necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the Glory of God, and the good of this Nation.

Whereunto *St. John* answer'd, that he knew not what he meant; but did pray, that what it was which must be done, might have a happy Issue for the General Good.

Then *Cromwel* turning towards the Speaker, told him how long, under colour of Service to the Publick, they had sat and acted there: and that in stead thereof, themselves and their Kindred (Engrossing all places of great profit) had, upon their own Pride and Luxury, consum'd the Wealth of the Land. Which being said, he gave a stamp with his Foot, and bad them for shame be gone, and give place to honest men.

Whereupon a Member standing up, and modestly saying, that it stood not with common Justice to cast so general an aspersion upon them all, without any Proof; he in wrath taking *Sir Henry Vane*, Junior by the Cloak, said thou art a Juggling Fellow; and told *Allen* the Goldsmith, that he had inricht himself by Cousening the State, for which he should be call'd to account: and commanded those of his Guard, who at the signal of that stamp, were entred the Door, immediately to turn them out of the House; Colonel *Harrison* accordingly pulling the Speaker out of his Chair.

It was observed, that as they went out of the House, he pointed at *Harry Martin* and *Tom Challoner*; and said, *Is it fit that such Fellows as these, should sit to Govern? Men of vicious Lives; the one a noted Whore-Master, and the other a Drunkard?* Nay he boldly upbraided them all, with selling the Cavaliers Estates by bundles; and said they had kept no Faith with them.

This, as it was one of his greatest Adventures, so was it the most grateful to the People of all that ever he did; it being

Cromwel turns the Parliament, called the Rump out of Doors.

An. 1653. being no less than the quelling of that many-headed Monster, which glutted with unmeasurable Rapine, and Innocent Blood, had been not a little dreadful to the greatest part of **Europe**.

Having therefore so happily remov'd this Block, yet still keeping close the main end of his design, under the shadow of ruling by a Civil Power; after much pretended seeking of God, he selected certain Persons to manage the same, as a *Council of State*, whose Names were as followeth;

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Himself as General of the Army. | 14. Colonel <i>Benet</i> . |
| 2. The Lord <i>L'isle</i> , Son to the Earl of <i>Leicester</i> . | 15. Colonel <i>Stapeley</i> . |
| 3. Lieutenant General <i>Fleetwood</i> . | 16. Colonel <i>Sydenham</i> . |
| 4. Major General <i>Lambert</i> . | 17. Colonel <i>Tomlinson</i> . |
| 5. Major General <i>Harrison</i> . | 18. Colonel <i>Jones</i> . |
| 6. Major General <i>Desborow</i> . | 19. Alderman <i>Tichburne</i> . |
| 7. Sir <i>Gilbert Pickering</i> , Kt. | 20. Mr. <i>Strickland</i> . |
| 8. Sir <i>Charles Wolfesley</i> , Bar. | 21. Mr. <i>Carey</i> . |
| 9. Sir <i>Anthony Ashley Couper</i> , Barronet. | 22. Mr. <i>Howard</i> . |
| 10. Sir <i>James Hope</i> of Scotland. | 23. Mr. <i>Broughton</i> . |
| 11. Colonel <i>Hewson</i> of Ireland. | 24. Mr. <i>Laurence</i> . |
| 12. Colonel <i>Norton</i> . | 25. Mr. <i>Holister</i> . |
| 13. Colonel <i>Mountagu</i> . | 26. Mr. <i>Comptney</i> . |
| | 27. Mr. <i>Major</i> . |
| | 28. Mr. <i>St. Nicholas</i> . |
| | 29. Mr. <i>Moyer</i> . |
| | 30. Mr. <i>Williams</i> of <i>Wales</i> . |

And to the end that there might be the less suspicion of his affecting the Rule; with the advice of his Officers, he made choice of no less than an hundred and four Godlymen, unto whom he committed the whole sway of the Realm; who were accordingly summon'd by a special Letter to each of them under his Hand.

Berks. { *Samuel Dunch.*
Vincent Goddard.
Thomas Wood.

Bedf. { *Nathaniel Taylor.*
Edward Cater.

An. 1653.

Buck.	{ George Fleetwood. George Baldwin.	Glouc.	{ John Crostes. William Neast. Robert Holmes.
Cambr.	{ John Sadler. Thomas French. Robert Castle. Samuel Warner.	South.	{ Richard Norton. Richard Major. John Hildesley.
Chesh.	{ Robert Duckenfeild. Henry Birkinhead.	Hertf.	{ Henry Lawrence. William Reeve.
Cumb. Northumb. Bishoprick of Durh. Westmor.	{ Charles Howard. Robert Fenwick. Henry Dawson. Henry Ogle.	Heref.	{ Wroth Rogers. John Herring.
Coruw.	{ Robert Benet. Francis Langdon. Anthony Rows. John Bowden.	Hunt.	{ Edward Mountagu. Stephen Pheasant.
Derb.	{ Jervas Benet. Nathaniel Barton.	Kent.	{ Lord L'isle. Thomas Blount. William Kenrick. William Cullen. Andrew Broughton.
Devon.	{ George Monke, one of Lanc. the Generals at Sea. John Carew. Thomas Sanders. Christopher Martin. James Erisey. Francis Rows. Richard Sweet.	Leic.	{ William West. John Sawrey. Robert Cunliff. Henry Danvers. Edward Smith. John Prat.
Dorset.	{ William Sydenham. John Bingham.	Linc.	{ Six William Brownlow. Richard Cust. Barnabas Bowtell. Humphrey Walcott. William Thompson.
Essex.	{ Joachim Mathews. Henry Barington. John Brewster. Christopher Earle. Dudley Templer.	Midd.	{ Sir William Roberts. Augustine Wingfeild. Arthur Squib.

An. 1653.	Monm.	{ Philip Jones.	Warr.	{ John St. Nicholas. Richard Lucie.
	North.	{ Sir Gilbert Pickering. Thomas Brooke.		{ Sir Anth. Ashley Couper, Baronet.
		{ Robert Jermy. Tobias Freze.	Wiltf.	{ Nicholas Greene. Thomas Eyre.
	Norf.	{ Ralph Wilmer. Henry King. William Barton.	Wigorn.	{ Richard Salway. John James.
	Nott.	{ John Odingfells. Edward Clud.		{ George Lord Evre. Walter Strickland. Francis Lafcells. John Anlaby.
	Oxon.	{ Sir Charles Wolfeley, B. William Draper. Dr. Jonathan Godard.	Yorksh.	{ Thomas Dickenson. Thomas St. Nicholas. Roger Cotes. Edward Gill.
	Rutl.	{ Edward Horseman.		
	Salop.	{ William Boterel. Thomas Baker.		{ Robert Tichburne. John Ireton. Samuel Moyer.
	Staff.	{ George Bellor. John Chetwood.	Lond.	{ John Langley. John Stone. Henry Barton. Prais=god Barebone.
		{ Jacob Caley. Francis Brewster.		
	Suff.	{ Robert Dunkon. John Clerke. Edward Plumsted.		{ Bushey Mansell. James Philips. John Williams.
		{ Robert Blake another of the Generals at Sea.	Wales.	{ Hugh Courtney. Richard Price. John Browne.
	Somer.	{ John Pyne. Dennis Hollyster. Henry Henley.		
		{ Samuel Highland. Laurence March.	Scotl.	{ Sir James Hope. Alexander Bredy. John Swinton. William Lockart. Alexander Jeffreys.
	Suff.	{ Anthony Stapeley. William Spence. Nathaniel Studdey.		

Afterwards these following *An. 1653.*
 were Elected in to them.

Ireland	}	Sir Robert King.	
		Colonel John Hewson.	
		Col. Henry Cromwel.	Lord General Cromwel.
		Colonel John Clerke.	Major General Lambert.
		Daniel Hutchenfon.	Major General Harrison.
		Vincent Gookin.	Major General Desborough.
			Colonel Matthew Tomlinfon.

Of these, many were Illiterate and of mean condition, divers Fanatick Sectaries, and of that kind the most busie and mischievous; yet here and there mixt with confiding men, and such whose Interest was firmly twisted with Cromwels.

Being thus chosen and sent for, they first met ^d together in the Council-Chamber at **White-hall**. ^{d 4. Julia} Whence, after a Grave Speech made to them by Cromwel; expressing, that he had thus called them together, to consult of the great affaires of these Three Kingdoms, they adjourned themselves to the House of Commons at **Westminster**; and there taking their places, and chosen Mr. Rows to be their Speaker; admiring the great goodness of God, that had put it into the Generals Heart, to select them for so great a work, they Voted themselves to be *the Parliament of England*, and by that Title to be known and called.

Having so done, they fell vigorously to work for a thorough Reformation; Dreaming of nothing less, than that *Jesus Christ* must shortly Reign with them here on Earth. To prepare the way therefore to his Personal coming, they considered of abolishing the *Ministerial Function*, as favouring (in their opinion) totally of Popery. Likewise for the taking away of *Tithes*, as the Reliques of Judaism. Also to abrogate the *Old English Laws*, as Badges of Conquest and *Norman Slavery*. And lastly to suppress the *Universities*, and all Schools for Learning, as Heathenish and unnecessary; with all *Titles of Honour* and distinctions, as not agreeable to Christianity. All which they had (without question) soon effected; but that some few of them, of better judgments, gave a stop to their Frenzy.

An. 1653. But the Court of *Chancery* they really Voted ^e down ; and passed an Act ^f for the solemnizing of all Marriages by Justices of Peace , after Publication made of such purpose in the Church or open Market : and that the *Birth* (but not *Baptizing*) of Children should be thenceforth Registered, which shews of what Judgment they were in that point.

The Act likewise for Subscribing that Instrument, call'd the *Engagement*, which was passed 2. *Jan. An.* 1649. they Voted ^e unfit to continue, and totally repealed it. And for the Tryal of what they called *Treason or High Crimes*, they Erected ^h a new *High Court of Justice*.

By which Phrentick doings, having made themselves, as well distastfull, as ridiculous to the World, their Grand Master (*Cromwel*) to ingratiate himself farther with the People, put a Period ⁱ to their Sitting ; the manner whereof was thus.

In the Morning a little sooner than usual (12. *Dec.*) those of the Members which were *Cromwel's* chiefest Confidants, came to the House ; where finding then but few of the *Anabaptists*, an Eminent Member stood up, and addressing himself to the Speaker, told him, that he must disburthen himself of some things that had a long time lain upon his Heart : That he was now to speak to the *Esse*, or being, rather than the *Bene Esse*, or well-being of the *Common-wealth*, which was ready to sink under them, through the ill management of the power entrusted with them ; and, that for his own part, he must resign his power from whence he had it ; foreseeing cleerly that their *Waitings and Expectations* of ever coming on to things of publick good were more and more disappointed : and so descended to these particular instances.

1. That they had dealt disingeniously with the Army, in moving, that the Officers should be treated with to lay down their Pay ; and when they could not effect that, the Bill of Assessments was endeavoured to be cast out.

2. That they had not a Spirit to do Justice, which appeared in their Act for confirming the sale of *Sir John Stowells* Estate, though he were relieved by the Court of Articles. And however he was as vile as could be imagined (so was his expression ;) yet he knew not but that man was left to be a Tryal upon them, whether they would do Justice, or not.

3. That

3. That they had a Principle amongst them, of destroying and pulling down, though nothing were set up in the stead; and that this was especially manifested in their Vote, for removing the *Chancery*, and total alteration of the Laws. An. 1653.

4. That though they called their selves a Parliament, yet they Acted most unlike unto it; and that appeared in their endeavours to destroy propriety, in attempting to take off the Power of Patrons to present to Church Livings.

5. That they would destroy the Ministry it self, which appeared by their Vote on Saturday before: and that for these Considerations, they could not satisfie themselves to sit any longer, and so be guilty of bringing confusion and desolation upon the Nation. But if any would yet be so hardy as to continue there, he would say unto them in the words of the Prophet; *Ephraim hath joyned himself to Idols, let him alone.*

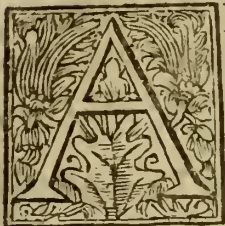
This being seconded, and after him pressed earnestly by some others, much startled the *Anabaptists* then present, who spoke fiercely against it. Insomuch as those who had appeared for their Dissolution, fearing, lest by delaying time in Speeches, more of the *Anabaptists* might come in and out-Vote them; moved; that all who were for their *Dissolution*, should rise and walk out. Whereupon, the Speaker and divers other, forthwith went out of the House. But *Squib*, *Moyer*, *St. Nicholas*, and some more of that Gang (to the number of about Twenty) sate still, and having placed Mr. *Moyer* in the Chair, fell to protesting against what the rest had done; professing, in the presence of the Lord, that their Call of God to that place, was the Principal Motive that drew them thither; and that they apprehended their said Call, was chiefly for promoting the Interest of *Jesus Christ*. Whereupon they continued there until Colonel *Goffe*, with some Musketeers came, and asked them What they sate there for? Whereunto it was Answered, to seek the Lord: But perceiving what the Issue thereof was like to be, they (nevertheless) departed, and Subscrib'd an Instrument, whereunto some others had set their Hands before, for surrender of their Power into the Hands of their Master, *Cromwel*.

An. 1653. Which *Instrument*, so signed, being brought to His Excellency, he lifted up his Eyes with seeming great admiration: and at first, with no less modesty faintly refus'd it: but at length, after assiduous and importunate sute, earnestly representing to him the welfare of the Nation; inculcating to him also, how zealous a Patriot he had ever been for the People, he was at last overcome (though unwillingly) to receive it.

¶ This Pageant therefore, being thus formally over; the next work was, his assuming to himself the sole Dominion and Rule: a thing which few could think it safe for any of them to aspire unto, considering what had been acted by him and his Party, utterly to eradicate Monarchique Government. But, as the Common Water-men, look always the contrary way to that they Row; so did this Grand Impostor: The contrivance thereof being secretly laid by himself and Major General *Lambert* (who had an aime in time, to succeed him in the Government) *Lambert* was the man that dealt with the Principal Officers of the Army, to carry on this design, with all subtilty imaginable.

Whereupon he first told them, how much the Governing by a single Person, would conduce to the General quiet and advantage of the Publick; and next to the peculiar Interest of each of them in particular, in case it were bound with sober limitations, and not to be by the Title of King. For an expedient therefore, they resolv'd on the name of *Protector*; and of a formal Instrument, wherein should be contained the Rules of his Government.

CHAP. XXXVI.



ALL things being accordingly ready in order thereto, upon the Sixteenth of *December* (and about One of the Clock that day) Five Regiments of Foot, and Three of Horse, were drawn out as a Guard, from *White-Hall* to *Westminster-Hall*: whereof one (*viz.* Colonel *Goffs*) was placed within the Precincts of the Hall.

This being done, *Cromwel*, with the Captain of his Guard and some few others, passed through these Bands of Soldiers to the Door of *Westminster-Hall*. Where alighting from his Coach, there proceeded, First the City Marshals: Then the Aldermen of *London*, in Scarlet: After them the Judges (all except their Chief-Justice *Rolls*;) Next the Two Keepers of their Great Seal (*Keble* and *Lisle*;) Then Four Serjeants at Armes, with Maces (*viz.* the Parliament Mace, the City Mace, the Council of State's Mace, and the Lord Keeper's Mace:) After these the Lord Mayor's Sword-bearer, with the Cap of Maintenance and Sword (but the Sword not Erected:) Then the Lord Mayor: And next to him *Cromwel* himself in a Black Sute and Cloak Lined with Velvet, Boots, and a Gold Hatband (all bare headed:) And after him the Principal Officers of the Army, and Council of State.

In which manner they proceeded to the *Chancery-Court*, where a Rich Chair of State was set, with a large Cushion, and Carpets on the Floor.

Being ascended into the Court, *Cromwel* standing before the Chair, with the Two Keepers and Judges on each hand of him; Major General *Lambert* declaring to him the Dissolution of the Parliament, and exigency of the times; did, in the name of the Army, and of the Three Nations, desire him to accept of the Protectorship of them. Whereunto he assenting, a large Instrument (extending to a whole skin of Velome) was read to him, which contained

An. 1653. ed the form of his Government, and somewhat, called an Oath; at which he lifted up his Right Hand and Eyes, and assented thereto.

Cromwel
made Lord
Protector.

Then did the Lord Mayor present the Sword to him, and the Keepers the Seal. Both which he delivered back to them respectively. This being done, a Common Souldier Seconded with about Twenty more, cryed aloud, *God Bless the Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.* After which there was a General shout made by the Souldiers throughout the Hall, and after a little pause, the like twice more.

Then he went back to ~~White~~ Hall, the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword upright before him, the Protector having his Hat on. After which (in the Evening) were several Vollies of small shot, and some great, with Ringing of Bells. The Tenor of which Instrument, was as followeth, viz.

The Instru-
ment of Go-
vernment.

That the Supream Legislative Authority, should be in a Single Person and the People in Parliament; but the Administration thereof to be left to the Lord Protector and to his Council, whereof the number was not to be above Twenty and One.

That all Charters, Patents, Writs, and Commissions, should be passed by the Protector: All Power of Magistracy, Honours and Titles to be derived from him. Likewise the Pardon of all Offences excepting Treason and Murther. He also to have the Administration of all things, with the Advice of his Council, and according to the Tenor of this Instrument.

That the Militia, Sitting the Parliament, should be in the disposal of the Protector and the Parliament; but in the Intervals in the Protector and his Council. The Power also of making Peace and War with Forreign Princes to be in the Protector and his Council: but he to have no Authority of Repealing, or making any Laws without the consent of Parliament.

That the Parliament should be called before the end of Six Months then next ensuing, and afterwards once in Three Years, or oftner if need require; and that it should not be in the Protector's Power to Dissolve the same for the First Five Months, without the consent of the House.

That the Number of Members for England, should consist of full Four hundred, Elected according to an equal distribution: For Scotland Thirty; and for Ireland the like Number;

ber; the number for each County and City to be also as *An. 1653* signed.

That the Calling of such Parliament, should be under the Seal of the Common-wealth, by Writs to the Sheriff in the Protector's Name. But if the Protector should not call the same within the times limited, the Chancellor then to do it, under the Penalty of High Treason; and if he should fail therein, then that the Sheriff's should perform it. And after such Election should be made, to be transmitted by the Chief Magistrate, by Indenture to the Chancellor, Signed with his Hand Twenty days before the Sitting of the same Parliament. Also, if the Sheriff or Mayor should make a false Return, that he be Fined in Two thousand Marks.

That none should be capable to Elect, who had ever born Armes against the Parliament, or been Actors in the Irish Rebellion. Nor that any Papist should ever be capable to give his Voice. And that all Elections against these Rules should be void, and the transgressors Fined at Two Years value of their Revenues, and a third part of their Goods.

That no Person under the Age of One and twenty years, should be capable of being Elected; nor any other than of known credit, fearing God, and of good behaviour.

No man likewise to have power of Electing, whose Estate should not be worth Twenty Pound per annum Sterling.

That the Return of the Persons Elected, should be transmitted by the Prothonotary in Chancery unto the Council of State, within two days after they should come to his hands; to the end, that judgment might be made of the Persons, if any question should arise, touching the lawfulness of the choise.

That Sixty Members should be accounted a Parliament, in case the rest be absent. Nevertheless, that it should be lawful to the Protector to call a Parliament, when he should see cause.

That the Bills agreed on in Parliament, should be presented to the Protector, for his assent thereto: and if he should not give his assent to them within twenty days, that then they should have the force of Laws without it.

That if any Councillor of State should dye, or be outed of his place, for corruption in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector, with the rest of the Council, to substitute another in his stead.

That a certain annual Tax should be made throughout the Three Common-wealths, for the maintenance of Ten thousand Horse, and Fifteen thousand Foot; which Tax should also supply the charge of the Navy: and that this rate should not be lessened, or altered by
the

An. 1653. the Parliament, without the consent of the Protector and his Council. But if it should not be thought necessary hereafter, that any Army should be maintained; then whatsoever surplussage of this Tax should be, to be kept in the Treasury for sudden Emergencies.

That if there might happen to be occasion of making extraordinary choices, and to Raise new Forces, it should not be done, without consent of Parliament; but that in the Intervals of Parliament, it should be lawful for the Protector, and his said Council, both to make new Laws, and raise Moneys for the present Exigencies.

That all the Lands, Forrests, and Jurisdictions, not then sold by the Parliament, whether they had belong'd to the King, Queen, Prince, Bishops, or any Delinquent whatsoever, should thenceforth remain to the Protector.

That the Office of Protector should thenceforth be Elective; but that none of the King's Line should be ever capable thereof; and that the Election should belong to the Council.

That; for the present, Oliver Cromwel should be Protector.

That the great Offices of the Common-wealth, viz. Chancellor, Keeper of the Seal, Governour of **Ireland**, Admiral, Treasurer; in case they should become void in Parliament time, to be filled up, by the approbation of Parliament: and in the Intervals by the like approbation of the Council.

That the Christian Religion, as it is contained by Holy Scripture, should be the Publick Profession of the Nation; and that those who were to have the care thereof, should have their support from the Publick; so that it be with some other more convenient maintenance, and less subject to envy than by Tithes.

That no man should be by any Fine, or Penalty whatsoever, forced to comply with the said publick Profession, otherwise than by persuasions and Arguments.

That no man professing Faith in Christ, should be prohibited the Exercise of his own Religion, so that he disturb not any other: but that neither Popery, or Prelacy should be permitted the least favour or License; and that all Laws to the contrary should be void.

That all Agreements made by Parliament should be firm and stable; All Articles of Peace made with Domestick Enemies made good.

That all Protectors, in their Order, should be obliged by Oath, at their first taking upon them the Government, by all means to procure the Peace, Welfare, and quiet of the Common-wealth; by no means to violate the present Agreements: and lastly to his power to Administer all things, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of **England**.

An. 1653. thence, and placed themselves, according to their Superiority, in the Streets, from the lower end of *Cheapside* to *Temple-Bar*, within Rayles, hung with blew Cloath; the City Banner, and Streamers, belonging to the respective Companies, being set before them. Then the Lord Mayor, with his Mace, Sword, and Cap of Maintenance, attended by the Aldermen in Scarlet, and their Gold-Chaynes, Rode to *Temple-Bar*. Where, meeting the Protector; with his Military Train, he delivered up the Sword to him, making a short congratulatory Speech to his Highness. Which being ended, they proceeded towards *Grocers-Hall*, thus.

The Protectors Riding to Grocers-Hall in State.

First the City-Marshall, and some other Officers. Then six Trumpets. After them his Highnesss Life-guard. Then eight Trumpets more. Next the City Streamers Red and White. Then the Aldermen. After them the two Shireeves. Next his Highnesss Heralds, with rich Coats, adorn'd with the Common-wealths Arms (*viz.* the *Cross* and *Harp*) Then the Mace and Cap of Maintenance. Next the Lord Mayor (*bare-headed*) carrying the Sword. After him two Gentlemen Ushers. Then his Highnesss the Protector, with twelve Footmen in Gray Jackets, laced with silver and black-silk Lace. After him Rode Major General *Skyppon*, and the rest of the Council. Then the Officers of the Army: And lastly divers other, on Horseback and in Coaches.

Being thus come to *Grocers-Hall*, the Recorder made a Speech to him; letting him understand, how happy that City did account themselves under his Government, and likewise in the enjoyment of his presence there with them that day. Which done, he Knighted the Lord Mayor; and then dined at the midst of a long Table in the great Hall; the Lord Mayor sitting at some distance on his Right hand, and his Son *Henry* on his left: and on each side of them his Council of State.

But, notwithstanding this great Entertainment; well knowing, that all the Bloodshed and confusion, which had formerly been; as 'twas chiefly accomplisht by the Pulpits, so by the like means his new establisht Rule might easily be shak't; he fram'd another Ordinance, ^b where-

^b 20. *Martij*
Scob. coll.
p. 279.

by certain Commissioners were appointed for approbation of publick Preachers; the preamble whereof, with the

the Names of the reverend Tryers, I have also added. *An. 1653.*

—Whereas, for some times past hitherto, there hath not been any certain course Established, for the supplying vacant places, with able and fit persons to Preach the Gospel: by reason whereof, not only the Rights, and Titles of Patrons are prejudiced; but many weak, scandalous, Popish, and ill affected persons have intruded themselves, or been brought in, to the great grief and trouble of the good people of this Nation. For remedy, and prevention whereof, be it Ordained by his Highness the Lord Protector, by and with the consent of his Council; that every Person, who shall from and after the 25th, day of March, instant, be presented, chosen, or appointed to any Benefice (formerly called Benefice with Cure of Souls) or to Preach any publick settled Lecture, in **England** or **Wales**, shall, before he be admitted, &c. be Judged and Approved by the Persons hereafter named, to be a Person, for the Grace of God in him, his Holy, and unblameable Conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to Preach the Gospel; viz.

Francis Rous Esq;

Dr. Thomas Goodwyn.

Dr. John Owen.

Mr. Thankful Owen.

Dr. Arrowsmith.

Dr. Tuckney.

Dr. Horton.

Mr. Joseph Caryl.

Mr. Philip Nye.

Mr. William Carter.

Mr. Sidrak Simpson.

Mr. William Greenhill.

Mr. William Strong.

Mr. Thomas Manton.

Mr. Samuel Slater.

Mr. William Couper.

Mr. Stephen Marshall.

Mr. John Tombes.

Mr. Walter Cradok.

Mr. Samuel Faircloth.

Mr. Hugh Peters.

Mr. Peter Sterrey.

Mr. Samuel Bamford.

Mr. Thomas Valentine of Chalford.

Mr. Henry Jesse.

Mr. Obediah Sedgwick.

Mr. Nicholas Lockyer.

Mr. Daniel Dike.

Mr. James Russel.

Mr. Nathaniel Campfield.

Robert Tichburne Alderman of London.

Mark Hildesley.

Thomas Wood.

John Sadler.

William Goff.

Thomas St. Nicholas.

William Packer.

Edward Crescet Esq; or any five, or more of them.

An. 1653. Having now ended this year 1653: as to the Principal Transactions at Home, I must look back a little, and take notice of our farther Military contests with the Dutch: wherein I find, that on the second of *June*, upon another sharp Fight in *Parmouth* rode, they much worsted those Hogen-mogens. So likewise on ^b the last day of *July*, wherein *Van Trump* their famous Admiral was slain.

^{2.} *Junij.*
Heath's hist.
p.344.345.
^b 31. *July.*
Ibid.p.346.
et. 347

But both parties, at length, growing weary of this chargeable and destructive War, before the end of this year, a Peace was concluded ^c betwixt them, though not ratified till *April* ensuing.

^c *Ib.* p.357.

An. 1654. Which Peace with the Dutch, and the slavish condition, whereunto this Monster *Cromwell* had brought the People of these Nations, made him not only much Idolized here, by all his Party, but somewhat feared abroad: For certain it is, that most of the Princes of *Europe*, made application to him; amongst which the French King was the first, his Embassador making this Speech to him in the Banqueting-house at *White-hall*.

^{28.} *Martij.*

Your most serene Highness hath received already some principal assurances of the King my Master, and of his desire to establish a perfect Correspondency, between his Dominions and *England*. His Majesty gives unto your Highness, this day, some publick Demonstration of the same, and sending his Excellency for his Service, in the quality of Embassador to your Highness, doth plainly shew, that the esteem which his Majesty makes of your Highness, and the Interest of his People, have more power in his Councils, than many Considerations, that would be of great concernment to a Prince less affected with the one and the other. This proceeding, grounded upon such sound principles, and so different from that which is only guided by Ambition, renders the Friendship of the King my Master, as much considerable for its firmness, as for the Utility it may produce: and for that reason it is in such eminent esteem, and sought after, by all the greatest Princes and Powers of the Earth. But his Majesty doth Communicate none to any, with so much Joy and Chearfulness, as unto those, whose vertuous deeds, and extraordinary Merits, render them more eminently Famous than the greatness of their Dominions. His Majesty doth acknowledge all these advantages, wholly to reside in your

High-

Highness; and, that Divine Providence, after so many Troubles and Calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three Nations, nor cause them to forget their past Misery with more content and satisfaction, than by submitting them to so just a Government. And whereas it is not enough, for the completing of their happiness, to make them enjoy Peace at Home, since it depends no less on a good correspondency with Neighbour-Nations abroad; the King my Master doth not doubt but to find also the same disposition in your Highness, which his Majesty doth express in those Letters, which his Excellencie hath Order to present unto your Highness. After so many Dispositions express'd by his Majesty and your Highness, towards the accommodation of the two Nations, there is cause to believe, that their wishes will be soon Accomplisht. As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to serve the King my Master, with the good liking and satisfaction of your Highness; and that the happiness I have to tender unto your Highness the first assurances of his Majesties esteem, may give me occasion to deserve by my respects, the honour of your Gracious Affection.

Being therefore thus put up he (soon after) passed an Act^d of Grace and Pardon to all Persons of the Scottish Nation, excepting James late Duke Hamilton, William late Duke Hamilton, John Earl of Crawford-Lindsay, James Earl of Calender, and many more therein specially named. As also another Act,^e for making Scotland one Commonwealth with England. Whereby it was likewise Ordained, that thirty Persons of that Nation, should serve in Parliament here, for Scotland: And, that the People of that Nation should be discharged of their Allegiance to any Issue of the late King. Also, that Kingship and Parliamentary-Authority should be there abolished; and the Arms of Scotland (*viz.* St. Andrew's Cross) should thenceforth be borne with the Arms of this Commonwealth. All which being done, he removed^f his Lodgings (which were before at the Cockpit) into those of the late King, in his Royal Pallace at White-Hall.

About this time it was, that Colonel Venables, having been employ'd by Cromwell to attempt some of the chief Plantations, made by the Spaniard in the West-Indies, Landing his Men in Hispaniola, and expecting with little trouble to have taken S. Domingo,

An. 1654.

^d 12. Apr.
Scob. coll.
p. 288.

^e Ib. p. 293.
Act for
making
Scotland one
Common-
wealth with
England.

^f 18. Apr.
Cromwell
first seated
himself at
Whitehall.

he

An. 1653. he received a shameful defeat. * But the next Month he had better success in those Forreign parts: For † the Spaniards in *Jamaco* timorously flying before them when they Landed there, an easie acquisition was made by the English of that large Island, which hath since proved a very prosperous and beneficial Plantation. But to return.

* 25. Apr.
Heath's hist.
p. 370. et
371.
† *Ib.* p. 371.
et 372.

Cromwell by this time being grown very great; to make himself the more formidable to all his late Majesties good Subjects (then called Royalists) by establishing his Dominion upon more Innocent blood; having by the wicked practises of his Emissaries, trayn'd in some Persons to a purpose of endeavouring, their own and the Peoples freedom from his Tyrannous Power; he caused another bloody Theater to be erected in **Westminster-Hall**, calling it an *high-Court of Justice*, where Mr. *John Gerard*, and Mr. *Wowell* (two Gentlemen of great Loyalty) received Sentence^b of Death; and were accordingly Sacrificed, as a peace-Offering to this *Moloch*.

^b 6. July.

For the better maintenance, likewise, and encouragement of *Preaching-Ministers*; and for uniting and severing of Parishes, he made another Act,^h which begins thus ----- *Whereas many Parishes in this Nation, are without the constant and Powerful Preaching of the Gospel, through want of competent maintenance, &c.*

^h 2 Sept.
Scob. col.
p. 353.

Also anotherⁱ for Souldiers, which had serv'd the Common-wealth in the late Wars, being Apprentices, and not served out their times; and others that had so served the Common-wealth, who were fit for Trades, should exercise any Trade; that to such as had served the *Parliament* and Common-wealth, in **England, Scotland, or Ireland**, by the space of four years, at any time since the year 1642. and before the third of September an. 1651. and not revolted to the Kings-party, or deserted the service; or that had served two years in the Wars of **Scotland, or Ireland** in the Service of the Common-wealth, since the third of September 1651. and before the first of *August* 1654.

ⁱ *Ib.* p. 357.

Likewise a third Act,^k appointing Visitors for both Universities. Also, for the Schools of **Westminster, Winchester, Merchant-Tailors-School, and Eaton-Colledge-School.**

^k *Ib.* p. 366.

CHAP. XXXVII.



WHEN he called a *Parliament* to meet at *Westminster* upon the third of *September*, and on the day following, went thither from *White-Hall* in State; the manner thus;

^{13. Sept.}
A Parliament called.

First a Marshall with his Staff.

Then all the Life-Guard, and his Domestick-Officers, with some well-affected Citizens; viz. his Draper and other Tradesmen, in rank, three and three (on Foot) bare-headed.

The manner of his proceeding to Parliament.

Next, a rich Coach, drawn by six Horses, in the hinder end whereof he himself sate; the Lord *Lambert* on his left side, and the Lord *Lawrence* President of his Council, on the right; the Lord *Strickland* and Captain *Howard* (Captain of his Life-Guard) walking on Foot.

Then the Lord *Claypole* Master of his Horse (on Horseback) leading the Horse of State, with a Rich Saddle, curiously Embroidered with Gold and Pearl.

Next, a War-Horse led, with Pistols at the Saddle.

After this, another rich Coach, wherein sate the Lord Keepers of the Great Seal, and two Serjeants at Arms, with their Maces.

Then another rich Coach, wherein rode the Secretaries of State.

Thus, with all his Guard of Gray-coats (having new Halberts) and twelve Footmen in like Liveries, they went to the Abby-Church at *Westminster*, where Mr. *John Goodwyn* Preacht: and from thence, on Foot, to the *Painted Chamber*, the Lord *Lambert* carrying the Sword before him. Where, standing by a rich Chair, set by the Wall, on that side the Room towards the Lord's House, he made a long speech to them. wherein (using many canting expressions) he told them, they came that day to settle, not only the Interest of three great Nations,

An. 1654. ons, but of all the Christian-people in the World, he talkt likewise very much of *Healing*, and *Setling*; and of the danger by the *Levelling party*. Also of those, who had only a *form of Godliness*, but not the power thereof. He likewise complain'd of an *Extremity*, that (as formerly he said) none having a good Testimony, and who had received Gifts from Christ might Preach, *if not Ordained*. That then, on the other hand, many who were *Ordained*, had *Antichristianism* stamp't upon their calling, so that he ought not to Preach, nor be heard. As also, that there was inveighing against such, as denied Liberty to those, who had earned it with their Blood; who had gained civil liberty, and Religious also.

Next he toucht upon those many *honest people* (as he call'd them) whose hearts were sincere; many of them (as he said) belonging to God; *viz.* the mistaken notions of the *fifth-Monarchy men*; a thing pretending more to Spirituality, than any thing else: affirming that *Liberty* and *Property* were not the Badges of the Kingdom of Christ; who, instead of regulating Laws, would have Laws subverted, and bring in the Judaical Laws. He told them also of the advantages, which the common Enemy (*id est* the Royalists) did make by those their divisions. Likewise of the endeavours here by the Emisfaries of the Jesuits; of the decay in their Trade by the War with *Portugal*, *Dutch*, and *French*; and the remedy applyed was that Government, calculated for the Interest of the people; instancing what *Reformation* had been aimed at by it; that is to say, the *Reforming the Laws*, and putting the administration of them into the hands of just men. Also to put a stop to every man, who would make himself a *Preacher*; and that That work was committed to the trust of persons, both of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* judgments, of as known ability and integrity, as any this Nation then had: Men (as he said) who had put such into that great imployment, *who had received Gifts from him, that ascended on high, and had Gifts for the work of the Ministry, and for the edifying of the Body of Christ*. He told them also, that That Government had been instrumental to the calling of that *Parliament*, which they saw there that day: Saying it was a *free Parliament*. He told them likewise what *Peace* they had with
Neigh-

An. 1654

Neighbour Princes; and of a people, which were brought out of *Aegypt*, towards the Land of *Canaan*; but, through unbelief, murmuring and repining; and other temptations and sins, wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to go back again, and linger many years in the Wilderness. He also added, that they had cause to take notice, how that they were not brought into misery, but that a door of Hope was open: And, that if the Lords blessing and his presence, went along with the management of affairs, at that meeting, they would be enabled to put the top Stone to their work, and make the Nation happy. He likewise told them, that they were like to the people under *Circumcision*, but raw, their Peace being but newly made: and that it was one of the great ends of calling that *Parliament*, that their Ship of the *Common-wealth* might be brought into safe Harbour: perswading them therefore to a Sweet, Gracious, and holy understanding of one another. And concluded, that he had not spoke those things to them, as one that assumed to himself Dominion over them; but as one that did resolve to be a fellow-Servant with them, to the Interest of those great affairs, and of the people of these Nations.

And so dismissing them, they went to the House of Commons, and chose *William Lenthall* their Speaker.

But, instead of falling to work, as the *Protector* had directed in his Speech; so great was the Ambition of those, who had been Members of the late *long Parliament*, to get the sole power into their hands again; that, after some private discourses amongst one another, they fell to clandestine plots, for the pulling down this their great Master, and setting up themselves in their old Tyrannical Dominion again. To which end they fell to making Speeches in derogation of the Lord *Protector's* Authority; pressing earnestly, that those Members of the *good old Parliament* (as they call'd it) which were then, by Gods providence (as they said) so met together, should forthwith declare for, and reassume their just and rightful Power.

Which motion, being backt with many plausible Arguments, found at that time such favourers in the House, that the promoters of it hourly got ground, upon those of the

An. 1654. contrary party. The debate therefore holding on with much eagerness, and drawing very near to a dangerous issue, did so awaken the Protector, (who discern'd his own certain ruine, if it ever came to the question; his party in the House, being then too weak for the other) that, having first sent his Souldiers, to shut up the Parliament doors, and to signifie to the Members, that he would meet them again in the Painted-Chamber; he came thither accordingly; and with a stern, but troubled Countenance, said; that at his last being there, he did acquaint them with the Rise of that Government, which had so call'd him thither, and with the Authority thereof, as also that he then acknowledg'd they were a free Parliament. And so you are (quoth he) whilst you own the Government and Authority, which call'd you hither. But, discerning what they drove at, which toucht him so near, he farther, plainly, told them, that he now came to magnifie his Office, which before he had not been apt to do; saying, that if God would not bear it up, let it sink. Adding also, that if a duty were incumbent on him, to bear his own testimony unto it (which in modesty he had till then forborn) he was, in some measure necessitated thereunto.

Then he went on, and affirmed, that he called not himself to that place; but that his calling was from God, and the people of these Nations; and that his calling being such, God and the people should take it from him, else he would not part with it.

To manifest therefore, that such was his Call, he proceeded, and said; that being a Gentleman by birth, he had been called to several employments in the Nation! First in Parliament; then in the late Wars. Which being ended by that great Victory at Worcester; he said, he did hope to have got leave for retiring to a private life! and beg'd again and again, to be dismissed of his charge; calling God above as witness thereto: but expressing, that he could not therein obtain, what his Soul long'd for. And farther added, that he pressed the Parliament (as a Member) to put a period to themselves, again and again; nay ten and twenty times over: and said, that he told them, that the Nation loathed their sitting; and, that, so far as he could discern, that when they were dissolved, there was no visible repining at it; no not so much as the Barking of a Dog: Affirming, that they aim'd to have perpetuated their sitting to the Worlds end; and that under their arbitrary power, poor men were driven like flocks of sheep to confiscation of goods and estates. Also that the seeming

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remedy, which those Members then offered, was to have had a succession of Parliaments always sitting, whereby the Liberties, Int'rests, and Lives of the People, should still have been judg'd by an arbitrary power. Likewise, that the remedy, by so dissolving them (as they had been) was fitted to the disease: And, that thereupon, he desiring to see, if a few called together, for some short space of time, might not put the Nation into some way of certain settlement; he therefore, called those persons † together, out of the † Praise-God Bear-bone and his Fellows: several parts of the Nation; and this he did, that he might have had an opportunity, to lay down the Power, which was then in his hands; wherein he appealed to God (as he said) before persons, who knew God, and what Conscience was; as also what it was to Lye before God. A desire (he said) sinful enough, he was afraid, to be quit of that Power, which God had most providentially put into his hands, before he called for it again; and before those honest ends of their fighting were attained, and settled (he being by Act of Parliament, General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland.)

But that meeting, not answering the hopes of it, and they bringing him an Instrument of Resignation of that Authority, so plac'd upon them (whereof he professed he knew nothing before it was brought, and tender'd to him) he was then exceedingly to seek what to do, his Power then being (as General of all the Forces in the three Nations) as boundless as before.

At length therefore, (as he said) divers Gentlemen, consulting seriously together, did frame that model of the then present Government, he being not at all privy to their Councils; and, having so done, told him, that except he would undertake the same; Blood and Confusion, for lack of a settlement, would break in upon them. Yet nevertheless, that notwithstanding this their offer, he deny'd it again, and again; till at length, weighing, that it did not put him into an higher capacity, than he was in before, being also bounded and limited, as appeared by the Instrument, he then accepted it; instancing the publick formality of that his acceptance, in the great Hall at Westminster, and in the presence of the then Lord Mayor of London, Aldermen, &c. and divers Persons of quality.

Adding, that what he had then expressed, was a Narrative, discovering to them the series of Providence and Transaction, which had led him into that condition.

Then he went on, and said, that he did not bear witness to himself (being far from alluding to him that said so) but that he had

An. 1654. a cloud of witnesses; instancing the Officers of the Armies in the three Nations, as appeared by their respective Remonstrances; and the consent of those persons, that had somewhat to do in the World, who had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and his People, in the three Nations.

Likewise, that for farther witness, he had the City of **London**, manifested by their congratulatory Entertainment of him at **Sto-cers-hall**, upon **Ashwednesday 1653**. And of the **Grand-Juries**, from several Counties. Also of the Judges, who received Commissions from him, and all the Justices of Peace in **England**. Nay all the People in **England** (he said) were his Witnesses, and many in **Ireland**, and **Scotland**. Moreover, all the Shireeves, and all that came in upon Processes Issued out by the Shireeves, yea the return of Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, by the Inhabitants of all the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs: and lastly, themselves, as returned upon those Elections; the **Instrument of Government**, being distinctly read at all places of such Elections, wherein was that special proviso; viz. that the persons so chosen, should not have power to alter the Government, as then settled in **one single Person**, and a **Parliament**.

Farther adding; that he was then in possession of the Government, by a good right from God and Men; and that he did not know, why he might not ballance that providence, as in the sight of God, with any Hereditary-Int'rest, as being less subject to those cracks and flaws they are commonly incident to, and which had cost so much Blood.

He told them likewise, what Liberty of Conscience they had by that Government; and that all the Money of this Nation, would not have tempted men to fight, if they had not had hopes of Liberty, better than from **Episcopacy**, or **Presbytery**. Concluding, that considering, that this Government was thus owned of God, approved by men, and testified to, as afore hath been said; that in relation to the good of these Nations, and to posterity, he should sooner be willing to be rolled to his Grave in blood, and buried with Infamy, than to give consent to the throwing it away. And therefore, that he had caused a stop to their entrance into the House; till such time as they should subscribe a Recognition thereof, and did submit thereto. And, that if things were not satisfied, as were then reasonably demanded, he for his part should do that which becom'd him, seeking his Council from God.

The truth is, that which principally emboldened him to be thus peremptory with them was the strength of the Souldiery, which were generally of his side; and which the adverse party knew full well. So that, of the whole number of those Members, though there was not above sixty, that did at first subscribe the *Recognition*; yet the greatest part of the rest, after private consultations together, being well aware; that by taking their best advantages, upon all occasions within the House, they might do him more mischief, than they could any way do otherwise; came in by degrees, and formally signed the same. But, as those, who were his chief Confidants, did strive all they could to carry on affairs, for his peculiar Interest, according to the frame of that Government, whereby he was so advanced to that place and Title: sure it is, that the rest, by those rubs and obstructions, which they cast in his way, did make all their endeavours totally fruitless. So that after well near five Months expectance, and nothing at all done, he was necessitated to dissolve ^m that his first and once hopeful Parliament.

The Recognition
subscribed.

^m 22. Jan.
The Parliament dissolved.

I should here have concluded this years Transactions; but that I cannot omit to relate a very pregnant Instance, how timely our, now, gracious Sovereign King *Charles the second*, did adhere to the Protestant Religion, professed in the Church of **England**, even in those days when there was so little hopes to see it ever restored; the Rebels in this Realm being then so prosperous, that the greatest Potentates courted their alliance: but even then, so fervent was his Majesties zeal thereto; that, by his great and effectual care, he prevented the perverting of his Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester* to that of the Church of **Rome**.

In the relation of which, there are so many considerable circumstances, whereof very little publick notice hath been taken; that, contrary to the designed brevity of this History; I shall give a full account of the same; partly taken from a Relation Printed at *London* in an. 1655 and partly from the certain information of persons of undoubted credit, yet living, who were present at the transacting thereof.

His

An. 1654

His Majesty understanding, that there was a firm League very far advanced betwixt the French King and *Oliver Cromwell*, withdrew himself this year into **Germany** out of **France** (where, till then, he had ever resided since his happy and miraculous escape from **Worcester**) and designing to take the Duke of *Gloucester* with him, was prevailed with by the Queen, his Mother, to leave him with her at **Paris**, upon promise she would not permit any force to be put upon him, to change his Religion; but that he should be attended by those Protestant-Servants himself had placed about him, and have free liberty to resort to the publick Service of the Church of **England**, at the King's Chappel in Sir *Richard Brown's* House, then his Majesties Resident at **Paris**.

But, about the beginning of *November*, in this year, the Duke (under pretence of weaning himself from the company of some young French Gallants, who being in the same *Accademie*, were grown into a more familiar conversation with him, than was thought convenient) was removed to *Abbot Mountague's* House, at his Abby near **Pontoiso**: And, after a few days, *Mr. Lovel* his Tutor, going to **Paris**, for one day only, on business (designedly contrived, as was suspected by *Abbot Mountagu*) during his absence, was most vehemently pressed by the Abbot to turn Roman-Catholick with all the motives spiritual or temporal he thought might prevail upon him, having at that time no Protestant near him, to advise with, but *Mr. Griffin* of his Bed-Chamber (a young Gentleman since dead; but his Fame for his fervent zeal to the Protestant Religion, and faithful service to his Master, yet living) who departed himself with greater prudence, than could with reason have been expected, for one of so tender years (assisted only by so young a second; for both their ages did, but some few years exceed thirty) replying to their Arguments with great ingenuity, evidencing no little zeal for his Religion.

For he told the Abbot, he admired how he durst make this attempt upon him, knowing how the Queen (his Mother) had engaged to the King his Brother, that no change in his Religion should be endeavoured. Also, that for his own part he was resolv'd not to incur the Kings displeasure, by neglecting the observance of his command, which

was

An. 1654.

was not to listen to any Argument for change of his Religion. Likewise, that as to the specious proposals of making him a Cardinal, and promising to advance him to be King of **England**, he did with indignation and contempt deride and reject them: complaining withal, how disingeniously he was dealt with, to be thus assaulted in the absence of his Tutor, whom the King had placed over him; and who, he doubted not could easily refute all their Arguments: which in truth, at his return to **Bon-voise**, he did so fully, that it was thought convenient to remove the Duke back thence to **Paris**, where he was permitted to resort to the Kings Chappel, and enjoy the free exercise of his Religion, though not long. For after some little time, the Queen, his Mother, did own the attempt made on him, to have been done with her approbation; and declared she could not but labour to have her Son shew'd the right way to Heaven: and though she had promised he should not be forced by her: yet to have that way proposed to him she thought requisite. And that he might the easier be prevail'd upon, his Protestant Tutor was put from him, and he himself hurried out of **Paris** in such hast, that he might be deprived of the Assistance and Advice of any Protestant, that he could not (though he earnestly beg'd it) prevail to stay, till he might get some warmer Cloaths; and convey'd to Mr. *Crofts*, (afterwards Lord *Croft's*) his House, but under the direction of *Abbot Mountagu*; none of his Servants but young *Mr. Gryffin* being permitted to attend him.

The News whereof did deeply afflict all the loyal-Protestant Exiles then in **Paris**, but no man was more passionately concern'd, than that Eminent sufferer for his loyalty to the Royal Family, and Zeal to the Protestant Religion, the late *Lord Hatton*: Who, as soon as he understood how violently this young Prince was Persecuted for his Religion, he consulted with that famous Confessor for the Church of **England**, *Dr. John Cosens*, late Bishop of **Darham** (but at that time Dean of **Peterborough**, and Chaplain to his Majesty) then residing in **Paris**, and drew up what Arguments and Instructions he thought convenient to Fortifie the Duke, in this violent Assault: And, knowing how strictly he was guarded from the access of any Protestant; his Lordship being

An. 1654. ing by his Lady related to the Abbot, went to give him a Visit: but his design was soon guessed at: and though he obtained access to the Duke, he was so carefully watcht, that with great difficulty he did unperceived, convey to him the Instructions he had prepared for him; yet was forc'd to Vary his Stratagems to have farther advices from time to time delivered to him.

But so narrowly was the Duke eyed by the Popish Spies set over him; and the Priests were all the day long so incessantly torturing him, with their Pressures to change his Religion, that he had no opportunity to peruse any Papers sent to him; so that he was constrained to deliver them to his faithful Servant *Gryffin*; who in the night time as he lay in his Bed-Chamber, acquainted him what the scope of them was. By the advantage of which, through the Assistance of Almighty God, he did so resolutely withstand all the violent shocks of his Persecuters; that thereupon they resolved, not only to remove *Mr. Gryffin* from him, but to Imprison the Duke in the *Jesuits Colledge*.

Whereof the King (his Brother) then in **Germany**, receiving advise, he did immediately use all possible endeavours for his relief, and sent an Expostulatory Letter to the Queen, his Mother, with Commands to all his most Eminent Protestant-Subjects in **Paris**, to be, to their utmost aiding and Assisting to him, in this his distress.

Some dayes before he was to have been removed to the *Jesuits-Colledge*, *Sir George Ratcliff* attempted the delivery of a Letter to him from the King (his Brother) but though he was admitted to his presence, he could not with Privacy do it. Whereupon he was necessitated to leave it with *Mr. Gryffin* to be convey'd to him.

In which Letter his Majesty minded him of the strict Command he left with him at his parting, to continue firm in his Religion, as also of the Vanity of their Motives; the emptiness of their Promises, the last Charge of their dead Father, which he solemnly gave him, with the entail of his Blessing annexed: withal telling him, if he suffered himself to be perverted in his Religion, by any inticements whatsoever; or put himself into the *Jesuits-Colledge*, he had the last Letter he should ever have from him, and must never look to see his Face again.

As soon as the Duke had, with an unexpressible joy, received this Letter, with all hast possible he transcribed a Copy of it, and forthwith sent it to the Queen his Mother, begging her leave to come to **Paris**, both upon the account of those commands of the King, and the News of his Brother, the Duke of *York's* being return'd from the French Army. But her Majesty was pleased to send him word she could not cease wishing his so great and eternal good, as the change of his Religion; to which she would not force him, but advised him to hearken to what *Abbot Mountagu* should farther deliver to him; which was, that he should howsoever be willing to go to the *Jesuits-Colledge*; where he should have liberty in all things he could desire: To which it was still designed to have forced him, had it not been prevented by the arrival of the then Marquess (but since Duke) of *Ormund*.

That great and loyal subject attending on his Majesty in **Germany**, when the news of this attempt upon the Duke of *Gloucester* came: perceiving how much his Majesty was concern'd thereat, and how sollicitous he was to rescue him out of the hands of his Persecutors, profered to go and fetch him to his Majesty. But it was objected how great a hazard it would be to his Person in so ill a season of weather, to take so long and dangerous a journey, just upon the withdrawing of the Armies into their Winter Quarters; the Souldiers having beset all the ways, so that no person could pass without much Peril. But that Noble Lord, who had lost so vast an Estate, and so often most Eminently hazarded his Life in the Glorious Service he had done the King, and in defence of the Protestant Religion, was not to be affrighted from any attempt to do the like for the future: And therefore he the more earnestly pressed his Majesty for his leave to go, and for his Letters and Instructions to carry with him.

Certainly the concern was of such high consequence, that he or none could accomplish it: For, had any person of less Authority, Interest, and renown for his Ability in State-Affairs, or Zeal for the Service undertaken it, he had probably return'd *re infecta*: For had not his Lordship made all possible expedition, and staid but four dayes longer before his Arrival at **Paris**, he had

An. 1654. come too late, the Duke had certainly been shut up in the *Jesuits-Colledge*, from whence there had been no retrieving him: For the French Court had so zealously espoused this Affair, that his Lordship was necessitated to exert all his prudence that he might accomplish the business he came about.

As soon as his Lordship was arrived at the *Pallace-Royal*; he did so effectually pursue his Instructions, that the Duke had liberty to return to **Paris**, and enjoy the free exercise of his Religion; but going sometime after to the French-Court, both the *Queen-Mother of France*, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, pressed him with all the allurements they thought might prevail upon him, to turn Roman-Catholick: Telling him, that they look't on him as a Child of **France**, that it was only for his advantage, and the opportunity they should have thereby of highlyer doing him good, that induced them to move him thereto: Adding, that since his Father was dead, he ought to obey his Mother in all things she commanded.

To which (observing the King, his Brother's Instructions,) not to engage in any dispute; he replied only, in general termes, *that he was resolved to obey his Mother as much as any Son could, and ought to do*; and thereby disengaged himself from any farther pursuit at that time.

But all the allurements of the French-Court, and the severity used towards him by the *Queen his Mother*, could not in the least shake his firmness in his Religion: which her Majesty, with great Indignation perceiving; some few dayes after she took him apart; and (as he afterwards discovered) beginning with all sweetness imaginable, she declared to him how great and tender affection she had for him, and how much it grieved her, that very love it self should compel her to proceed now with such seeming severity. She presumed he was weary of it, and truly she was so too; and for his ease sake, she would shorten his time of Tryal: And therefore, proposing to him all the good she aimed at in this design; the duty he owed her; and the disability of the King (his Brother) to maintain him; she commanded him to withdraw himself presently into his Lodging, and there give one hearing more to *Abbot Moun-*

Mountagu : And then, sequestering himself from any diversion for a while, to ponder seriously what she and he had said to him; and that night, either send or bring her a full and final answer. An. 1654.

The Duke, upon the first appearance of this intended privacy of his Mother with him; in the little interim of clearing the Room, he took opportunity of sending *Mr. Gryffin* to find out the *Marquess of Ormond*, and to desire him to come to him as soon as he returned from the Queen, that he might be advised by him how to deport himself as occasion should serve: And as soon as he came from her, according to her command, retired to his Chamber. Whereunto the Abbot coming before the *Marquess of Ormond* could be found, after he had at large expatiated on what the Queen had but briefly hinted to him, he pressed him for his final Answer. Which the Duke refused to give till he had first consulted with the *Marquess*.

Whereupon the Abbot withdrew, desiring to be sent for when the *Marquess* should come; which, if not in an hours time, he would return again. though not sent for.

As soon as the *Marquess* came, the Duke quickly resolved what answer to make; but having been so long harassed, was desirous to take a little breath, so that he neglected sending to the Abbot, and went out of his Lodging into the Court to divert himself. No sooner was he gone but the Abbot came, and missing him sought up and down. At last finding him, he severely rebuk't him, for neglecting his Mothers Commands, and his Instructions which were seriously to Ponderate on what he had said; and for having not sent for him.

Well Sir, says the Duke, *I have seriously considered on all hath been said to me; and my final answer is, I am resolved to continue firm in my Religion.* Then replied the Abbot; *I am Commanded from the Queen, your Mother, to tell you, that she charges you to see her Face no more.* At which dismal expression, the Duke being not a little moved, with great earnestness intreated, that he might, at least beg her parting Blessing, till he could prevail for her Pardon, but could not obtain it, though he endeavoured it again the next Morning, (being Sunday, before her Majesty

An. 1654. went to her Devotions) by the Intercession of his Brother, the Duke of York; who did, with great tenderness compassionate his condition, and with much earnestness moved on his behalf.

But the Queen was inexorable to all that spoke in favour of him; nor would she intimate her pleasure to him by any Person but *Abbot Mountague*, who again solicited him; aggravating the Peril of his Mother's displeasure; advising him at that instant, being the most proper time, as she was going to Mals at her Monastery, to apply himself to her: For she had proposals to make to him, which would set his heart at rest, though he could not then name them.

To which the Duke replied, *if so I can: For my heart can have no rest but in the free exercise of my Religion; but I fear her Propositions will not: I am sure yours never tended to give me any ease or quiet.*

At which Instant the Queen passed by in her Coach, going to her Nunnery. Whereupon the Duke approached towards her, attempting to beg her Blessing, but was with great Indignation rejected. Whereat, being much discomposed, the Abbot came up to him, and askt him what it was her Majesty had said to him, which put him into so great disorder. To which he briefly replied; *what she said I may thank you for Sir; and it is but reason. What my Mother therefore said to me, I shall say to you; Be sure I see your Face no more; and so turn'd away from him.*

Whereupon the Abbot calling after him, said; *Whither are you going good Sir.* To whom the Duke (looking over his shoulder) answered, *to Church;* and so went with a sad and dejected Countenance, which did much abate the joy of the Congregation, who were much pleased to see him accompany his Brother, the Duke of York thither. But they partook with him in his sorrow, when they understood, that after Sermon he was to seek where to get a Dinner; for which he must send to the Cooks, or Fast; for there was a very strict Prohibition given to all the Officers in his Mothers Court, that they should not furnish him with any Provisions, or Necessaries.

That Night, after Evening Prayer, he had hopes to enjoy one moment of satisfaction, by conversing with his Sister, the Princess *Henrietta* (afterwards Dutches of *Orleans*) during his Mothers absence. But, as soon as the young Princess heard the news of his designed Adventure; she was so frightened into shrieks and tears, that she cryed out *Oh God my Brother! Oh me my Mother! I am undone for ever; what shall I do?* *An. 1654.*

Which as soon as the Duke heard, he retyred, not being willing his dear Sister should by her kindness to him purchase her Mothers displeasure. In this disconsolate condition he went to his Lodging: Where at nine of the Clock at night, his Groom came to know what he should do with his Horses: For the Queens Comptroller was come to him with a charge to remove them instantly. Whereupon the Groom Pleaded it was then too late, and that on the morrow it would be time enough. But the Comptroller replyed, he should then be put out of his place ere Morning.

The next day the Sheets were taken off his Bed. Finding therefore that he could not be permitted to stay at the *Palace-Royal*, he thought until he could provide Necessaries for his Journey into *Germany*, to retire to the House of *Mr. Crofts* (afterwards *Lord Crofts*) near *Paris*; whereof the Queen hearing, she chekt *Mr. Crofts* for being willing to receive him; with which he acquainted the Duke; but submits however to his pleasure.

In this straight the Duke betook himself to the advise of that faithful Servant to his Family, and zealous Protestant the *Lord Hatton*, by whose judicious Instructions he had received much satisfaction, in this his distressed Condition, who, so soon as the Duke had made known to him, that he was not only turn'd out of his Mothers House, but that all persons that had any dependency on her were forbidden to receive or assist him: His Lordship told him, if his Highness would please to honour his House with his Presence, he should there be received with all the dutiful regard that could be payed to him, by so antient and faithfully devoted a Servant to his Royal Family; and with an entertainment as suitable to his Quality, as the remains of that Fortune he had spent in his Fathers Service would afford.

But

An. 1653. But this the Duke, out of great modesty, seemed to decline? alledging the hazard his Lordship might run to, having his Estate again sequestred in **England**; and likewise incurring the displeasure of the French Court, as well as of the Queen his Mother; to be exiled that Realm for his Kindness to him, as he had been **England** for his Service to his Father; and perhaps be endangered in his person by the Rabble, animated by some enraged Papists for thus disappointing them of making a Profeliterate of him, as they boasted they had done, and given publick thanks in divers Churches.

But his Lordship assured him; that, as he had spent the greatest part of his life and fortune, in the Service of his Highnesses Royal Family, and defence of the Protestant Religion, he would willingly Sacrifice the remainder of both on so honourable an occasion as this. With which hearty invitation his Highness was so pleased, that he took no farther thoughts whither to go, but remained with his Lordship.

Being thus gone from the *Pallace-Royal*, the Queen Mother of **France** came immediately thither, to try again (as 'twas thought) if she could prevail with him to change his Religion: And as soon as she came, sent her Son the Duke of *Anjou* (afterwards of *Orleans*) to visit him; who return'd with the news, that he was not to be found. But as soon as it was known, that he was at the *Lord Hatton's House*, she sent the then Marquess (since Duke) of *Plessis* (a Person of such famed parts and abilities, that, in consideration thereof he was made Governour to the Duke of *Anjou*) to perswade with him to comply with his Mothers advise: for effecting whereof he exercised all his parts and elocution with great earnestness; urging, that since the Death of his Father, the Queen his Mother had the sole Power and Authority over him: Disputing whether (the King) his Brother, as his Sovereign, had equal Authority to dispose of him.

And the discourse growing somewhat publick, the Marquess of *Ormund*, and the *Lord Hatton* (then present) arguing in the Dukes defence; the French Marquess finding himself overmatch't, in great passion return'd without the success expected at the *Pallace-Royal*, where the French Queen staid very late till he came back. Whose report

port when both Queens heard, they were then fully satisfied in the Dukes firmness to his Religion; so that after that, no considerable attempt was made on him, though he continued for near two months very nobly entertained by the *Lord Hatton*, until through the Marquess of *Ormond's*, and his Lordships Interest, Necessaries could be provided for his going into **Germany**.

An. 1654.

C H A P.

CHAP. XXXVIII.



It is not to be doubted, but that the Convening of these persons from all parts of the Nation (considering that divers of them being Members of the *Old Long Parliament*; and eagerly thirsted to obtain their wonted power again, having, to that end, corrupted a great part of the Army) did not a little endanger his new-raised Dominion.

But such was his vigilancy, that their Plots took no effect. Seeing therefore, both how, and by whom his Authority had been thus affronted; lest others, in time, by such examples might be swayed; his next business was to gain some shadow of being owned by the generality of the people throughout the three Kingdoms: which by the help of his Emissaries in short time he accomplisht; first from **Scotland** by Gratulatory Petitions; and next from the Counties and chief Places throughout **England** and **Ireland**.

Which being effected, he then put on the Mask of a most tender and zealous Patriot, earnestly promoting the performance of Justice; encouraging Virtue, and discouraging Vice. And to gain those of the Clergy, who might be most serviceable to his purpose, he made no small shews of his favours unto them; yet with a check to the insolency of the *Presbyterian*, and depressing the *Episcopal* and Orthodox. To those also of the *Romish* persuasion, though he seemed severe, 'tis certain enough, that he did somewhat favour them: there being not any sort of men, to whom he carried not some shew of respect, having an excellent faculty of courting them with some appearance of kindness. But to captivate those, who were seemingly Religious, he had a singular art of discoursing with them most Divinely; and not only so, but Praying, Sighing, Groaning, and sometimes shedding Tears in their presence; yet having a special vigilancy upon all Parties and Interests, which possibly might disturb his quiet: So that the Royalists, whose generous and

An. 1656. active Spirits were ever prompting them to endeavour the Kings Restauration, and to that purpose intended a Rising in the West, were soon discovered: whereupon some of them were brought to Tryal, * and suffered death for the same.

* At Exeter.
18. April.

But the lives of these Loyal persons did not satisfie this subtle Tyrant: for he took advantage thereby, to cause the Estates of all others of that party, though they sate quiet, to be decimated, except such as by mony could free themselves from that great exaction: And for the strict Levying of that most oppressive Tax, he constituted † fourteen select *Major-Generals*; each of which had several Counties under his Jurisdiction; who not only exercised their Authority, in an Arbitrary and unlimited manner; but at length grew so insolent, that he thought it not fit to continue them in that power.

† 15. Octob.
Major Ge-
nerals.

An. 1656. And now looking upon himself as an absolute Monarch, he exercised the Authority of conferring the Honour of Knighthood; first * upon the Lord Mayor of **London**. And having soon after concluded a League * with **France**, he went on and Knighted two of his Colonels; *Pride* † and *Barksted* * (the one who had been a Dray-man, the other a seller of Thimbles and Bodkins of Silver.) And having throughout all parts of **England**, by underhand practices (those of his Preaching-Clergy serving him therein to some purpose) made way for an Election of such Members, for another *Parliament*, as might best advance his future ambitious designs, he sent out Writs † of Summons for Convening of them accordingly. At which meeting, * none were permitted to enter the House, which refused to acknowledg and subscribe to his Authority. Whereupon some being excluded, went back to their Countries. But those which sate stoutly on with the work, having made choice of *Sir Thomas Widdrington* to be their Speaker.

Cromwells se-
cond Parlia-
ment called.

† 10. July.

* 17. Sept.

That the chief end whereat this proud and subtle Tyrant, at that time drove, was by the help of this Convention, to be invested with the Title of **King**, few there were to whom it was not evident enough, though he cunningly seemed to look another way. That there might therefore be the less suspicion thereof, the design

was so laid, that the work should be brought about by degrees, and in a Collateral way. To which end, in the first place as a preparation thereto, they passed an Act, * whereby the *Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses there assembled* (for so are the words) *did in the name of all the people of that Common-Wealth, fully, clearly, and absolutely, and for ever disclaim and renounce all Fealty, Homage, or Allegiance, pretended to be due unto Charles Stuart, Eldest Son of the late King Charles; James Stuart, &c. or any other Issue or Posterity of the said King; or any person or persons pretending, or which should pretend Title, by, from, or under them, or any of them.*

An. 1656.

* Scob. Coll. p. 371.

And soon after that another Act, † for security of the person of his Highness the Lord Protector, and continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety; the preamble whereof beginneth thus; *forasmuch as the Prosperity and Safety of this Nation, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, very much dependeth, under God, upon the security and preservation of the person of his Highness, &c.* In which Act several offences were adjudged Treason; and certain Commissioners for **England** and **Wales** therein nominated, for the Tryal of Offenders against the said Act.

† Ib. p. 372.

Which foundation being so laid, it was by his Friends and Favourers, then thought high time to discover what they would be at; and accordingly moved, * that, whereas this Nation had for thirteen hundred years at the least, been governed by *Kings*; and though some of them had offended the people; yet that Title had never been abolished. Also, whereas the Government; by the said Title, was interwoven with the Laws, and accommodated to the dispositions of the people; that they should humbly *Petition and Advise* his Highness to take upon him the same Title.

* Alderman Pack, a great Excise-Commissioner, the first that moved it. 21. Feb.

Which motion took such effect, that there was an Instrument soon drawn up by them, called *the Humble Petition and Advice*, whereby they besought his Highness so to do.

The humble Petition and Advice.

Whereunto (that he might not seem to have any knowledge of what they were about, much less any desire thereof; but be still more and more sought to and importuned therein) he answered with all shew of modesty; that (indeed) those Arguments which they had used to him,

An. 1657. were persuasive, but not compulsive; and that the Title of *Protector* might be well accommodated to the Laws.

To which they replied, that the Title ought to be such, as was suitable to the Laws; and the Laws not be made suitable to the Title; urging the Statutes of 9. *Edw. IV.* and 3. *Henr. VII.* whereby it was provided, that no one should suffer for bearing Arms on the behalf of him, that was *de facto* King, though he had no just right to the Crown. Which Arguments were made use of to him meerly for shew, the better to disguise his ambitious aim; as though, without such strong motives, he could not have been won thereto.

But the plain truth is; that after this business came thus in question, the Sectaries of all sorts, nay a great part of the Souldiery, shewed a vehement dislike thereof, being privately instigated by *Lambert*, and some other of the Principal Officers, who did themselves, upon *Cromwells* death, expect to have succeeded him in the Place of *Protector*; it being Elective, as is manifest from the *Instrument of Government*, whereby that Tyrant was at first so Constituted (whereas had he been advanced to the Title of King, the case might have been otherwise.) So that this crafty Fox, discerning no small peril to himself by such divisions, as might thereby arise; especially in the Army, wherein lay his chief strength and support, thought it the safest way to decline * it, and to stick still to † that of *Protector*; yet to have the Government settled in a kind of Monarchic manner. And so in imitation of that which had formerly been Regal, to have a *House of Peers*.

* 8. *May.*

† 19. *May.*

But against that also, there were great and high oppositions: so that, though it was with much ado agreed, that there should be another *House*; yet it would not be allowed the Title of an *House of Peers*. Whereupon the result was, that an Act intituled *The Humble Petition and Advice*, should pass; whereby they ordained what Stile the chief Magistrate should have; *idest*, Lord *Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging.

Likewise, that *Parliaments* consisting of two *Houses* should be called once in three years, with qualifications of such as should serve therein. And that the number of such,

such, as should sit in *the other House* should be nominated by the *Lord Protector*, and approved by the House of Commons. Moreover, that he should have power to nominate his Successor. And that a *Confession of Faith* should be agreed on by his Highness and the *Parliament*; according to the Rule and Warrant of the Scriptures. Which Act being presented to him, accordingly, was assented to, and passed *.

An. 1657.
* 25. May.
Scob. Coll.
p. 378. c. 6.

But that Act being in some sort deficient; about a month following, they passed another, relating thereto, and called *The Explanatory Petition and Advice*. Wherein (*inter alia*) is this Clause; viz. — *Whereas in the Fourth Article Publick Ministers, or Publick Preachers of the Gospel, are disabled to be Elected to serve in Parliament; it is hereby explained and declared, to such Ministers and Preachers only, as have maintenance for Preaching, or are Pastors, or Teachers of Congregations.* In which Act is also contained the Oaths of the *Lord Protector*, and of his *Privy-Council*; as also the Oaths of the Members of that *Parliament*.

Soon after which, he was again, in *Westminster-Hall* (standing under a Rich State) solemnly invested into his Old Title of *Lord Protector*, and into the Government thus new modelled. Where in the presence of the Members of that *Parliament*, *Sir Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker, delivered unto him, in the name of them all (and as Representatives of all the people in the three Kingdoms) a *Purple Robe*, lyned with *Ermine*; as also a *Bible*, *Sword*, and *Scepter*, descanting upon each of them, as significant, in some respect. All which being performed, the Instrument of that new Modelled Government, called *The Humble Petition and Advice*, was publicly read. Whereunto assenting, he was then and there Proclaimed *Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, with sound of Trumpets: and afterwards in † the City of *London*. So likewise at * *Dublin* in *Ireland*, and † *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*.

Cromwel a
second time
Constituted
Protector.

† 1. July.
* 9. July.
† 15. July.

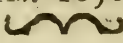
Which new devised Government, so much resembling Monarchy, though the Title did not sute thereto, did so displease the *Anabaptists* and *Fifth-Monarchymen*, that they Conspired his ruin by a sudden Insurrection: but their Plot being timely discerned, came at length to nothing. Whereupon, for prevention of farther mischief, he committed

An. 1657. mitted to Prison, several persons of no small note, whose power with the Souldiery might otherwise have much endangered his safety; viz. *Lawson*, one of his Admirals at Sea; *Harrison*, *Rich*, *Danvers*, and some other Colonels. Nay, *Lambert* himself, being aware, that his hopes of succeeding him, were then, by that new framed Government frustrated, began to fall off from him, and to incline to the Fanaticks. Which so awakened the *Protector*, that he took from him his Commission of Lieutenant General and gave it to *Fleetwood*, who by the Marriage of his Daughter, stood more nearly tyed to his Interest.

And that he might the better allure those of the Army, and some other which were no great friends to him, to conform the more pliantly, to this his new settled Dominion, he tickled them with the specious Title of *Lords*, by calling them to sit in the *other House*; obliging also many other desperate and mean persons, which were Officers of the Army, with the like shadows of Honour. The names of which persons so called were as followeth; viz.

<i>Richard Cromwel</i> , his eldest Son.	<i>Philip Lord Lisle</i> , eldest Son to the Earl of Leicester.
<i>Henry Cromwel</i> , his other Son, then Lord Deputy of Ireland.	<i>Charles Howard</i> of Waworth Castle.
<i>Nathaniel Fienes</i> ,	<i>Philip Lord Wharton</i> .
<i>John Lisle</i> ,	<i>Thomas Lord Fauconbridg</i> .
<i>Henry Lawrence</i> , Lord President of his Privy-Council.	<i>John Desborough</i> ,
	<i>Edw. Montagu</i> .
	<i>George Lord Eure</i> .
	<i>Bulstrod Whitlock</i> .
<i>Charles Fleetwood</i> (his Son in Law.)	<i>Sir Gilbert Pickeing</i> , Kt.
<i>Robert Earl of Warwick</i> .	<i>Collonel William Sydenham</i> .
<i>Edmund Earl of Mulgrave</i> .	<i>Sir Charles Wolfesley</i> , Baronet.
<i>Edward Earl of Manchester</i> .	<i>Major General Skippon</i> .
<i>William Viscount Say and Sele</i> .	<i>Strickland</i> .
<i>John Cleypole</i> (his other Son in Law, and Master of his Horse.)	<i>Collonel Philip Jones</i> .
	<i>Richard Hampden</i> .
	<i>Sir William Strickland</i> .
	<i>Francis Rous</i> , Esq;

John Fiennes, Esq;
 Sir Francis Russell, Baronet.
 Sir Thomas Honeywood, Kt.
 Sir Arthur Haselrigg, Baronet.
 Sir John Hobart.
 Sir Richard Onslow, Kt.
 Sir Gilbert Gerard.
 Sir William Roberts, Kt.
 John Glyn, his Chief Justice
 of the Upper-Bench.
 Oliver St. John, his Chief Ju-
 stice of the Common-
 Pleas.
 William Pierpont, Esq;
 John Jones, Esq;
 John Crew, Esq;
 Alexander Popham, Esq;
 Sir Christoph. Pack,)
 Alderman. }
 Sir Rob. Tichburne, } Made Kts.
 Alderman. } by Cromwel.
 Edward Whalley, one of his
 Major Generals.
 Sir John Barksted, Kt. Lieu-
 tenant of the Tower of
 London, Knighted by Crom-
 wel; but formerly sold
 Thimbles and Bodkins.
 Sir George Fleetwood another
 of his Knights.

Sir Thomas Pryde, another of *An. 1658.*
 his Knights, formerly a 
 Dray-man.
 Collonel Richard Ingoldesby.
 Sir John Heuson, another of
 his Knights, formerly a
 Cobler.
 James Berrey, one of his Ma-
 jor Generals, formerly
 Clerk to a Forge.
 Collonel William Goffe.
 Thomas Cooper.
 Edmund Thomas.
 George Monke, then Com-
 mander in Chief of his
 Forces in **Scotland.**
 David Earl of Cassils in
Scotland.
 Sir William Lockart, another
 of his Knights.
 Sir Archib. Johnston, a Scotch-
 man.
 William Steele his Lord
 Chancelour of **Ireland.**
 The Lord Broghil, Brother
 to the Earl of Corke in
Ireland.
 Sir Matthew Tomlinson, ano-
 ther of his Knights.

The Sitting * of which House began upon the twenti- * 20. *Jann.*
 eth of *January*; at which time likewise those of the Com-
 mons, who had formerly declined to sign the *Recognition*,
 were freely admitted.

But so much were those new Lords despised and scor- *The Parlia-*
 ned by the House of Commons; that the Protector, find- *ment Dissol-*
 ing no advantage by their Sitting, *Dissolved that his Second*
Parliament. *ved. 4. Feb.*

Which was not more slow in complying with his ad- *An. 1658.*
 vancement, than the Royallists were forward in their
 contri-

An. 1658. contrivances for pulling him down. But so great was his vigilancy, and no less his cost, whereby he had allured some Birds of that Feather; that the Consultations of his Adversaries, were no sooner had, than apparently discovered: so that, when ever he pleased, he could take them in his Net, as he always did, when he thought that examples of severity might be for his advantage.

Another High-Court of Justice.

It being therefore once more expedient to renew those terrors to the people, he caused his bloody Theatre, called the *High-Court of Justice*, to be again erected in *Westminster-Hall*; where for the more formalities sake, the persons whom he did design for destruction were brought; the one Dr. *John Heuit*, a Reverend Divine, the other Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Kt. a *Yorkshire* Gentleman of great Loyalty and Valour; who being charged with High Treason against his *Protectorship*; and stoutly denying the Authority of that Tribunal, had Sentence of death soon passed upon them, which they did accordingly suffer, * with great magnanimity; though there was no little endeavour used for to save their lives: his Daughter *Claypole* (whose interest otherwise with him was beyond expression) solliciting for the Doctor with all earnestness that could be.

*2. & 8. Jun.

Dunkirk having been besieged by the *English* and *French*; and given up to the *French* upon Articles, was put into the hands of the *English*, 25. June.

But it concerning him at that time, so much in point of Policy, to sacrifice some for a terror to others; neither her incessant Supplication nor Tears could prevail; which brought upon her such excessive grief of mind; that falling into a sharp fit of sickness; wherein crying out against him, for Dr. *Heuits* blood; she dyed with the most bitter torments imaginable.

Which death of hers was the fore-runner to that of this wicked Tyrant: for soon after a deep Melancholy seized closely upon him: in which the guilt of so much innocent blood, as he had spilt, might (perhaps) somewhat touch him. But without doubt that which stuck nearest to him, was his real consideration, that he could never ascend unto such an height of Sovereignty, as his ambitious desires had long gaped after. For he plainly saw, that the *Anabaptists*, and *Fifth-Monarchy men*, whom in order to the destruction of his lawful Sovereign, he had so much cherisht, then were, and were ever like to be, as thorns in his sides, and blocks in his way thereto. And which

which is more, that not only *Fleetwood* (his Son in Law) *An. 1658.* whom privately he had designed to be his Successor in the Government, was an especial friend and favourer of those desperate Fanatics; but that *Desborough*, *Sir Gilbert Pickering*, *Collonel Sydenham*, and many other of his Council, were underhand well-wishers to *Lambert* and his party, who were known enemies to all Monarchick Rule; and consequently to that, wherein he had so long aimed to be settled.

Which sorrows and perplexities of his restless mind, meeting with some Natural infirmities of his Body, struck him into a sharp and Feaverish distemper: whereat his Physicians expressing their thoughts; he told them, that if they supposed him in a dying condition, they were utterly mistaken, forasmuch as he had been comforted with Revelations to the contrary. Nay he was farther so transported with those vain Enthusiasms, and had such brain-sick persons about him (even those of his Chaplains) who were equally possessed with such giddy-headed conceits; that they foolishly dreamed and fancied as much: and told it in publick; that having sought God by Prayer, for the prolongation of his life, they received such assurances of his grant to their Petitions; that they not only gave out, that he effectually recovered, but kept a solemn Thanksgiving for the same, at **Hampton-Court**, where he then lay.

Which strange and bold confidence, caused forthwith his removal from thence to **White-Hall**; where he had not been from that time, many days, but his Physician allarm'd them with his near approaching death. Which so awakened the best of his Friends, that they soon fell to enquiry, whom he intended for his Successor. But so little sense had he then of that question, that he made them an answer no whit to the purpose. Whereupon they askt him, whether it was not his Son *Richard*; to which he made them some signs of assent. But farther enquiring of his last *Will* and *Testament*, whereby they presumed that he had nominated his Successor, he directed them to his Closet, and other places for search; but all to no purpose, for nothing could be found.

In which discomposure, departing * this life upon the * *Sept. 3.* third of *September*; to the end that the Government might not fall to the ground; some few of the Council giving

An. 1658. out, that *Richard*, was (according to the Instrument) the Person declared, they immediately caused him to be Proclaimed *Protector*.

Having thus traced this Monster to his death, which happened on the same day of the month, whereon he had been twice wonderfully victorious (*viz.* at **Dunbar** and **Worcester**) it will not be amiss to take notice of somewhat concerning his Carcase, which was wholly preternatural; *viz.* that notwithstanding it was Artificially Embowelled, and Embalmed with Aromatick Odours, wrapt also in six-fold Cerecloth, and put in a sheet of Lead: with a strong wooden Coffin over it; yet did it in a short time so strangely ferment, that it burst all in pieces, and became so noysom, that they were immediately necessitated to commit it to the Earth, and to celebrate his Funeral with an empty Coffin. Which solemnity was performed, from **Somerset-house** in the *Strand*, unto King *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel at **Westminster**, with that Grandeur and State, * upon the 23. of *November* following, that it did equalize the greatest and most glorious of our Kings, amongst which they laid the Corps of this infamous Regicide.

* *Nov.* 23.

CHAP. XXXIX.



Ere should I go on in the path of my Story; but because that reports have been so various, and uncertain, touching his Parentage, and course of life, before he became an Actor in this unparallel'd Rebellion, it will not be improper to make a short digression; and as briefly as may be, to say something of both.

That his Extraction by the Fathers side, was from Sir *Richard Williams*, Kt. a Gentleman of eminent note, in the Court of King *Henry* the VIII. and son to *Morgan ap William* (a *Welchman*) by Sister to *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel* Earl of *Essex*, (the chief Agent in those days, for the dissolution of the Monasteries) is not to be doubted. Who being by his Uncle preferred to the service

vice of King *Henry*, was for that cause (and no other) called *Cromwel*, as is apparent enough from Testimonies of credit, however some have fancied otherwise, which Sir *Richard*, thereupon writing himself *Cromwel*, alias *Williams*, was then in such Favour and Grace with the King; that having received the dignity of Knighthood * for his Heroick behaviour at a Tilting in 32. *Hen. VIII.* he had also the great Abby of **Ramsey**, the Nunnery of **Hinchinbroke**, with the Priories of **Sautrey**, and **Huntington**, given to him upon the disposal of the Monastery Lands. All which he left unto Sir *Henry Cromwel*, Kt. his Son and Heir. Who, making **Hinchinbroke** his principal Seat (as more pleasantly situate than **Ramsey** is) left Issue Sir *Oliver Cromwel*, made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King *James*; and *Robert Cromwel* a younger Son (with some other Children.) Which *Robert*, though he was by the countenance of his elder Brother, made a Justice of Peace in *Huntingtonshire*, had but a slender Estate; much of his support being a Brew-House in **Huntington**, chiefly managed by his Wife, who was Sister to Sir *Robert Steward*, of the City of **Ely**, Knight, and by her had Issue this our famous *Oliver*, stiled *Protector* of **England**, **Scotland**, and **Ireland**, as hath been observed.

* *Stow's Survey of Lond.*
p. 494. col. 1.

In his Youth he was for some time bred up in the University of *Cambridg*; where he made no great proficiency in any kind of Learning: but then and afterwards sorting himself with Drinking-Companions, and the ruder sort of people (being of a rough and blustering disposition) he had the name of a Royster amongst most that knew him: and by his exorbitances so wasted his Patrimony; that, having attempted his Uncle *Steward* for a supply of his wants, and finding that by a smooth way of application to him, he could not prevail, he endeavoured by colour of Law to lay hold of his Estate, representing him a person not able to govern it. But therein failing, for lack of better maintenance, his aim was for **New-England**, purposing there to fix, as is very well known.

Observing therefore, that most of those unquiet Spirits, who were refractory to the *Church-Discipline* by Law Establish't here, were the principal persons which had

An. 1658. stored that new Plantation; and that none but such Schismaticks were welcome guests thither: for his better furtherance from those of that gang, and the fairer acceptance upon his arrival there, through the recommendation of those Godly Brethren; he forthwith quitted his old Companions, and betook himself to the acquaintance of the pretended Holy Tribe; most formally canting in their demure Language and affected tone, and frequenting the Sermons of the fiercest Boutefeus. Amongst which (as a blessed Convert, in whom they much gloried) he gained in short time a very high Reputation. So that having better Natural parts than the most of that Sect, and confidence enough to put forth himself, upon any fit occasion; he was especially made choice of by those, who ever endeavoured the undermining of Regal Authority, to be their Orator at **Huntington**, unto the late Kings Commissiones of Sewers there, in opposition to His Majesties most commendable design, for the general draying of that great and vast level of the adjacent Fenns. In which adventure, his boldness and Elocution gained him so much credit; as that, soon after, being necessitated through his low condition, to quit a Country Farm, which he held at **St. Ives**, and betake himself to mean Lodgings in **Cambridg**, the Schismatical party there, chose him a Burgess for their Corporation, in that unhappy *Long-Parliament*, which began at **Westminster** upon the third of *November*, 1640.

Wherein he bestirred himself, with as much violence and heat, as any Schismatical Bankrupt did in that mischievous Convention; being well aware, that a general imbroilment of the Kingdom, by an intestine War, might be of advantage to such necessitous and desperate people. Whereupon, in short time, he did accordingly obtain his long desired ends: for being one of the first of those, who put themselves in Arms against the King, he was made a Captain of Horse in the Earle of *Essex's* Regiment, and afterward Lieutenant General to the late Earl of *Manchester*.

In which service, his great strength of Reason, accompanied with no less Courage, soon gained him such experience in the Discipline of War; as that taking strict care for the well Arming of his men, and preventing their disorder

order upon any hot pursuit; such success attended him upon all occasions, as at length gained him the Reputation of a skilful Commander; by reason whereof he arrived to much higher advancements. Where soon discerning the general humour of the Souldiers, and that many of them were possessed with conceited Revelations; some expecting a personal Reign of Christ, here on Earth; fancying themselves the men who were to make way for his coming; and to that purpose that they were to destroy the wicked and possess their Estates; he chiefly applyed himself to the humor of those desperate *Fanaticks*; and by his subtle arts in Praying, Preaching, Groaning, and Howling amongst them, got himself no less Credit than *Mahomet*, of old, did with his Followers. And so by degrees, ascending those steps of Command and Power, whereof instance hath been given in the precedent Story, raised himself at last, to the highest pitch of Sovereignty, as hath already been observed.

An. 1658.

CHAP. XL.



Now proceed to *Richard* his Son (Proclaimed *Protector* upon his death, as hath been said.) Whose Title was for a while, upheld by some few, and much art used for perpetuating his Dominion; first by procure Congratulations * from

all the Souldiery in **England**, **Scotland**, and **Ireland**, Secondly from all the *Independent* Congregational-Assemblies; Thirdly from the most eminent of the **London** Ministers; as also from the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Italian* Churches; and lastly from most of the Counties, Cities, and chief Towns in **England**; all of them engaging to live and dye with this youngster. In many of which solemn Congratulatory Addresses, being highly magnified for his Wisdom, nobleness of mind, and lovely Composition of Body; his Father *Oliver* was compared to *Moses*, *Zerubabel*, *Joshua*, *Gideon*, *Elijah*; to the Chariots and Horsemen of **Israel**; to *David*, *Solomon*, and *Hezekiah*. Likewise to *Constantine* the Great; and to whom-

* Hist of Indep. Part. 4. p. 32.

soever

An. 1658. soever else that either the Sacred Scripture, or any other History, had celebrated for their Piety, and Goodness. Inso-much as it was then, by most men thought, that this their late framed Government might be durable enough, against the disturbance of any opposers.

But so active and earnest were the Fanaticks against it, that they spared not their utmost industry for the supplanting thereof: And discerning *Fleetwood* (then General of the Army) to be very much a friend unto all of their party; unto him they made addresses for furtherance of their design; speciously suggesting, that the Office of *Protector*, being at the disposal of *Cromwel*, was to him alone intended, though *Richard* had been Proclaimed by some few of the Council.

And to the end that the Souldiers might likewise incline to their side, they put them on to require the auditing of their Arrears; two pence a week having been withheld of their pay: and not only so, but to insist upon greater priviledges, as Souldiers, than they had enjoyed in *Oliviers* time; viz. that no Souldier should be displaced, without consent of the Council of War: no nor questioned for Murther, Robbery, or any other Offence, otherwise than by the Law-Military; whereby they were sure to have no little favour. Likewise, that it should be in the power of the Army, upon all occasions, to make choice of their General: of all which they had first disputes with this *Richard*, and afterwards, by their *Remonstrances* did insist upon boldly.

These perrillous attempts, being therefore discerned by his Highness, he forthwith summoned a *Parliament* (according to the tenor of the old Instrument) which *Parliament*, was (for its greater honour) to consist of *two Houses*; thereby not doubting but to scatter these dangerous clouds; and met accordingly at **Westminster** upon the seventh of *January*. But consulting together; instead of complying with his Highnesses designs, they fell to questioning the Authority of the *Other House*. Nor did they at all brook the *Irish* and *Scotch*, sent thither as Representatives from each of those Realms. Nevertheless, after divers tedious and warm disputes, they were at length content * to transact with those, who Sate in that *Other House*; not excluding such Peers, who had been faithful to the Parliament,

Rich. Cromwels Parliament.

7. Jan.

* Ibid. p.36.

ment, from their priviledges of being summoned as Members thereof, and that they would receive any Message from them, but by some of those, who were Members of their own House,

An. 1659.

And, to the end they might, by degrees, bring themselves into power, they attempted the asserting of their Interest in the *Militia*, by a *salvo* in their Vote relating to the Fleet. Moreover, to captivate the people with specious shews of alleviating their burthens, they made divers formal Speeches for the taking away of all *Excise*: as also of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* after the next three years. Likewise, to make shew how tender they were of the *peoples Liberties*; they did not only set at large Colonel *Overton* and others (which had been committed to Prison by *Oliver*) without payment of Fees; but questioned the Lieutenant of the Tower for detaining those persons there. Appointing * also a Committee of Inspection for Publick * *Ibid.* Accompts. Which Committee Reported the Yearly incomes of **England**, **Scotland** and **Ireland**, to be eighteen hundred sixty eight thousand, seven hundred and seventeen pounds: and the Issues to be no less than two Millions two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty pounds. By which they saw, that three hundred thirty two thousand, eight hundred twenty three pounds of Debt, incurred Yearly upon them, by the ill management of that great Revenue; which was treble to what any King of **England** ever enjoyed. And further saw, that to maintain the Conquest of **Scotland**, they were at the Yearly charge of one hundred sixty three thousand, six hundred and nineteen pounds, more than the Revenue of that Kingdom did then yield unto them.

Other particulars they then had likewise in hand, all tending to the publick benefit of the Nation; forbearing to give mony, beneficial Offices, or rewards (as formerly had been usual) amongst themselves; by which means the world, might by degrees, be wrought into a dislike of being Governed by that Military power, which for so long time had Ruled the Roast: and to restore the general sway of the Realm to themselves, as the *Representative of the People*, in whom, according to the *Presbyterian Maxim* the whole Sovereign Power virtually was.

Which

An. 1659.

Which design, so destructive to the Sword-mens Interest, did not only disturb their minds, but by doubts and jealousies, at length divided their strength into Parties and Factions; some of them holding their Councils at **Wallingford-House**, with the General: others at **White-Hall** with the *Protector* and his Confidents. But, in this Fraktion, those of **Wallingford-House**, being much the more numerous, drew up a bold *Representation*, * both to the *Protector* and the House; which so startled his Highness, that he forthwith stood † upon his Guard: and so allarmed the *House of Commons*, that they thereupon Voted; * *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Council, or meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave, and Authority of the Lord Protector, and both Houses of Parliament. And, that no person should have and continue any Command or Trust, in any of the Armies or Navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who should refuse to subscribe, that he would not disturb, or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament, or their freedom in their Debates or Councils.*

* April 7.

† April 8.

* April 18.
History of
Indep. part.
4. p. 37.

† Ib. p. 38.

And to sweeten the Common-Souldiers, lest they should joyn with their Officers in turning them out of Doors (as they had formerly done) added, † *that they would presently take into consideration, how to satisfie the Ar-rears of the Army, with present pay; and likewise to prepare an Act of Indempnity for them.*

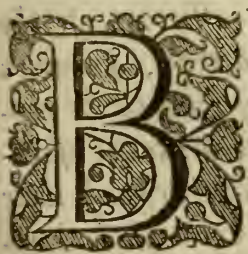
A great Task (indeed) had that *Parliament* then upon their Hands; viz. the pleasing of the people, which could no otherwise be, than by alleviating their heavy burthens; and satisfying the Souldiery by feeding them with mony, whereon they fell seriously to consider. But whilst they were intentive on these necessary works, the Animosities of the Army-Officers grew higher and higher against each other; strict Guards being kept by those at **White-Hall**, with the *Protector*, against those at **Wallingford-House**, with the General; the *Protector*, in pursuance of the *Parliament-Votes*, forbidding any further Convention of those Officers at **Wallingford-House**. Which prohibition signified little; for the **Wallingford-House**-men, being much the more numerous and sturdy; at length so awed and daunted his Highness, that they obtained his consent

* April 22.

* to a Commission and Proclamation (ready penned to Dissolve

Dissolve the *Parliament*, though he had with great assistance to the Members, promised the contrary. Whereupon the Usher with the *Black Rod*, was twice sent * to * *Ib. p. 39.* the *House of Commons*, by Mr. Nathaniel Fienes Speaker of the *Other House*, requiring them to come up. Who being not ignorant upon what errand it was, not only scorned to stir; but some of them became so couragious, to move, † that the *House* should declare it *High Treason* for † Sir Arthur Haselrigg. any person whatsoever, to put force upon any Members of the *House*; and that all *Votes*, *Acts*, and *Resolutions*, passed by any Members of *Parliament*, when the rest were detained from, or taken out of the *House* by force, should be null and void. And finding themselves so unanimous to their Resolves, Adjourned the *House* till next Monday Morning; attending their Speaker, all in fair Order, through *Westminster-Hall* to his Coach, in the face of the Souldiers, which had then beset both the *Palace-Yards*.

CHAP. XLI.



BUT, on Monday * morning, all avenues * 25. April: to the *House* being stopt up by the Souldiers, and entrance peremptorily denied unto any of the Members; the *Wallingford-House-Officers* (unto whom most of those at *White-Hall*, were by that time joyned) casting off *Whalley*, *Goffe*, and *Ingoldesby*, with some other of the *Protectors* chiefest Confidants; and taking in *Lambert*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigg*, *Colonel Okey*, and some others, who had been set aside by *Oliver*; considering with themselves that though they must necessarily govern by a *Military-power*; yet the name and shadow of a *Parliament* would best captivate the people: forasmuch therefore, as the Members of that *Parliament*, then so excluded, could not properly be readmitted, but with much hazard to the Souldiers Interest, they procured a private Conference † with some Members of the *Old Long Parliament* † 5. May. (formerly turned out by *Oliver*) viz. *Sir Henry Vane*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigg*, *Colonel Ludlow*, *Colonel Jones*, *Thomas Scot*, *Thomas Chaloner*, *Major General Lambert* and

The Protector set aside, and the Rump of the Long Parliament restored.

An. 1659. some others, to the number of about twenty. At which Conference, it being agreed that they should take in *William Lenthall*, the Old Speaker, and meet * in the House on Saturday the seventh of May; in order thereto, they set forth this following Declaration; viz.

The Publick concernment of this Common-Wealth, being, through a vicissitude of dangers, deliverances, and back-slidings of many, brought into that state and posture, whereon they now stand; and our selves also contributing thereto, by wandring divers ways from Righteous and Equal Paths. And, although there hath been many Essays to obviate the dangers, and to settle these Nations in Peace and Prosperity; yet all have proved ineffectual; the only wise God, in the course of his providence disappointing all endeavours therein. And also, observing to our great grief, that the good Spirit, which formerly appeared amongst us, in the carrying on of this great work, did daily decline, so as the Good Old Cause it self became a reproach; we have been led to look back, and examine the cause of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted presence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that through mercy we might return, and give him the Glory. And, amongst other things calling to mind, that the Long Parliament, consisting of the Members there Sitting until the 20th. of April 1653. were eminent assertors of the Cause, and had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work (the desires of many good people concurring with ours therein) we judg it our duty to invite the afore-said Members, to return to the exercise and discharge of their Trust, as before the said 20th. of April 1653. And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members, who continued to Sit from the year 1648. until the 20th. of April 1653. to return to the exercise and discharge of their Trust: and we shall be ready in our places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost assurance to Sit in safety, for the improving present opportunity, for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of this Common-Wealth; praying for the presence and blessing of God upon their endeavours.

Which Declaration was signed † by General Fleetwood, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

In order whereunto those Members of the Long-Parliament, came the day following * to the Painted-Chamber: but finding of their designed number (which was † *Ibid.* p. 40. forty and two) that there wanted a couple, they sent † to the

the Gaols for a present supply. Where, having the Lord *Munson*, and *Henry Martin* ready at hand (who lay there upon Executions for Debt) with *Lisle* and *Whitlock* from the Chancery-Bench, they advanced * into the House, * *Ib. & p. 41.* with a Mace born before them, their names being as followeth;

Lord *Munson*.
Henry Martin.
Bulstrode Whitlock.
 Mr. *Lisle*.
Thomas Chaloner.
 Alderman *Atkins*.
 Alderman *Penington*.
Thomas Scott.
Cornelius Holland.
Henry Vane.
 Mr. *Prideaux*.
 Sir *James Harington*.
 Lieutenant General *Ludlow*.
Michael Oldsworth.
 Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*.
 Mr. *Jones*.
 Colonel *Purefoy*.
 Colonel *White*.
Henry Nevil.
 Mr. *Say*.
 Mr. *Blagrave*.

Colonel *Bennet*.
 Mr. *Brewster*.
 Sergeant *Wilde*.
John Goodwyn.
 Mr. *Nicholas Lechmore*.
Augustine Skynner.
 Mr. *Downes*.
 Mr. *Dove*.
 Mr. *John Lenthal*.
 Mr. *John Saloway*.
 Mr. *John Corbet*.
 Mr. *Walton*.
Gilbert Millington.
 Mr. *Gold*.
 Colonel *Sydenham*.
 Colonel *Byngham*.
 Colonel *Ayre*.
 Mr. *Smith*.
 Colonel *Ingoldesby*.
 Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*.

The names of the *Rampers*.

Upon notice of whose Sitting, there being many of the Members of that old Parliament then walking in **westminster-hall**, and more about the City; those in the Hall consulting together, and thereupon being satisfied, that they had as good right to sit there again, as those who were gone in before, resolved to follow them into the House, or at least to attempt it: These being

Mr. *Annesley*.
 Sir *George Booth*.
 Mr. *James Herbert*.
 Mr. *William Prynne*.
 Mr. *George Montagu*.

Mr. *John Evelin*.
 Mr. *John Herbert*.
 Mr. *Gowen*.
 Mr. *Evelyn*.
 Mr. *Knightley*.

The Secluded Members.

An. 1659. Mr. Clive.

Mr. Hungerford.

Mr. Harvey.

Mr. Packe.

Who being come to the Door, after much expostulation with the Guard for their Priviledges of Sitting, were denyed entrance. Whereupon, resolving to wait a fitter opportunity, some of them came again on Monday * following; viz. Mr. Annesley, Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Hungerford, and went into the House.

* 9. May.

Which free admittance, causing Mr. Annesley to presume, that the rest might also come in, he went out again into the Hall to give others notice thereof: but upon his return found it otherwise. For those, who were met would not go on with any business, so long as Mr. Prynne did make his stay amongst them, so that they soon adjourned: and upon their next meeting ordered; † That such persons, formerly Members of that Parliament, who had not sate therein since the year 1648. and had not subscribed the Engagement, in the Roll of that House, should not sit there, till farther Order by the Parliament. And by a general Vote declared, * That all such as were to be employed in any place of Trust or Power in the Common-Wealth, should be able for the discharge of such Trust; and that they should be persons fearing God; and who had given testimony to all the people of God, of their faithfulness to that Common-Wealth, according to the Declaration of Parliament of May the 7th. proceeding also in the Election of these (whose names are here added) † for a Council of State.

† Ib. p. 42.

* 29. May.
Ib. p. 43.

† Ib. p. 45.

Sir Arthur Haselrigg.

Sir Henry Vane.

Colonel Ludlow.

Colonel John Jones.

Colonel Sydenham.

Thomas Scott.

Major Saloway.

General Fleetwood.

Sir James Harrington.

Colonel Walton.

Mr. Henry Nevil.

Mr. Thomas Chaloner.

Mr. Downes.

Bulstrode Whitlock.

Herbert Mortley.

Mr. Sidney.

Colonel Thompson.

Colonel Dixwel.

Mr. Reynolds.

Oliver St. John.

Mr. Wallop.

All these being Members of
the Old Long Parliament.

Unto which were added

John Bradshaw.
Colonel *Lambert.*
Colonel *Desborow.*
Fairfax.
Colonel *Berry.*

Sir Anthony Ashley Couper.
Sir Horatio Townsend.
Sir Robert Honywood.
Sir Archibald Johnston.
Josias Berners.

As to the Actings of these old Members, it is not a little observable; that first they ordered * the sale of all such Houses and Lands, of the late King, the Queen, the Prince, with Bishops, Deans and Chapters, or other then unfold; and that they should forthwith be exposed to sale. Also, that such persons on whom any Title of Honour had been conferred by the said King, should pay those forfeitures for the same, as had been by their Acts and Ordinances in that case provided, and bring in their Patents. Amongst which Houses intended for Sale, **Somerset House**, in the **Strand**, was one; the materials whereof to be pulled down and sold, were valued † at 5545 *l.* † *Ib. p. 49.*
1 s. 3 d.

And now, having some compassion on their late Lord Protector *Richard Cromwel*, so outed of his Sovereignty, as before is observed, they Voted * him an exemption from Arrests, for six months. † *Ib. p. 50.*

Likewise, the more to ingratiate themselves with the people, they passed an † *Act of Indempnity*; but without benefit to any, who should boggle at subscribing to a new Engagement against the Government by a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers, seizing * upon divers persons, in and about **London**, and upon Horses and Arms; pretending Trayterous designs against them by the Royalists; the Preachers, in their Pulpits crying out in this manner; † *viz.* † *Ib. p. 53.*

The Lord stir up the hearts of his people to Prayer, and sincere Humiliation, and fill them with Unanimity and Courage in this evil time: and make the people to see, whatever fair pretences may be made use of by the Common Enemy, to get power into their Hands: yet, should they prevail, no man that hath been of a party against them heretofore; yea no man, that hath been a meer Neuter, but must expect, that his private

An. 1659. vate Estate, as well as the Publick Liberty, shall become a prey to a desperate crew of Ravenous, and Unreasonable men.

Certain it is, that throughout the whole Realm, the people were weary of their Oppressions; and saw, that notwithstanding these shiftings of the Dominion from one hand to another, they were no whit eased of their Taxes and Burthens: and therefore not only the Royalists, but most of the *Presbyterians* (being then out of play) to rid themselves of that lingring slavery, did privately engage to rise: and accordingly began so to do in

* 1. *August.* *Cheshire*; putting * themselves under the command of Sir *George Boothe* Baronet, (a person of a fair Estate in those parts.) Which so alarm'd the old *Juncto* sitting at **Westminster**, commonly called the *Rump* (they being the sag-end or Tail of the *Long Parliament*) as that they speedily sent down into those parts, what Forces could soon be got together, under the command of Major General Lambert; publishing a *Proclamation* † against them, and their adherents, as Rebels and Traytors; Sir *George* in the mean time, causing a *Declaration* to be Printed, and spread abroad: Whereby manifesting to the world, that this *Juncto* at **Westminster**, had violated all Laws of God and men; did profess, that the defence of the Laws and Liberties was the chief thing, he and those with him aimed at, which would never be settled by those *Self-Seekers* at **Westminster**; and therefore desired a new and Free Parliament.

† *Ib. p. 55.* But this good design was soon blasted: for Lambert encountering them near to **North-wiche**, so over-powered them with numbers, and more experienced Souldiers, that he utterly routed * and dispersed all their strength. Which success so far elated this active General, that he then thought of nothing more than his own personal advancement. And to the end that he might the more endear the Souldiers to himself; not only magnified their merits, by Letters to the *Parliament*: but when he had a thousand pounds sent, to buy him a Jewel, in token of their high esteem of that service, he forthwith distributed it amongst his Common Souldiers. And in farther order to that his design, under colour of seizing all Arms thereabouts, he subtilly got them into his own hands.

All which was no whit dissatisfactory to the *Rumpers*, who then did not at all dream of *Lamberts* design: and therefore

therefore having received Letters * out of **Scotland**, which gave them much assurance of General Monks reality, they laid their Insurrection in *Cheshire*, wholly to the Royallists charge; and forthwith resolved upon an Oath for abjuring the Kings Title, the formality whereof I have here added;

An. 1659.

* *Ib.* p. 57.
September.

I A. B. do hereby declare, that I renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the late King James; and of every other Person as a single Person, pretending to the Government of these Nations of **England, Scotland, and Ireland**, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging. And that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to this Common-Wealth, against any King, single Person, and House of Peers, and every of them: and hereunto I subscribe my name.

The Oath
for abjuring
the King.

And to shew how Zealous their Clergy, were generally therein, I shall only give instance of a precious pack of those in *Leicestershire*; which personally came out of that County to the Parliament, and presented to them a Paper, Intituled *The humble Representation of divers well-affected Ministers of the Gospel, in the County of Leicester, whose names are hereunto subscribed.* Which was so well accepted of, that they being called in; one of them (as the mouth of the rest) addressing himself to the Speaker, said; That, being all Ministers of the Gospel in the County of **Leicester**, faithful servants to the Parliament, and imbarqued in the same bottom with themselves; that some of them marched along with their Forces to suppress the late Rebellion of Sir George Boothe, and others: and, that they well knowing how much it concerned them, with all the true Godly of the Land, to strengthen the Parliaments hands, in the work of the Lord, were desired by many of their Brethren, Ministers of the Gospel, in *Leicestershire*, to tender that their humble Representation, in their and their own names; with desire that it might be communicated to the House; the Heads whereof were, as followeth.

† 9. Septem.
Merc. Polit.
N. 586. p.
721.

1. That they did acknowledg it, as the product of Divine Love and Goodness towards the Nation; that, notwithstanding the many changes of Persons and Government, a Godly and Preaching-Ministry, had been, and still was countenanced, protected and maintained by the Parliament: and that the Lord had been pleased, after so many years interruption, to restore them again to their places,

An. 1659. places, for the accomplishing of all those just and good things, which they formerly prosecuted, in order to an happy settlement.

2. That, as in duty bound, they desired, with all thankfulness, to own the *Parliament*, under God, as eminent Instruments thereof; looking upon their Piety and Zeal for God therein; not only as a strong obligation upon their Spirits, to a more faithful and chearful discharge of their duties, as Ministers; but also to adhere to them.

3. That they were the more encouraged thereto, when they reflected upon the late Votes for encouragement and maintenance of a *Preaching-Ministry*, and also for the vindication of their just Rights, as men and Christians.

4. That they doubted not, but the same Divine Hand, which had begun to lay the foundation of a Righteous settlement of *Peace and Truth* in this Nation, continually blasting the counter-designs of the Common Adversaries; would in due time rear the top corner-stone, to the comfort of all that did wish well to *Sion*.

5. That they could not but with shame, and bleeding of heart, bewail that Cloud of darkness, which had lately overspread divers of their old professed friends, who at first deeply engaged with them: yet, through that mystery of Iniquity, which did still work in the Nation, had been misled and caused to stumble; not only to the hazard of their own Lives and Liberties; but to an involving this poor Island in confusion and blood; yet the Ruin thereof, if God had not stepped in for its relief, by blessing the *Parliaments* Counsels, and prospering the endeavours of a faithful Army, against the enraged malice of the old Common Enemy, and the dissatisfactions of such as engaged with them, to hinder the designed work of easing their Loads, and of settling their Foundations in Peace, Truth, and Righteousness.

6. That they took themselves bound in duty to let the *Parliament* know; that (through mercy) their souls had not entred into the secret of the late Insurrectors; but that they did profess an utter detestation thereof; and that, the Lord helping them, they would not cease crying mightily to him, that he would still pour out upon the *Parliament*, a Spirit of Wisdom, and of the fear of the Lord, to carry them
them

them on in their work; against all discouragements and oppositions whatsoever; the names of the Subscribers being these. An. 1659.

<i>John Yaxley, Minister of the Gospel at Kibworth.</i>	<i>John St. Nicolas at Lutterworth.</i>
<i>Samuel Blakesley at Langton.</i>	<i>Thomas Langdel at Bowdon Magna.</i>
<i>William Sheffeld at Ibstone.</i>	<i>Richard Drayton at Shangton.</i>
<i>Maurice Bohem at Halloughton.</i>	<i>Thomas Leadbeter at Hinkley.</i>
<i>William Grace at Reavesby.</i>	<i>William Cotton at Broughton.</i>
<i>Richard Muston at Langton.</i>	<i>Henry Watts at Swepston.</i>
<i>Matthew Clarke at Harborow.</i>	<i>Ambrose Bent at Ashby-Folville.</i>
<i>Josiah Whiston at Norton.</i>	<i>John Shuttlewood at Ravenston.</i>
<i>Benjamin Southwood at Kymcote.</i>	<i>Emanuel Bourne at Waltham.</i>
<i>Samuel Shaw at Long-Whatton.</i>	<i>Christopher Wright at Eastwell.</i>
<i>Thomas Lawrey at Harborow.</i>	<i>Thomas Jenkings at New Kilworth.</i>
<i>Henry Pearce at Claybroke.</i>	<i>John Pitts at Burbage.</i>
<i>George Wright at Congeston.</i>	<i>John Hulls at Stanton-Wilville.</i>
<i>Y. Dixey at Margarets in Leicester.</i>	<i>Paul Bulgay.</i>
<i>Samuel Smith at Glooreston.</i>	<i>William Black at Suddington.</i>
<i>George Greene at Thedingworth.</i>	<i>Robert Reding at Segrave.</i>
<i>William Wilson at Foxton.</i>	<i>Samuel Oldershaw at Coleorton.</i>
<i>John Bennet at Winwick.</i>	
<i>Thomas Smith at Castle-Dunington.</i>	
<i>William Barton at Martins in Leicester.</i>	
<i>Nicholas Kestyn at Gumley.</i>	

Which Representation being read, they were all called into the House again, the Speaker telling them; that, upon due consideration thereof, they found in it a Gospel-Spirit, of Meekness, Sincerity and Holiness; and that they had also considered the Seasonableness of it; and that it expressed, not only an outward Letter, but an inward Spirit, &c. and so gave them the Thanks of the House.

An. 1659.

Soon after this the House appointed a Committee to prepare something in order to the settling of a Government: for the better support whereof they Established the laying a Tax of one hundred thousand pounds by the month, besides *Excise* and *Customs*, and the Sequestered Estates of new Delinquents. And, * that such persons as had been assessed to find Horse and Arms, by virtue of the Act of Parliament, for settling the *Militia*; and had not brought in their Horse and Arms; nor paid in lieu thereof, the sum of money appointed by the said Act: that every such person and persons, should under the penalty in that Act mentioned, pay after the rate of Ten pounds for an Horse and Arms, for such number of Horses and Arms respectively, as they had been charged to find. And that such person and persons, as had been assessed to find Arms for a Foot-Souldier, and had not sent in the same, or mony in lieu thereof, should under the penalty in that Act mentioned, pay respectively, for every such Foot-Arms, such sum of money, as the Commissioners should appoint; not exceeding twenty five shillings for every such Foot-Arms.

* History of
Indep. part 4.
p. 59.

So that it is plain, that mony was it they only aimed at, though Horse and Arms were the pretence.

But amidst these their devices for enriching themselves, *Lamberts* ambition began to be suspected; which was no less than to set up himself, through the interest he then had with the Souldiery (as his old friend *Oliver* had formerly done.) Wherefore for prevention of this danger, they resolved to trust him no longer, with any Command in the Army; but cunningly to withdraw him, that he might be severed from the Souldiers: and to that end, sent a seeming courteous invitation, to allure him back to **London**: of which he accepted, † with as fair a shew of Thanks. But this stratagem of the *Rumpers* succeeded not: for soon after ensued a *Remonstrance* * from the Army, directed thus,

† Ib. p. 61.

* 5. Octob.

To the Supream Authority of these Nations, the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of **England**, the humble Petition and Proposals of the Officers, under the Command of the Right Honourable the **Lord Lambert**, in the late Northern Expedition.

Which

Which *Remonstrance* did so much tend to the advantage of the Souldiery, and asserting their unlimited power; as that the *Rumpers* forthwith declared, * *that to have any more General Officers in the Army, than were already settled by Parliament, was needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Common-Wealth.* *An. 1659.*

Thus, and in this manner, began the first rise of those differences, and distractions, which at last so happily shattered these grand Hypocrites into pieces.

But the Army-Officers, having not sufficiently ripened their main design, were then necessitated to dissemble it for a while: and therefore seeming to lay aside their overbold proposals; represented to the Parliament, *that they would adhere to their Authority, in opposition to the Common Enemy; and that they would not at all fail to stand by them, in the settlement of the Common-Wealth, against all disturbances whatsoever.* * *Ib. p. 63.*

Which fair expressions did lull the *Rumpers* into such a seeming security, (the City also feasting them, at a *Thanksgiving Dinner*, whereat the Officers of the Army, were also present) that being totally void of any fear from those dangers, so lately obvious, they fell upon Sequestering such new Delinquents, as had at that time appeared in *Sir George Booth's Rising*: As also settled the *Excise*; Revived the Assessment for the Army; neglecting no other means imaginable for gaining the whole wealth of the Nation into their Ravenous Clutches.

But the design of the Army, being shortly after ripened; the Officers, which for a while had cunningly shadowed their purposes, under a plausible disguise, began again to appear in their proper colours; and presented the House with such another bold Address, as they had formerly done. Which so startled the *Rumpers*; that they gravely declared; † *That every Member of the Army, as free-^{† Ib. p. 64.} men of England had a right of Petitioning the Parliament; but withal, thought fit to let them know, that the Petitioners ought to be very careful, both in the manner, and in the matter of what they desired, that the way of promoting, and presenting the same, may be peaceable; and the thing Petitioned for, not tending to the disturbance of the Common-Wealth, nor to the dishonour of the Parliament. And that it was the duty of Petitioners to submit their desires to*

An. 1659. the Parliament, and acquiesce in the judgment thereof.

Nevertheless, doubting (as they might do very well) that the Souldiers, which so often before, had made themselves Masters of the Parliament, would again follow the example of *Oliver*, either in turning them out of Doors, or making them Hackneys to their ambitious ends; being not ignorant, that, without mony those Sword-men could no way subsist; and that none was like to be so plausibly raised, as by the name of a Parliament; to the end therefore, that they might the more insensibly diminish their power, they passed an Act, * That all Orders, Ordinances, and Acts made by any single Person, and his Council, or both, or either of them, or otherwise; or by any Assembly, or Convention, pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the nineteenth day of April 1653. and before the seventh of May 1659. and which had not been, or should not be Enacted, Allowed or confirmed by that present Parliament; should be and were thereby declared, deemed, taken, and adjudged to be of no force and effect, from and after the said seventh day of May 1659. And that no person or persons, should after the eleventh of October 1659. Assess, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Custom, Impost, Excise, Assesment, Contribution, Tax, Tallage, or any sum or sums of mony, or other Imposition whatsoever, upon the people of that Common-Wealth, without their consent in Parliament; or as by Law might have been done before the third of November 1640. And that every person offending contrary to that Act, should be, and was thereby adjudged to be guilty of High Treason, and should forfeit and suffer as in case of High Treason.

* *Ib.* p. 65. & 66.

And thinking then, that their whole work was in effect done, they lookt upon themselves as men of such might; that they Voted the Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and some other eminent *Magnifico's* of the Army, null and void; and that they and every of them should be discharged from their respective Military employments: Likewise, that the Army should be governed by seven Commissioners (the most confiding men, you may be sure) viz. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, General *Monke*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigg* Baronet, Colonel *Valentine Walton*, Colonel *Herbert Morley*, and Colonel *Robert Overton*, or any three or more of them, who were to give notice unto *Lambert*, and the rest, that they

† 12. Octob.

they were each of them discharged of their respective *An. 1659.*
Military employments.

Which was no sooner made known to those Swordmen; than that General *Lambert* and his party prepared for their defence: on the other side, the Commissioners for the *Rumpers*, issuing out Orders suitable to the exigency of their affairs. Of which *Lambert* and his followers being made aware, they drew down to **Westminster** in an Hostile equipage; where they possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, and all avenues leading thereto; having before-hand given out, that they found it absolutely necessary to Dissolve the *Parliament*, for the good of the Nation. * 12. Octob.

But for the support of that Convention, commonly called the *Rump*, another part of the Army, were no less earnest and active; and in opposition to *Lambert* did † at † 13. Octob. the same time, march thither also; placing themselves in *King's-street*, and other parts about **Westminster**. All which was done betimes in the morning; so that when *Lenthal* the Speaker, came in his Coach, according to the usual time, to sit in the House, though he found his way clear enough through the Souldiers in **King's-street**, when he came to the *Palace-Yard* he saw it otherwise, and therefore made his return. The *Rumpers* Excluded.

It was then thought by some, that the Souldiers thus met, would not have departed so tamely: But *Lambert* having his ends by shutting out the *Rumpers*, both parties retreated quietly, closing again in a seeming friendly manner.

But that there might not be wanting, some shadow of a Civil Power, did wisely agree † upon a Committee of * 26. Octob. *Safety*, viz. *Ib, p. 69.*

General *Lambert*.

Major General *Desborow*.

Bulstrode Whitlock.

Colonel *Edward Ludlow*.

Colonel *Sydenham*.

Major *Saloway*.

Mr. *Strickland*.

Colonel *Berrey*.

Mr. *Lawrence*.

Sir *James Harrington*.

Alderman *Ireton*.

Sir *Archibald Johnston*, Lord
Wareston.

Alderman *Tieburne*.

Mr. *Henry Brandreth*.

Mr. *Thompson*.

Colonel *Hewson*.

Colonel *Clarke*,

Colonel *Lilburne*.

Colonel *Bench*.

Cornelius Holland.

Giving

An. 1659.

* 27. Octob.
Ib. p. 71.

Giving them Authority to call Delinquents to account ; to suppress all Insurrections ; to treat with Foreign States and Princes ; to raise the *Militia* in the several Counties ; and to dispose of all places of Trust, with a farther large and unlimited power ; setting also forth a *Declaration* * in Print ; intituled *A Declaration of the General Council of the Officers of the Army* : whereby they publisht, that they had lodged the Civil and executive Power of Government in the *Committee of Safety*, whom they had obliged to prepare such a form of Government, as might best sute with a free State, without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.



Herewith whilst they were in hand, came a Letter out of **Scotland** from General *Monke*; importing that himself, and some of the Officers there with him, were much dissatisfied with their transactions here: and that he had not only secured divers strong Holds in that Kingdom, but committed to safe custody those of his Officers, who were Dissenters from him therein; as also Possessed himself of the Garrison of **Barwick**. Which unexpected Alarm, did not a little disturb them. Yet on they must, or be overwhelmed with Confusion. They therefore soon ordered that their Forces in the North, together with some other Regiments from the Southern-parts of this Realm, should forthwith march to the Borders of **Scotland**; and in the mean time sent Colonel *Cobbet* to Treat with General *Monke*; expecting that he by fair words might cajole him.

But *Monke* then discerning an hopeful way open, to do that which his heart had long desired to accomplish, secured *Cobbet* from stirring abroad; being well aware, that by taking his Liberty, he might either have endangered the corrupting of his men; or carry back Intelligence of their whole strength and posture; and thereupon modeled his Army sutable to his own mind; publickly declaring; *That he would assert the Authority of Parliament against all violence whatsoever.*

Which News arriving with the *Committee of Safety*; presuming that they might please *Monke* with the Establishing of a free State, though they disowned the *Parliament* for whom he had declared, they culled out seven of their ablest contrivers; to prepare a *Form of Government*, to be set up, throughout all the three Kingdoms, in the Nature of a *Common-Wealth*, or *Free-State*; and sent away two Colonels, *Whalley* and *Goffe*; with *Carryl* and *Barker* (two of their *Assembly-men*) to Treat with him thereon, for avoiding farther difference; the Officers of the Army at **London**, seconding the same with Letters into **Scotland**; urging

An. 1659. urging most earnestly a necessity of their Brotherly union.

Monke therefore foreseeing, that delays would destroy them; their Forces not being able to subsist long without money, ordered Colonel *Talbot* and Dr. *Clarges* (who had been also sent from **England** to him) to advertise General *Fleetwood*, that himself and his Officers had nominated Colonel *Wilkes*, Lieutenant Colonel *Clobury*, and Major *Knight*, to repair speedily to **London**; and to Treat with the like number of Officers there, in order to the concluding of a firm and stedfast aimity betwixt them: and for the furtherance thereof sent Letters from himself to that purpose; with promise that his Forces should not advance any farther.

But the *Committee of Safety*, not knowing how to trust him, issued out sundry Commissions, for settling the *Militia*; which upon fit occasion was to be ready in a moment. Whereof General *Monke*, being soon advertised, and that *Lambert* was on his march Northwards with thirteen thousand stout men: he dispatcheth away those his three Messengers, to Treat for a speedy Peace. Which Messengers being accordingly come * to **London**, the Treaty soon began, and ere long concluded † in these ensuing Articles; viz.

* 12. Nov.
Ib. p. 73. &
74.
† 14. Nov.

1. That the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, or any other claiming from that Family, should be utterly renounced.

2. That the Government of these Nations, should be by a Free-State, or Common-Wealth, and not by a single Person, King, or House of Lords.

3. Thirdly, That a Godly and Learned Ministry should be maintained and encouraged.

4. That the Universities should be Reformed, and Countenanced, so as that they might become Nurseries of Piety and Learning.

5. That the Officers and Souldiers, and other persons, on either side, should be indemnified for what was past, touching their late differences, and all unkindness betwixt them, buried in perpetual oblivion.

6. That the Officers, who were made Prisoners in **Scotland** should be forthwith set at liberty.

7. And that the Armies should be presently disposed of into Quarters: as also a Committee of nineteen Constituted, whereof nine to make a Quorum, which should consider of qualifications for succeeding Parliaments. Which

Which Articles, so by them agreed on, being returned to General *Monke*. who had reserved to himself the power of ratifying whatever was to be Treated on; and that the same should not be of force, till confirmed under his Seal; he forthwith commanded the coming back of the Commissioners: and to shew his dislike of what they had done, clapt up Colonel *Wilkes* into Custody, for exceeding his bounds; and immediately declaring the Treaty to be void, advanc'd towards **England**, having made these following Proposals * to the Nobility and Gentry of **Scot-** *ib. p. 76.*
land.

First, That they would, during his absence (which would not be long) preserve and secure the Peace of that Nation. Secondly, That they would supply him with some men for his undertaking (which he engaged upon his honour, should be to their satisfaction) and if any troubles should arise, to assist him in the suppressing thereof. Thirdly, That they would advance and raise what mony they could, before-hand.

Unto which propositions, the Earl of *Gleucarne* (Chair-man of the Assembly) returned these modest answers. † *ib. p. 77.*

First, That they could not engage to preserve the Peace of the Country in his absence, wanting Arms, and so in no condition to do it; but they should, with all faithfulness (notwithstanding) endeavour it. To the second, that they were uncapable to answer his desires, for the reasons aforesaid: neither did they think it prudent for them to engage in a war; which should it prove unsuccessful on their part, would be a ruin to them: or, if succesful, they did not understand, that it would be advantageous, in any measure. Thirdly, That they were content to levy monies, and to advance a years Tax before hand.

With which answer from that Earl, General *Monke* being well satisfied, he gave them power, * forthwith to Arm *ib. p. 78.* themselves; and until all things were in better readiness, delaying his march Southwards, made some seeming overtures, to the Committee of Safety, for a second Treaty.

Whereunto the Committee replied; *That they had already transmitted part of a form of Government, to be Establish't in these Nations, unto a certain Committee of the Officers in the Army, by them to be considered. Which Officers, having thereupon met, had gone through the most of it, with great satisfaction. And that they were very desirous to have such a Government, as might best preserve the Liberties of the people, and secure the Cause, wherein they had contended, as well against Charles Stuart,*

An. 1659. as any other, that might disturb the Publick Peace; hoping in time, to make it appear, that their Enemies were liars, in rendring them to the people, to be meerly Self-Seekers. And concluding said, they hoped that the Faith of Gods People, would hold out, and not make hast: and that good men would help them in their Prayers, that God the Lord would bring forth Righteousness and Truth; and discover and bring to nought the secret contrivances of all their Adversaries.

Petitions from all parts for a new and free Parliament.
* ult. Nov.

About this time Petitions being in hand, in sundry parts of the Nation, all tending to the desire of a *New and Free Parliament*, gave such high offence unto the *Committee of Safety*, that they issued out a solemn *Proclamation* * against them, calling them dangerous Papers, and prohibiting their Subscriptions: also requiring, if offered, to suppress them; causing likewise the endeavourers of such Subscriptions to be apprehended, as disturbers and Enemies to Peace. Which distastful restraint caused the Peoples greater earnestness; especially the *Londoners*, whereupon Colonel *Hewson* was sent † with some forces into the City, to awe them: but with little effect, the Souldiers in all places, being scorn'd and affronted. Whereat *Hewson* became so much enraged, that he murdered some of the Citizens in the streets.

† 5. Dec.

But that which toucht them in point of danger more nearly, was the revolt * of *Portsmouth*, whereof Sir *Arthur Haselrigg*, Colonel *Walton*, and *Herbert Morley*, with the consent of *Whetham* the Governour, had then possesst themselves: The news whereof coming to the Ears of the *Committee of Safety*, they speedily sent both Horse and Foot, to reduce it. But the people in general, being impatient till a readmission of the *Rump*, or to have something else bearing the name of a *Parliament*, necessitated the *Committee of Safety* to declare † that a *Parliament* should be called, and appointed to sit down before *February* next ensuing: and, that the *Parliament*, so to be called, should be according to such qualifications, as then were, or should be agreed upon, and might best secure the just Rights, Liberties, and Priviledges of the people. Taking care, that when met, there should be no alteration of these Fundamentals; viz. *

* 4. Dec.

† 10. Dec.
Ib. p. 80.

* Ib. p. 81.

1. That no Kingship should be excercised in these Nations.
2. That no single person should exercise the Office of chief Magistrate therein.
3. That

3. That an Army should be continued and maintained; and so conducted, that it might secure the Peace of these Nations: and not be disbanded, nor the Conduct thereof altered but by consent of the Conservators appointed. An. 1659.

4. That no imposition might be upon the Consciences of them that feared God.

5. That there should be no House of Peers.

6. That the Legislative and Executive power should be distinct, and not in the same hands.

7. That the Assemblies of Parliament, should be Elected by the people of the Common-Wealth duly qualified.

But to nip these in the bud, came a Declaration from Vice-Admiral Lawson, and his fellows, in the Navy; giving several Reasons of a necessity, for the Old Long Parliament to sit again. And to second this, came News, that those Forces, which they had sent to reduce Portsmouth, had forsaken their Commanders, and were gone in to the Revolters.

Nor were the generality of the people, about that time, less active every where: some labouring earnestly, that the Rump might sit again: others for joyning all the Secluded Members to them. But the greatest part, and specially the most sober men, were in their desires wholly for a Full and Free Parliament; yet could not be heard: for the Rump through the power of the Souldiery, was readmitted, * and solemnly owned by them, as the Supream Authority, both here, and in Ireland. Whereupon, beginning to sit, † they disposed of the Tower of London to the custody of Sir Anthony-Ashley Couper, Mr. Weever and Mr. Berners; and recalled Lambert from his Expedition against General Monke; (most of whose men were by that time gone in to Monke; or for want of pay very much dispersed.) And well considering the tumultuousness of the people, in many parts, and insolency of the Souldiers, wheresoever they came, they hastned up General Monke, as their chief shelter. Who having so prudently secured Scotland, and dealt privately with Sir Charles Coot, to take the like care of Ireland, advanced forwards, as fast as he could. The Rump readmitted. * 24. Decem. † 26. Decem.

But no sooner were the Rumpers thus got into the House, than that some old Secluded Members, required, also admittance. Which put them upon this following Vote; * That * 27. Decem. upon the fifth of January ensuing, the House would take into consi- Ib. p. 83. deration,

An. 1659. deration, the case of all absent Members; as also how to supply the vacant places, in order to the filling it up. And that in the mean time it should be referred to a Committee, to consider of all proceedings, and all Orders and Cases, touching absent Members; and make their Report thereof, at the same time.

Which Vote did not prove so satisfactory as they expected: for the City being discontented, made preparations for a Posture of Defence: and in the Country the Cashiered-Officers, and the depressed Nobility and Gentry courted General Monke, all along as he marcht, incessantly crying out for a Full and Free Parliament. Whose answer, in substance, was no more than this; viz. that he would use his best endeavours to persuade unto Reason and Justice; wishing all persons to acquiesce, in what should be the issue.

Most certain it is, that though the Rump had fair hopes of Monk's firmness unto them; yet were they not without their jealousies of him: and therefore, under colour of Congratulating his coming into England, they sent Thomas Scot, and Luke Robinson, to sound him more nearly. But he deported himself with so much reservedness and gravity, that they little discerned the real purposes of his Heart. And when the City of London sent their Sword-bearer to Court him; he only said; that he was for the Parliament: yet assured them, that when he came thither, he would satisfy their desires, and the hopes they had of him. Promising nothing else; than that he would first see all force removed from the Parliament. Secondly, That the House should be filled: and lastly, That there should be good provision for future Parliaments. So keeping on a soft pace, he came at length to St. Albans.

Whatever apprehensions and fancies others then had of his purpose, it is not to be doubted, but that the Rumpers made all Cocksure for themselves; not only in the Legislative, but Executive power; and for disposing all places of Benefit and Trust, so that their sitting without limit, might be perpetuated: in order thereto, passing this Vote; * viz. Resolved touching absent Members, that the Parliament doth adjudg and declare, that the Members, who stand discharged from Voting or Sitting in year 1648. and 1649. do stand duly discharged by judgment of Parliament, from sitting as Members of this Parliament, during this Parliament; and that Writs do issue forth, for electing of new Members in their places.

* 5. Januar.
Ib. p. 85.

Appointing that the Oath * for abjuring the King, and the whole Line of King *James*, should be taken by every Member, thenceforth sitting in *Parliament*: and thereupon grew so insolent, that they imprisoned divers persons, for Petitioning to have a *Free Parliament*. Which occasioned General *Monke* to come the sooner to **London**; and to take up his Lodging † at **White-hall**.

An. 1659.

* 2. Januar.

Oath for ab-

juring the

King taken by

Members of

Parliament.

† 3. Februar.

Where having rested about two or three days, he attended the House according to Order; and modestly giving them an account of his whole undertakings, added; * *That he deserved not the Thanks, which the House had then given him, having done no more than his duty therein: but*

* Ib. p. 86. &c. 87.

wisht them rather to praise God for his mercy, desiring them to satisfie the expectations of the people, in the Establishment of their Laws, Liberties, and Properties: God having restored them, not so much as that they should seek their own, as the Publick Good. Desiring them in particular, to take away the jealousies men had of their perpetuity, by putting a period to that their own Session, and providing orderly for future Parliaments. Wishing them to use the Nobility and Gentry civilly: and intimating, that it would be their wisdom rather to enlarge than contract any whit of their Interest. And farther told them, that the fewer qualifications they did put upon succeeding Parliaments, it would be the better. Desiring them to be tender in imposing new Oaths (for he had heard of the Oath of Abjuration) alledging, that there was more reason to repent of those already taken, than to take farther new ones. And so warning them to beware of Cavaliers and Fanaticks; commending Scotland to their care, and assuring them of Ireland, concluded, with some intimation of his thoughts for a Free-State.

Having thus taken his leave of the House, he withdrew to his place in the Council of State. Where the first thing he found under consideration, was; that the Citizens of **London**, being grown somewhat unruly, had stiffly resolved to own no power, but of a *Full and Free Parliament* (encouraged thereto, by sundry *Petitions*, to that purpose, which they had seen from several Counties) refusing to pay Taxes, but by consent of such a *Parliament*. Which put the *Rumpers* upon this desperate exigent; viz. either to reduce them to obedience by a strong hand, or themselves to be reputed but the shadow of Authority.

In order whereunto, they commanded General *Monke*, to march thither with his Forces; and to compel them to pay the Assesments. Whereupon he advanced with speed

An. 1659. to **Guild-hall**, and there made his demand of what the *Parliament* had required. Which much dashing the hopes, that the Citizens had otherwise of him, they modestly answered; that in **Magna Charta**, confirmed by the **Petition of Right**, and ratified by that present **Parliament**, the day before their forcible Dissolution; they were to pay no Taxes, but by their consent in **Parliament**, which at that present they had not. Yet to avoid the giving him any just offence, desired farther time to consider thereof.

Which, though the General readily granted; yet he wrote to the House for their farther direction. Whereupon answer was forthwith returned; that he should in the first place imprison Colonel *Bromefield*, Alderman *Bludworth*, Lieutenant Colonel *Jackson*, Major *Cox*, Colonel *Vincent*, &c. (some of which number had attended him from the City, but a little before.) And secondly, that he should remove their Chains, dig up their Posts, and break down their Gates. Which harsh and rough service did at first not a little startle him; considering it was done, partly to make tryal of his patient obedience to them: and partly to occasion a certain enmity betwixt him and the City, and then to cast him off, by diminishing his power, as he very well discerned. But, foreseeing the event, he submitted thereto; which was to enrage the Citizens throughly against the **Rump**; and that upon the expiring † of his Commission the next day after; his power would be diminished by the conjunction of six others with him in equal Command.

* 9. Febru.

† 10. Febru.

Which, being made known by him to his Officers, who lookt for a better reward for their service; concluding that the **Rump** would shortly lay them aside also, and perpetuate their own sitting. Having likewise made so sure an experiment of the Cities temper, which he then knew was positive for their *Liberties* and *Rights*: and concluding thereupon, that he might safely put his confidence in them; after private discourse had with some of the chief Citizens; he first wrote his Letters to the **Rumpers**, wishing them, at last to put a period to their sitting, and make some certain provision for future *Parliaments*. And thereupon marching with his Forces into the City, immediately declared for a **Full and Free Parliament**. Which raised the hearts of all people so much, that they expressed their great joy by Bells, Bonfires, and all other testimonies of joy imaginable.

And having waited a while, for a return to his Letter, and receiving no manner of Answer thereunto, he procured
a Con-

a Conference with some of the old Secluded Members. *An. 1659.*
 Finding also, that the settlement proposed by the *Rumpers* was too weak and slender, to repair the breaches in Government, he resolved to withdraw all force from the House, and to admit those to sit there, whose tempers were more moderate; and therefore sending for the Secluded Members to meet him at **White-hall**, he represented *20. Febr.*
 unto them, what he then thought best to be done, *viz. The meeting of a Full and Free Parliament; saying that the House should be open unto them, and wishing them all happy success therein.*

Which old Members being by this means met † together † *21. Febr. Ib. p. 93, 94.*
 again; they began where they broke off in *Decemb. 1648.* ratifying that Vote then made; *viz. That the Concessions of the late King, were a sufficient ground to proceed on, for settling the Peace of the Kingdom.* Whereupon most men took courage, in hope of an happy deliverance from that miserable slavery, they had so long endured: and in the next place Voted *Monke* to be Lord General of all the Forces in **England, Scotland and Ireland.** By virtue whereof he soon, with much prudence, disarmed the Fanaticks; the *Parliament*, in the mean time taking seasonable care to secure the Peace of the Nation, by two wholsom Acts: the one for the *Militia*, whereby Gentlemen of worth and quality, had opportunity to put themselves in Arms: The other, by raising mony, for the support of such Forces, as might be necessarily imployed for the Publick safety. And in order to an happy Establishing of the Government upon the old Foundation, *did ordain, * that Writs should issue out, for the meeting of a Full and Free Parliament, upon the 25. of April, then next following:* In the mean time constituting a Council of State of moderate men; and so at last put a period to that old and unhappy Convention. *Gen. Monk, voted Lord General. Anno 1660. * 26. Mar. Ib. p. 95.*

But, notwithstanding all this, the danger was not totally over: for the *Council of State*, discerning no little aver-seness in some Officers of the Army, and some other turbulent Spirits, to this hopeful settlement; and thereupon requiring an Engagement from them, of their peaceable demeanor, were necessitated to imprison some of the most obstinate refusers; amongst which *Lambert* was one, and not the least; who finding the Fanaticks most eager for another push, got † out of Prison, and Headed that Party. † *11. Apr.*
 Which through the great vigilancy of the General, being seasonably routed * near **Darentree**, in *Northamptonshire*, * *22. Apr.*
 the chief of them were committed to several Prisons.

An. 1659.

The new
Parliament
met 25. Apr.
* 1. May.
† 3. May.

* 8. May.

† Charles the
Second Pro-
claimed.

* 9. May.

† 25. May.
He Landed
at Dover.

* 29. May.
He came in-
to London.

The Parliament, therefore, meeting * upon the 25. of April, Sir John Greenville presented to both Houses, a Declaration from the King (then at **Breda**) with certain Letters, bearing date April 4. Which, with great joy, being openly Read, they presently Voted † His Majesties speedy return to His people; the whole Navy also, soon after, submitting * to His obedience. So that, within very few days following, he was solemnly Proclaimed, † in the Cities of **London** and **Westminster**; and his Arms set up in all publick places (those formerly erected for the *Commonwealth* and *Oliver*, being pulled * down and defaced.) And upon May 25. next following, landed † at **Dover**. Whence attended by most of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of this Realm, he came * to **London** upon the 29th. of that Month (being the Anniversary of his Birth) where, with stately Arches of Triumph, costly Pageants, Bells, various sorts of excellent Musick, Bonfires, and joy inexpressible, he was received; and proceeded in State, through that great City, to his Royal Palace at **White-hall**: the chief and happy Instrument of this, His Majesties most miraculous Restauration, without blood-shed, being the above-mentioned Colonel *George Monke*, a *Devonshire* Gentleman of an Antient and Worthy Family (lineally descended from King *Edward* the IV, by the Lady *Frances*, Daughter and Coheir to *Arthur Plantagenet*, Vicount *Lisle*, his Natural Son.) Who having put himself in Arms for the King, at the Commencement of this grand defection; and so continuing till, by a second Invasion of the Scots, the Rebels prevailed in sundry parts, by taking divers Garrisons, and many of His Majesties Loyal Subjects Prisoners, amongst which; it was his hap to be one; he thought it better to gain his Liberty, by receiving entertainment in their Army, until he could discern a proper opportunity to do His Majesty service than by so suffering. Which at last, with no less Prudence than Courage, he most faithfully performed (as hath been observed) and for which he hath since that time been deservedly remunerated, not only with several great and honourable Titles; (viz. *Baron Monke* of **Powtheridge**, Earl of **Torrington**, Duke of **Albemarle**, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter:) as also made Captain General of all his Forces, Horse and Foot, throughout his whole Dominions; but with ample Possessions for the better support of those high Dignities.



A

SHORT VIEW
OF THE LATE
TROUBLES
IN
ENGLAND.

CHAP. XLIII.



Having now finished this Narrative, with Anno 1641.
as much brevity as I well could do:
whereby it hath been fully made evi-
dent, by what Artifices this seeming-
Godly Generation did at first get power
into their cruel hands; that is to say,
their many specious *Declarations*, and solemn promises,
for the *Defence of the Protestant Religion*; the *Laws of the*
Land; the *Liberties of the Subject*, and *Priviledges of Parliament*.
I shall now crave leave to make some short Observations
A a a thereon;

Anno 1641.

Their Actings against the Protestant Religion.

^a 3. May.^b 4. May.^c 12. May.^d 21. May.^e 25. May.^f 3. May.^g 11. May.^h 15. July.ⁱ 30. July.

thereon; and give most ample instances of their contrary Actings in every of these; even in those very times, in which their Dagon of Presbytery was visibly Triumphant.

And first as to the Protestant Religion.

After they had, under pretence of great danger by a Jesuitical-party, of destroying the Protestant Religion, fram'd a protestation (a) for preserving the same, as it was exprest in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England.

Which protestation (the farther to satisfy the People of their own integrity) was solemnly taken by all the Members, and Ordered (b) to be Printed, and sent down into the several Counties: within few days after, they made an Explanation (c) thereof; viz. That by the true reformed Protestant Religion, was meant so far as it was opposite to Popery: and that the said words were not to be extended to the maintenance of any Form, Discipline, or Government; nor of any Rules, or Ceremonies of the said Church of England.

And, having given themselves such Latitude, by that their After-explanation (viz. not to defend the Protestant Religion, as it stood establish'd by Law, and was exprest in the XXXIX Articles, but as it was repugnant to Popery, and taught perhaps by all Brownists, Anabaptists, Familists and other Sectaries, which made way for all that brood to joyn with them.) They then Ordered

(d) that no Minister should take any Oath at his Induction, but what should be warrant'd by Scripture. And soon after fell

into debate (e) for the Extirpation of Episcopacie. Then

Ordered, (f) that no Service should be Read, nor Psalm sung, in going procession.

Next Voted, (g) that the Government and the Church of England by Archbishops, Bishops, &c. had been found by long experience, to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation, and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to to the civil Government of this Kingdom. As also that

(h) Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Jurisdiction should be exercised by themselves: And brought in a Bill, for abolishing the Cross in Baptism, Surplis, Bowing at the name of Jesus, standing up at the Gospel, &c. Nevertheless, to set up Lectures.

Likewise, that (i) whosoever should refuse to take the Protestation, should be held unfit to bear Office in the Church or Common-wealth; conceiving it to be a true testimony (for that was their expression) to distinguish the Ephraimites from the Gileadites. And

And within four days after, Voted (k) Thirteen Bishops Anno 16. 1
 Delinquents, with desire that they might be impeached, as k 3. August.
 Authors of Sedition, for having a hand in the late Canons.

What private Conferences they had, about this time, in order to the Extirpation of Episcopacy (whereby, for want of Government in the Church, they might the sooner bring all to confusion) take their own Testimony.

(l) At an assembly of about an hundred Priests, at Mr. Calamie's 1 Sacred Synodical Decretal, &c. for the apprehension of young Martin Mar Priest p. 12.
 a London Priest, about a Petition against the Bishops; it being insisted on, that Heresies would farther spread, if Bishops were put down, the Priests thereupon sent for Mr. Green and Mr. Spenser, of the separate Congregations, to desire them, for a time, they would suspend their open meetings; and be more private in their practise; in regard that their publique meeting was an obstacle to the suppression of the Bishops; but afterwards they might have free libertie of their practise. The words were uttered by Mr. Calamie who was afterwards so violent against their toleration. * A Felt-marker.

And to hasten this universal Confusion, they appointed (m) the pulling down of Rayles about Com- m 8. Sept.
 munion Tables, and the removing of such Tables: giving liberty by a special Order to the Inhabitants any where, throughout the Kingdom, to erect Lectures; whereby Mechanicks and Illiterate-men were set up, to the infinite scandal of Religion, and increase of Schisme.

And, when the House of Lords, discerning these licentious and irreverent courses, made a publique Order; (n) injoying the due observation of the Book of Common n 9. Sep.
 Prayer in all Churches, without alteration; the House of Commons; by means of the prevalent Partie therein, in opposition thereto, and extenuation thereof, declared, that but Eleven of the Lords assented to that Order; and that Nine refused, ordering (o) that their Declaration o 28 Sept.
 therein, should be dispersed and Read, throughout all the Churches in England.

It can hardly be imagined what strange effects these their practises in the House of Commons, did in a short time produce; one of their own partie then acknowledged in Print: (p) That all Government, and Discipline of the Church was lay'd in her Grave; and all the putredinous Vermine of bold Schismatics and frantick Sectaries, glory in her Ashes, making the fall thereof their own rising, to mount the Pulpits, &c. p Martins Echo. p. 6. Where the Presbyterian is set forth, complaining against the Independent. in a Sermon of D. Burges, Novemb. 5.

Anno 1641.

4 Ephraim
Paget Here-
fig. P. 41.

And another of them crying out, in these words (q) — *Alas* your poor Church is oppressed, and who layeth hand to help; the Plague of heresie is amongst you; and you have no power to keep the sick from the whole. The wolves that were wont to lie in the woods are come into your Sheep-fold, and roare in the Holy Congregation. O thou Shepherd of Israel, why hast thou broken down the Hedge of this thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted: the Boare of the wood, and the Wilde-beast of the forest do devour.

15. Decem.
Exact. Coll.
P. 19.

Whereupon many good People beginning to whisper their Fears of that which shortly after hapned; these subtil Foxes, to drive their great work with the less suspicion, in their grand Remonstrance (r) of the 15th of December, cryed out against certain Malignants (as they term'd them) who had infused into the People, that they meant to abolish all Church-Government, and leave every Man to his own fancie for the Service and Worship of God; absolving them of that obedience, which they owe, under God, unto His Majesty; acknowledging him to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law, as well as with the Temporal, to Regulate all the Members of the Church of **England**, by such Rules of Order and Discipline as are established by Parliament. And in the same Remonstrance declared, That it was far from their purpose, or desire, to let loose the golden Reynes of Discipline and Government in the Church, and leave private Persons, or particular Congregations, to take up what forme of Divine-service they pleased; holding it requisite, that there should be, through the whole Realm, a conformity to that Order, which the Law enjoyns.

28. Dec.

But to the end they might bring the work to pass by others, in which they did not then think fit to shew themselves openly (as their Brethren of Scotland had done) the Tumultuous rabble of Sectaries were (by their contrivance) brought (s) to **Westminster**, and there violently assaulted the great Church, threatening to pull down the Organs, and Popish Reliques; for so they called those stately Monuments of the Kings and others.

Anno 1642.

9. April.
Exact. Coll.
P. 135.

And, after His Majesty was driven from **London**, and that they had got his Navy, Forts, Magazine, &c. into their hands; they ordered, (t) that an Assembly of Divines should meet, with whom they might consult, for settling of the Church-Government and Liturgy. Shortly after which a Petition (pretended to have been brought from **Comwall**) was
Read

Read (u) in the House of Commons; amongst other things desiring, *that the Ceremonies and Service of the Church might be abolished.*

Anna 1642.

22. April.

But, notwithstanding all this, lest any jealousy of their intentions should so far prevail, as to stagger the People (whom they had hitherto deluded with their specious pretences) especially being then about to raise their Rebellious Forces; they declared, (x) *That their preparations of Arms was for security of Religion, the safety of His Majesties Person, &c.*

26. July.

And having thus form'd an Army, the first work wherewith they began, was to (y) Deface the most Antient and Chief Cathedral of this Kingdom.

The Cathed-

dral of Can-

terbury De-

fac'd by

Col. Edwin

Sandys. 26.

August.

Soon after which, some of their Forces, in their first march from **London** towards **Worcester**, broke open the Church at **Aton**, (four miles from **London**) defaced whatsoever was decent therein; tore the Bible and Book of Common-Prayer; sticking the leaves of them upon the walls with their Excrements.

And when their whole Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, came to (z) **Worcester**, the first thing they there did, was the Prophanation of the Cathedral; destroying the Organ; breaking in pieces divers beautiful Windows, wherein the Foundation of that Church was lively Historified with Painted Glasse, and barbarously Defacing divers fair Monuments of the Dead. And as if this were not enough, they brought their Horses into the body of the Church, keeping fires and Courts of Guard therein, making the Quire and side-ises, with the Font, the common places, wherein they did their easements of Nature. Also, to make their wickedness the more compleat, they rifled the Library, with the Records and Evidences of the Church; tore in pieces the Bibles and Service-books pertaining to the Quire; putting the Surplices and other Vestments upon their Dragoons, who rode about the streets with them.

24. Sept.

Which shameful outrages done by the Souldiers thus early, being much taken notice of; and observation made of the liberty given to their seditious Preachers, caused thereupon a general murmur by most People. To cast a mist, therefore, before their Eyes for a while, the

the

Anno 1642.

30. Sept.

the Members sitting at **Westminster** publisht a Declaration, (a) wherein they exprest, that though they had Voted the utter eradication of Episcopacy; yet they intended not to extirpate the Liturgy and Common Prayer; but so far to Regulate the same, as might agree with the Truth of Gods word.

6. Oct.

To which purpose, and that it might bear a fair semblance of Reformation, they brought in a Bill (b) for an Assembly of Divines; wherein they say; that the Parliament doth not intend wholly to abrogate the Book of Common-Prayer and Liturgy.

See their Declaration 7. of Jan. 1642. aspeising His Majesty with endeavouring to destroy the Protestant Religion.

See their Declaration 20 of July 1643. wherein they charge His Majesty with disguised pretences and protestations, for maintaining the true reformed Protestant Religion. And that, without any touch of Conscience, in defiance of God, he had rais'd an Army of Papists.

16. Dec.

But, notwithstanding all these fine shews, they gave daily Countenance to divers libellous Pamphlets; and to all such Schismatical Preachers, as endeavoured to deprave the lame; commanding Dr. Duck, by an Order of the House (dated Aug. 3.) that he should not put by a Minister from Institution and Induction; though he had scandalized the Liturgy of the Church; calling the Book of Common-Prayer a great Idol. After which it was not long, ere they went on towards the suppressing thereof; shutting up the Cathedral of St. Paul, in **London**, upon Sundays. Yet, that they might not be suspected in their well-wishes to the Protestant Religion, they Voted, (c) that it was the design of the King's Army, to destroy the Protestant Religion, and to bring in Popery.

16. Dec.

All which fair pretences, and Votes were made by the Members at **Westminster**; whilst their Forces in divers parts went on with such horrid practises, as the like hath not been seen in this Realm; since the Pagan-Danes, upon their Invasions, exercised their Heathenish Cruelties here; Sr. William Waller (their Western-General; about this time) entring (d) **Manchester**; where his Souldiers Committed the like barbarous outrages, in that Cathedral as was done by the E. of **Essex's** Men, at **Worcester**; tearing likewise in pieces those Chests of Lead, wherein were enshrin'd the Bones of divers Saxon Kings, Queens; devout Bishops and Confessors: with which they broke in pieces the Costly Historical Windows there. Besides this, they battered and Defaced the Brazen Statua's of the King, and that of His Royal Father K. James (which

His

Anno 1642.

His Majesty, as a pledge of his Princely favour had given to that Church) hack't and hew'd the Crown on his Head, swearing that they would bring him back to the *Parliament*. And, having so done, seized upon the Rich Hangings, Cusheons, Pulpit-Clothes, and Communion-Plate: spoiling or carrying away whatsoever else was of Ornament or worth. The like, for the most part, they did soon (e) after, in the Cathedral at **Chichester**.

29. Dec.

Nor was there any place they came to, where they made not the like devastation. At **Sudeley**, in *Gloucestershire*, (the Seat of the Antient and Noble Families of the Lords *Sudley* and *Chandos*,) they broke (f) down the Monuments; made the Body of the Church a Stable for their Horses, and the Chancel their Slaughter-House. To the Pulpit they fastned Pegs, on which they hang'd the Carcasses of Sheep. Of the Communion-Table they made a Dresser or Chopping-board to cut their Meat. Into the Vault, where lay the Bodies of those Noble Persons, they cast the Guts and Garbage of the Sheep; leaving in every Corner of the Church their own loathsom Excrements.

28. Jan.

At **Elvaston**, in *Derbyshire*, (about this time) Sir *John Gell's* Souldiers (after their Plunder of the Lady *Stanhope's* House) demolished a Costly Monument, newly made for Sir *John Stanhope*; entred the Vault, wherein many of his Ancestors lay Interred; and Triumphant over the Dead, thrust their Swords into the Coffins.

About the beginning of *March*, another of their Armies entred **Lichfield**, under the Conduct of the Lord *Brooke*. Where the Souldiers (notwithstanding that Lord lost his life in the Assaulting that Cathedral upon *St. Chad's* Day, to which Saint it was Dedicated) exercised the like Barbarisms, as were done at *Worcester*, in demolishing all the Monuments, pulling down the curious Carved work; battering in pieces the Costly Windows; and destroying the Evidences and Records belonging to that Church: which being done, they stabled their Horses in the Body of it, kept Courts of Guard in the *Cross-Isles*; broke up the Pavement, poluted the Quire with their Excrements; every Day hunted a Cat with Hounds through-

Anno 1642.

throughout the Church, delighting themselves in the Eccho from the goodly Vaulted Roof: and to add to their wickedness, brought a Calf into it, wrapt in Linnen; carried it to the Font; Sprinkled it with water; and gave it a Name in scorn and derision of that Holy Sacrament of Baptism. And when Prince *Rupert* recovered that Church by force; *Russel* the Governour carried away the Communion-Plate, and Linnen, with whatsoever else was of value.

About the same time also, the like spoile and prophanation was done by *Oliver Cromwell* and his followers in **Lincoln-Minster**: tearing up all that beautiful Pavement in the upper part of the Quire; watering their Horses at the Font. And at the same time pull'd down two of the Parish-Churches of that Antient City, for the better oportunity of their Fortifications.

Aug. 1644

At **Lestithiell** (g) also in **Cornwall**, when the Earl of *Essex* was there with his Army; one of his Souldiers brought a Horse into the Church, led him up to the Font; and made another hold him, whilst he Sprinkled water on his Head, and said; *I signe thee with the signe of the Croß, in token thou shalt not be ashamed to fight against the Round-Heads at London*, with a deale more of such Blasphemous stuff; blowing up that Church, with Gunpowder, at their departure.

I pass by the mention of **Exeter**, **Peterborough**, **Salisbury**, **Gloucester**, and divers other fair Cathedrals, besides divers goodly Collegiate-Churches, with many of the Chappels in the University of **Cambridge**, which tasted of their outrages, about that time; being so much Defaced, as that they will remain to posterity for infamous badges of their barbarous impieties.

And that it may appear that their great Masters the *Londoners*, did very well approve of these their doings; they did, by a publique Act of Common Council, Order the pulling down to the ground of that goodly Monument of Christianity, the *Croß* in **West-Chepe**. Whereupon, to make the Fact the more notorious, it was accordingly demolished (h) *in die Inventionis S. Crucis*, with sound of Trumpets and noise of several Instruments; as if they had obtain'd some notable Victory against the Enemies of the Christian Faith. So that, if we may

3. May.

Credit

Credit *Ingulphus*, (i) one of our most Antient Historiographers; and other Authentick Writers, touching the Danish-outrages, towards the Christians in this Nation, about the Year of Christ DCCCLX. who speaking of

their Barbarisms at **Medelchamsted** (now called **Peterborough**) saith, — *Altaria omnia suffossa; Monumenta omnia confracta; Sanctorum Librorum Bibliothecæ combusta, &c.* And at **Crouland**, — *Omnia Sanctorum sepulchra confracta, & Monumenta omnia, sacraq; volumina sua, cum corporibus Sanctorum combusta, inestimabili dolore omnes consternati sunt; planctusque & pleatus diutissimè suctus est;* these wicked Men have come nothing short of the Example.

But to these pure Reformers, Barnes and Stables are of equal esteem with Churches and Holy-Oratories; and a Ditch or a Dunghill thought as fit for Purial, as any Sepulcher, or other place Consecrated for that purpose, for Testimony whereof, take Sir *William Waller's* Lieutenant General's word: who, having received a Message from Sir *John Boys*, Governour of **Dunnington-Castle** for His Majesty; whereby it was signified to him, that the number of the Rebels Bodies, which were slain in the assault of that Castle, were so many, that he could not give them Christian-Burial; and therefore out of a Charitable Respect tendred liberty to take them off, and do it elsewhere; returned answer, (k) in these words — *That he conceived no Holiness to be in any place, or Burial; and that all Earth was fit for that use.*

Against which Hethenish Principle, I shall tell you what their own Mr. *William Pryme* hath said, in his Book, (l) Intituled, *The Antipathy of English Lordly-prelacy.* Wherein complaining of *Pandulphus* Bishop of **Norwich**, who perswaded K. *John* (as he saith) to submit himself to *Stephen Langton* Arch-bishop of **Canterbury**, and others that had interdicted the Realm, he cryeth in these very words — *Let me inform you, that during the time of this Interdict, all Ecclesiastical Sacraments ceased in England, except Confession and the Viaticum, in extream necessity, and the Baptisme of Infants; so as the Bodies of Dead-men, were carried*

Anno 1642.

i Ingulphi
Hist. f. 493. b

Ex Epistolâ Alcuini
Higbaldo Lindissarnensi
Episcopo. Antiq. Brit.
p. 66. & 67.

— *Vestra Charitatis familiaritas me multum letificare solebat: sed versa vice tribulationis calamitas (licet absentem) me contristavit; quod pagani contaminaverunt Sanctuaria Dei, & suderunt sanguinem Sanctorum in circuitu Altaris; Calcaverunt corpora Sanctorum in Templo quasi sterquilinum in plateâ, &c. Ecce loca sancta à paganis vastata, Altaria perjuriis sedata; Monasteria adulteriis violata; Terra sanguine Dominorum & principum maculata, &c.*

k 31. July.
1644.

l p. 248. &
249.

Anno 1642.

m 3. Jan.

1644.

n New Di-
rectory.p73

out of Towns and Villages, and Buried like Dogs in High-ways and Ditches, without Prayers, and the Ministry of Priests. Whereby it is plain, in Mr. Prynns opinion, that Burial without Prayers, and the Ministry of Priests, is like the Burial of Dogs. And therefore what Burial this of Sir William Waller's Lieutenant General, or that which the new Directory, lately establisht (m) by Ordinance of Parliament (as they call it) directeth, is like, whereat (n) no Ceremony shall be used, or any Prayers, or Reading, I leave to any indifferent judgment.

But to return to our precious Reformers, who were so hardned by the daily exercise of new out-rages; that the Members at **Westminster** at length, for their credit, though fit to have a total devastation of whatsoever was comely in the Church, or decent for the service of God: and this to be done by an Ordinance for abolishing of superstition, (for that was the Title of it) viz. that all representations or sculptures in any Cathedral, Collegiate, or Parish-Church, or Chappel, or any other place within this Kingdom, shall be defaced, and utterly demolished: and that all Organs; the frames or cases wherein they stand in all Churches, and Chappels, shall be utterly defaced: And that the Chancel-ground of every Church, or Chappel, raised for any Communion-Table to stand on, shall be levelled with the ground: And that no Surplisses, Hoods, or other superstitious Vestments, shall be any more used within the Realm, &c.

o June 1644

In accomplishment of which Ordinance, Sir Robert Harley (who sate in the chair of their Committee for Reformation) pull'd down (o) that curious and Rich Screen of Copper gilt, belonging to that incomparable Monument of K. Henry the Seventh, at **Westminster**, and sold it to Brasiers and Mettal-men: entred the King's Chappel at **White-hall**, dasht in pieces the Windows, broke down the Communion-Table, pull'd up the Rails, &c.

And to prevent the future cost on God's House; about that time, six thousand pounds which had been Collected for the Rebuilding of St. Andrews Church in **Holborn**, was seized on by these great Reformers: and four hundred pounds taken out of the Hospital at **Guildford** in Surrey (which was the whole stock of their Treasure) and imploy'd to promote the Rebellion.

After all which to ingratiate themselves with their Brethren

Brethren the Scots, they entred into a most strict combination, which they call'd *the National League and Covenant*, devised; and sent from **Edenborough** (though absolutely repugnant to their own *Declarations* (p) and *Votes*) (q) to extirpate and overthrow the Religion, and Discipline by Law establisht in the Church of **England**; which was done (r) with the greatest formality and outward shew of sanctity, that could be devised, by the Members at **Westminster**; in the Church of St. Margaret at **Westminster**; that is to say, with groaning, sighing; singing of Psalms, &c. Mr. *White* of **Dorchester**, Mr. *Nye*, *Alexander Henderson*, and others of that seditious Tribe, then exercising their gifts, in extemporary Prayers; and Preaching.

And, that there might be nothing wanting, to make odious the Orthodox Clergy of the Realm, and to enrage the People against them (as heretofore the Enemies of the Gospel did those holy Martyrs, whom they clothed in the Skins of Wild-beasts, to animate Dogs to worry them) they caused a most Libellous Pamphlet, * against * The Au-
 divers Divines, which endeavoured to oppose their thor M. *Jeh*
 wicked practises; to be Printed and Published, by special *White*, a
 Order; (s) Intituled *the first Century of scandalous malignant Member of*
Priests, having, in Order thereto; shortly after the the Long
 beginning of that *Parliament*, founded a Committee, Parliament.
 to enquire after scandalous Ministers: under which Title 17. Nov.
 few of the reverend and Orthodox Clergy did escape. 1643.
 Which Committee made so speedy a Progress in their
 work; that, in short time (as their Chairman Mr. *Corbet*
 reported) (t) they had got in nine hundred Petitions 17. May:
 against such Ministers. 1641.

I do here omit to make mention of the particular Imprisonments, Plundrings, and other oppressions, exercised by them, towards most of our greatest and most able Divines, it being so notorious to the World: by reason whereof they being constrain'd to fly from place to place to save themselves, the service of God, in most Churches of this Kingdom was totally neglected: And shall now descend to a short view of the *Doctrine* and Their Do-
 Practise of their own Levites, notorious Schismaticks, strine and
 and of so many different Sects (almost) as Congregations; Practise,
 but patronized by these Men, to advance their *Cause*;

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^u That they would dis-
pence with
all sorts of
Religion, so
that they
might free-
ly exercise
their own.

as was acknowledged (u) by the Lords, *Say and Brooke*; and justified by the Committee of *Northampton*, Jan. 16. 1643. who stuck not to declare; *That if the Country would not make better discharge of their Duty, in the defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties* (for so they term'd this unparallell'd Rebellion) *the Parliament would call in foreign Nations to assist them.*

In Testimony whereof, certain Troopers, of Popish *Walloons*, lying about *Putney* and *Kingston*, and entertain'd in the Rebels service; being asked the reason, why they would serve against the King: answered, *that it was all one for Point of Religion: but only if they served the King, they could not be permitt'd an open excercise of their devotions, according to the Church of Rome, which the two Houses gave them leave to do.*

But, as to this Point of assistance from those *Walloons*, and others of the *Romish-Religion*, let us hearken to a witness without exception; *viz. Robert Mentet, de Salmonet*, by Birth a Scotchman, of good extraction; and a secular Priest of the Church of *Rome*; who hath, in French, written a well esteem'd History * of our late civil Wars, and Intituled *L'Historie des troubles de la grand Bretagne*. Where, in pag. 165. after he hath given an Accompt of *Edge-Hill-Fight*, he saith thus:)

Ce qui surprit le plus tout le monde, ce fut qu' on trouva quelques prestres par my les morts, du coste des Estats. Car encore que dans leurs Manifestes ils appellassent l' Armée du Royle Armée des Papistes, pour la vendre odieuse au peuple; ils avoient neantmoins deux Compaynies de Walloons, & d' autres Catholiques dans leur Armée, outre qu' ils n'avoient rien oublie pour tascher d' engager en leur party le chevalier Arthur Aston, Colonel-Catholique de grand-reputation.

That which did the most surprize every body, was; that they found amongst the dead, of those which were slain on the Parliament side, several Popish-Priests. For, although in their Declarations, they called the King's Army a Popish-Army, thereby to render it odious to the People, yet they had in their Army two Companies of *Walloons* and other Roman-Catholicks. Besides, they omitted no endeavours to engage to their party *Sr. Ar. Aston K^t*, an eminent Roman-Catholick Commander.

* Printed at
Paris in Fol.
1661.

Il est vray que le Roy avoit aussi souffret dans son Armée quelques officiers Catholiques, hommes de grande suffisance, & tres bien intentionnez, pour le bien de l'estat, ainsi les appellat il dans la Declaration qu'il fit publier apres la Bataille.

True it is, that the King had permitted to serve him in his Army, some Roman Catholick Officers, Persons of great Abilities, and not factiously inclined, as His Majesty expresseth in that *Manifesto*, which he published after the Battail.

An. 1642.

So far this French Author, whose Abstract I shall not farther follow, but rather go on, in the very words of the Declaration * it self. Where his Majesty answering the Parliaments urging and pressing that false and groundless imputation of his favouring, and imploying many of that Religion in his Army, saith thus:

*Exact Col
pag. 647.
Printed at
Lond. 1643.

For our affection to that Religion, our continual practise, our constant profession, and several protestations will satisfy all the World; against which Malice and Treason it self cannot find the least probable objection. We wish from our heart the Zeal and affection of these Men to the true Protestant Religion were as apparent as ours. For the imploying Men of that Religion, in our present service in the Army, whosoever considers the hardnes and Straights, the malice and fury of these Men have driven us to; their stopping all passages, and ways, that neither Men or Money might come to us; their declaring all such to be Traytors, who shall assist us; their entertaining Men of all Countries, all Religions to serve against us, would not wonder if we had been very well contented to have received the Service and Assistance of any of our good Subjects, who had Loyalty enough, (whatsoever their Religion is) to bring them to our succour.

All Men know the great number of Papists which serve in their Army, Commanders and others: the great industry they have used to corrupt the loyalty and affection of all our Subjects of that Religion: the private promises and undertakings they have made to them; that if they would assist them against us, all the Laws made in their prejudice should be repealed. Yet, neither the weakness of our own condition, nor the other Arts used against us, could prevail with us to invite those of that Religion to come to our succour, or to recal our Proclamation which forbad them so to do: and we are confident tho we know of some few, whose eminent Abilities in Command and Conduct, and moderate and unfaictious dispositions, hath moved us, in this
great

An. 1642. great necessity, to imploy them in this service) that a far greater number of that Religion, is in the Army of the Rebels, than in our own; and we do assure our good Subjects, tho as we shall always remember the particular Services which particular Men have or shall, in this exigent of ours perform to us, with that grace and bounty, which becomes a just Prince: Yet we shall be so far from ever giving the least countenance or encouragement to that Religion, that we shall always use our utmost endeavour to suppress it by the execution of those good and wholesome Laws, already in force against Papists, and concurring in such farther remedies, as the Care and Wisdom of us, and both Houses of Parliament shall think most necessary for the advancement of God's Service.

x Mr. Case. But I proceed to the practise of their Preachers, one of these *Boutefeus*, (x) to encourage his Auditors to bring in liberally upon the Propositions, for Money, Horse, and Plate; upon his administration of the Sacrament, began thus; *All you that have contributed to the Parliament, come and take this Sacrament to your comfort.*

y Dr. Layton. Another (y) brought in a guard of Souldiers (with their Arms) into *Lambeth-Church*, in the time of Divine Service, tore the Book of Common-Prayer in pieces; pull'd the Surplis from the Ministers back; and scoffing at the good People, who were at their Devotions; said, *make an end of your pottage*: the Souldiers following him to the Communion-Table, with Tobacco-Pipes in their Mouths, and committing divers out-rages, to the great terror of the Congregation.

Mr. Simeon Ashe, Minister at *St. Maries in Alderman-bury (London)* in his Sermon Preacht before the House of Commons, *March 30. Anno 1642.* that being one of their solemn Fast-days; after large invectives against the Governours of the Church, Ceremonies, and the Divine Service by Law establishd; charg'd the whole Ministry of the Church of *England*, with being blind Seers; Dumb Dogs, which could not bark; idle droñes; mis-guiding Guides; Schismatical and Heretical Men, and scandalous. Adding, * and I humbly commend this to your

*Impr. Lond
pag. 61.

consideration, whether the Prelatical-party hath not been the Root of all; or at least of almost all these oppressions: and for my part I cannot expect a complete Deliverance from these and other like oppressions, but by the extirpation of that frame.

Right

Anno 1642.

Right Honourable you have done much, yea very much for our ease already. We are sensible that many heavy Burthens are taken off our backs, which crushed us grivouly heretofore: and for that relief, which we have received, we bless God, we honour you: and I now heartily intreat and encourage, the perfecting of that, you have so worthily begun. When **Sion** is set up in beauty adorn'd, and set up with her watch Tower; and Officers, then God will be known in our Palaces for refuge.

And that they might have some colour of Authority for their sedicious Doctrine, there came out a Paper (z) in ^zApril 1643 Print; signed by *Isaac Pennington* (their new Lord Mayor, who first entred upon his Office, with a set speech against the Book of Common-Prayer) for a direction to the Ministers, in and about the City of **London**, both what to Pray and what to Preach, in these words; You are required to commend to God in your Prayers, the Lord General, the whole Army imploy'd in the Parliaments service, and the design * undertaken by them: as also in your Sermons effectually to stir up the People, to appear in Person, and to joyn with the Army to stand up for our Religion, and Liberties, as is desired and expected by the Army, and the Committee for the Militia in this City.

* To extirpate Monarchy.

According to which direction, one of them likened the King to *Rehoboam* (in forsaking his old Council) and then inferred, *It was but Justice, that the two Houses should proceed to a new Choice.* Another, * on their Fast-day at **Southampton**, used these words in his Prayer, *Oh Lord, thine Honour is now at stake; for now (O Lord) Antichrist hath drawn his Sword against thy Christ; and if our Enemies prevail, thou wilt lose thine Honour.* And *Mr. Crosse* (a zealous Lecturer) told (a) his Auditory in the Pulpit at **St. Mildreds** in the Poultry; that if God did not finish the good work, which he had begun, in the Reformation of the Church, he would shew himself to be the God of confusion, and such a one, as by cunning Stratagems had contrived the destruction of his own Children. Which Blasphemous expression was but few days before *Sir William Waller's* defeat (b) at **Roundway-down**.

* Mr. Service-land, 9. June 1643.

6. July.

b 13. July.

And now, whilst I mention this overthrow, I cannot omit the notice of a passage somewhat remarkable: which was, that the day of that great and absolute defeat, the Rebels in **Gloucester**, held one of their solemn coun-

Anno 1642. counterfait Thanksgivings, for a feigned Victory, which they pretended (to abuse the People) that Sir *William Waller* had at **Zanddowne** upon the fifth day of the same Month.

Another of their Lectures in **Southampton**, pray'd thus; (c) *Bless the King, O Lord, mollify his hard heart, that delighteth in blood: Open his Eyes, that he may see, that the blood of the Saints is dear in thy sight. He is fallen from faith in thee, and become an enemy to thy Church. Is it not He, that hath sinned and done evil indeed? but as for these sheep, what have they done? Let thine hand, we pray thee, O Lord our God, be on him, and on his Father's House; but not on thy People, that they should be plagued. And another blasphemous fellow, (d) in his Prayer there, on their Fast-day, said thus: O God, O God, many are the hands lift up against us, but there is one God; it is thou thy self, O Father, who dost us more mischief then they all.*

^a *Robinson*
25. Aug.

And for Preaching, observe the Doctrine of one *Kendal* (sometime a Coach-man, but afterwards Preacher at **Hamsted**, in *Hartfordshire*) upon the 1 Cor. 6. 9. *know ye not, that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? First, that by Kingdom of God, in this place was meant the Kingdom of Christ upon Earth. Secondly, that England was no true Church. Thirdly, that all the Members of the Church of England, were Children of wrath. Fourthly, that at the day of Judgment, Christ would give up all power to his Father; and would himself become a Subject.*

And, such as did not Pray and Preach after this fashion, were cavill'd withall, expell'd, or committed to Prison: as one was by *Isaac Pennington* (sent to *Newgate*) for singing a Malignant Psalm. Another committed to that Prison which they made of the Lord *Peter's House* in **Aldersgate** Street; because, says his *Mittimus*, he daily Read most Malignant Chapters.

But to proceed with some other particulars of their Prayers and Sermons: Mr. *Evans* Preacher of *St. Clements* without *Temple-Barr*, expostulated thus with God; *O Lord, when wilt thou take a Chair and sit amongst the House of Peers? And when, O God, when, I say, wilt thou Vote amongst the Honourable Commons? thine own Commons, who are so zealous for thine Honour? And in his Sermon before the Earl of Effex (then their General) on the Fast-day, (e) he thus*

^e 29. Sept.
1643.

exhorted the People, Beloved, can you forget the Souldiers? *Annō 1643.*
I say the Souldiers, who have spent their blood for Christ, as
Christ did for them; even their own precious blood in God's cause
at Newbery.

And Mr. Colman, in his Exhortation-Sermon to the Army; for taking the Covenant, told them, That the **Covenant** was the Parliament's Sword and Buckler. For when (said he) the Cavaliers shall see you come Armed with a Covenant, they will run, run, run from the presence of the Lord of Hosts.

In the behalf of which **Covenant** Mr. Nye, in a set Speech told the People, that as God did swear for the Salvation of Men; and of Kingdoms: So Kingdoms must now swear for the preservation, and salvation of Kingdoms, to establish, a Saviour Jesus Christ in **England**. For this it was, that one of the Lord Say's Tenants (a Lay-Preacher at **Wroughton** near **Wanbury**) cried out in his Prayer; we know O Lord, that Abraham made a Covenant, and Moses and David made a Covenant; and our Saviour made a Covenant; but thy Parliaments Covenant is the greatest of all Covenants.

This it was that ushered in the Scots, for whose Invasions these their Preachers so much laboured; Mr. Bond at the **Savoy**, telling them in the Pulpit; that they ought to contribute and Pray, and to do all that they were able, to bring in their Brethren of **Scotland**, for the settling of God's cause. I say (quoth he) this is God's cause; and if our God had any cause, this is it. And if this be not God's cause then God is no God for me; but the Devil is got up into Heaven.

Another Preacht, (f) that Christmas day was a superstitious day; and would (if observed) bring in Idolatrous Worship. Whereupon the People were commanded to open their Shops that day.

^f Mr. Pearne
 at St. Dun-
 stons in the
 West. 24.
 Decemb.

One **Isaac Massy** a Lecturer at **Uppingham** in **Butland**, when he was to administer the Communion at Easter *Annō 1644.* and had Consecrated the Wine, after his fashion, smote himself on the Breast, and said to the People, As I am a faithful sinner Neighbours, this is my Morning's draught, and turning himself round to them, said here's to you all, and so drank up the whole Cup full.

Which celebration of the Communion, in this manner; puts me in mind of Mr. Redman, about that time Minister of **Castle-Donnington** in **Leicestershire**; who, to thwart

Anno 1643. the Order therein prescribed by the Laws; administred it to his Parishioners in the *After-noon*; and instead of *Wine*, made use of *Ale*.

July 1644 Mr. Corbet also a Lecturer in **Gloucester**; told (g) his Auditory, that nothing had so much deceived the World, as the name of King; which (he said) was the ground of all mischiefs to the Church of Christ.

And Mr. Vines (Collonel Purefoy's Chaplain) said in his Prayer, at St. Clements without **Temple-Bar**, O Lord thou hast given us never a Victory this long while, for all our frequent Fasting. What dost thou mean O Lord, to fling us in the Ditch and there leave us? And Lorkyn, a seditious Lecturer at **Greenwich**, in his Prayer, expressing great wonder, that God used to bless his People by Kings and Princes; concluded with these words; (h) O Lord, if thou wilt not bless us with a King, bless us without one.

June 31. 1644.

By which Teachers we may ghes at the Flocks: for instance,

Jan. 1644. At **Great Allhallows** in **Thames-street**; when the Parishioners were in the Chancel receiving (i) the holy Sacrament; an herd of new Brethren came into the Church, and brought along with them Bief, Mutton, and other Provision for Dinner: and when the Clarke desired them to be gone, they told him, that the Church was as free for them to eat in, as others, and refus'd to depart, saying, they would stay till the Communion, and their own Dinner; was ended.

In a *Thanksgiving-Sermon* Preacht before the Members of Parliament 2. Apr. Anno 1646. by Joseph Carril, one of their Assembly of Divines, upon this Text; Judges Cap. 10. Vers. 11, 12. Did not I deliver you from the Egyptians? He told his Auditory; Here is nothing but the bare name of Deliverances, and seven in number; so many have you received from me saith the Lord. As if we should write now; the Battel of **Kineton**, one; the Battel of **Newbery**, two; the Battel of **Chereton-down**, three; at **Warston-Bore**, four; at **Rabelby**, five; at **Langport**, six; at **Loxington**, seven; and the Disbanding of the late Army in the West, which may go for many Victories.

Mr. Cradock, Vicar of **Mun-Caton**, in *Warwickshire*, used this expression (k) in his Prayer; O Lord do not thou stand a Newter; but take one side, that we may see which it is, that

Sunday 1. Aug. 1647.

that is thy cause. And, at a Fast (1) kept by both Houses of Parliament, at St. Margarets **Westminster**, Hugh Peters, Preaching of bringing the Children out of Egyptian Bondage, to which he parallell'd the state of this Kingdom; to shew how they should be brought out of this Bondage, he put his hands before his Eyes, and laid down his Head for a space on the Cushion; and then pretended a Revelation; that it must be by extirpating of Monarchy, hear, and in all other places.

Anno 1642.

22. Dec.
1648:

And now, to close up all, let us here some of Mr. Feake's expressions, Preaching at **Black-Friers**, in Anno 1653. when our late great Masters were at Wars with the Dutch.

— But you'l say, the Dutch will recruit again, and the Princes of the World will assist them: for my part I do not see one Prince or State that offers to help them: but if they should all joyn, and lay their Crowns and Scepters together; it is that Christ may cut off their Heads at a blow, and get himself the more Honour. All the Angels in heaven cannot make peace between Christ and the World. If the Devil, the Turk, and the People, should think to compound with Christ, and say, Thou Christ, thou shalt have so many Kingdoms, and let us enjoy the rest quietly: Christ will never do it; he will have all or none; he will either kill or be kill'd. Aug. 8.

— Again; I profess Saints we must go lay our heads together, and consult what we shall ask God next, for he will give us whatsoever we ask, and so he hath done these seven years.

And at **Christ-Church**, Aug. 11. ---- I will never believe (said he) that this Navy was made purposely for the breaking of our Neighbours in pieces, and there an end: we shall at last joyn together, and do such work for God, as was never done in the World. We shall carry the Gospel with our Navy up and down to the Gentiles; and afterwards we shall gather home the Jews; out of the Isles first; for those of them shall first be called, and the Ships of **Charlis** shall do it. Beloved what this **Charlis** is, I have made a little search; but I shall enquire farther. They it seems shall be the first Active; and I am sure there is none in such forwardness as ours at present. The late Parliament, they set their hands to the work; then they job'd on again; did a little and then stood still again. Now we have got a company of Men together, which are indeed Godly Men; but they are Men of too narrow and low Spirits to do

Anno 1642. Gods work. You see they have all this while been lusting at Tythes, and cannot pluck them up for their lives: God himself must be fain to put to his Hand.

— We must agree together, to ask something new for Jesus Christ; for we have enough for our selves already: we have Pence enough; Prosperity enough, and enough of every thing.

Also at **Black-Friers**, Aug. 29. — Divers of our Friends will say, come let us sit still now, and we may have a great deal of quiet, and calm: we shall enjoy our pleasant Orchards, live upon our purchased revenues, and sit under our Vines, and Fig-trees; only let us be content and stir no farther. Beloved, do not let us listen to them; but tell them, if they can go no farther, so 'tis: for our parts we have a farther word of God, which burns within us like fire, and bids us go on still. We did not at first believe for King's Lands; nor for a Mannour of Deans and Chapters; but we believ'd that Jesus Christ should be set up in his Kingdom.

Again at **Black-Friers**, Sept. 5. — O Lord, when shall we hear the sound of Christ's Horse-heels?

And at **Black-Friers**, Sept. 11. — Thou gavest a Cup into the hand of **England**; and we drank of it. Then thou carried'st it to **Scotland**, and **Ireland**, and they dronk of it. Now thou hast carried it to **Holland**, and they are drinking of it: Lord carry it also to **France**, to **Spain**, and to **Rome**; and let it never be out of one or other of their hands, till they drink, and be drunk, and spue; and fall, and never rise any more:

— Let us be Active against the Kings and Princes of the Earth, those Limbs and Claws of the cruel Beast.

In Order to the trayning up of more such Boutefeus; soon after His Majesties Garrilon of **Oxford** was delivered up to the Parliaments General, divers of their chief Pulpit-men were sent * down to that University, to instill the Principles of Presbytery into the Students there; as also to initiate them in such long winded Prayers before Sermon, with the like Canting Terms, as are usually practised by their own precise Gang. And, after these seasonable Preparations, imployed * a number of confiding Persons (part Clergy, part Lay) as Visitors of the several Colleges and Halls there; with Authority to any five of them to expell all those Masters and Fellows, which either refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and Negative Oath,

* Mensc Julii An. 1646 Hist. & Ant. Univer. Oxon p. 367. b.

* Ib. p. 370. 371. &c.

Oath, or to submit to that holy *Discipline* contained in their new *Directory* for Worship : by which means they made a clear riddance of a Multitude of *Orthodox* Men, whose Learning and Piety had worthily rendred them of high esteem both here and in Foreign Parts.

Anno 1642.

lb. p. 379.

An. 1648.

The like did they in **Cambridge**, Committing some to strict Imprisonment.

Of these Famous Preachers, it is not unworthy Observation, that divers of them were of the *Assembly of Divines*, whom *Thomas Lord Fairfax* (the Parliament's General) stiled the *Chariots and Horse-Men* of Israel.

With the like Countenance also, their Preachers did Preach and Pray, thus they did Write and Print; Witness their Pamphlets justifying the *Mortality of the Soul*, and *Doctrine of Divorce*, with many others of the like strain : in-
somuch that the very *Scots* themselves began to cry out, as is manifest from those Papers (m) exhibited by their Com-
missioners to the two Houses at **Westminster** :

^m Published
by Authori-
ty Oct. 1645.
pag. 20.

—No Man (said they) can be so destitute of Sense and Reason, as to think such an Anarchy and Confusion, as now prevails over the Churches of this Kingdom, to be the Ordinance of God. No Christian can be so void of knowledge and Faith, as to imagine such a monstrous deformity to be the beauty and glory of the Kingdom of Christ on Earth.

Whereunto I shall add the Report of Mr. *Thomas Edwards*; one of their own Ministers of the Gospel (as he stiles himself) in his Epistle Dedicatory to the two Houses of Parliament then sitting at **Westminster**, prefixed before his book Intituled the *Gangrena*; containing a Catalogue of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious practises of the Sectaries of that time, vented and acted in **England**, within the compass of 4 years; viz. from 1642. till 1646.

I am one (saith he) who, out of choice and judgment have imbar-
ked my self, with Wife, Children, Estate, and all that's dear to me, in
the same Ship with you, to sink and perish, or to come safe to Land
with you; and that in the most doubtful and difficult times : not
only early, in the first beginning of the War and Troubles, in a
Malignant place; among Courtiers, and those who were Servants;
and had Relation to the King, Queen and their Children; pleading
your Cause, justifying your Wars; satisfying many that scrupled.
But, when your affairs were at lowest, and the chance of War a-
gainst you; and some of the Grandees and Favourites of these
times, were packing up and ready to be gone; I was then highest
and

Anno 1642. and most zealous for you; Preaching, Praying, stirring up the People to stand for you, by going out in Person, lending of Money: in the latter, going before them by Example. And as I have been your Honours most devoted Servant, so am I still yours, and you cannot easily lose me.

Having given thus fair a Character of himself; let us now hear him tell what a Blessed Reformation they had in so short a time as four Years produced:

—Things every day (saith he) grow worse and worse, you can hardly conceive or imagin them so bad as they are. No kind of Blasphemy, Heresie, Disorder, and Confusion, but it is found among us, or coming in upon us. For we, instead of Reformation, are grown from one extreme to another; fallen from Scylla to Charibdis; from Popish Innovations, Superstitions, and prelatical Tyranny, to damnable Heresies, horrid Blasphemies, Libertinisme, and fearful Anarchy. Our evils are not removed and cured, but only changed. One disease and Devil hath left us, and another as bad is come in the room. Yea, this last extremity into which we are fallen, is far more high, violent and dangerous in many respects, &c.—Have we not a deformation and worse things come in upon us, than ever we had before? were any of those Monsters heard of heretofore, which are now Common among us, and denying the Scriptures, &c.—You have broken down the Images of the Trinity, Virgin Mary, Apostles; and we have those, who overthrow the Doctrine of the Trinity; oppose the Divinity of Christ; speak evil of the Virgin-Mary, and slight the Apostles—You have cast out the Bishops and their Officers; and we have many that cast down to the ground all Ministers, in all the Reformed Churches. You have cast out Ceremonies in the Sacraments, as the Cross, kneeling at the Lords Supper: And we have many, who cast out the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper. You have put down Saints Days; and we have many, who make nothing at all of the Lords Day, and Fast-days.

You have taken away the superfluous excessive maintenance of Bishops and Deans; and we have many that take away, and cry down the necessary maintenance of Ministers. In the Bishops Days we had singing of Psalms taken away in some places, conceived Prayer, and Preaching; and, in their room, Anthems, stinted forms, and Reading brought in. And now we have singing of Psalms spoken against, and cast out of some Churches. Yea, all publick Prayer questioned, and all Ministerial Preaching denied. In the Bishops time, Popish Innovations were introduced, as bowing at Altars, &c. And now we have Anointing the Sick with Oyl. Then we had Bishopping of Children, now we have

Bishopping of Men and Women, by strange laying on of Hands.

Anno 1644.

— In the Bishops days we had many unlearned Ministers; and have we not now a company of Jerobam's Priests. In the Bishops days we had the fourth Commandement taken away: but now we have all the Ten Commandements at once by the Antinomians; yea all Faith and the Gospel denyed — The worst of the Prelates; in the midst of many Popish, Arminian-Tenets, and Popish Innovations, held many sound Doctrines, and had many commendable practises: yea the very Papists hold and keep to many Articles of faith, and truths of God; have some order amongst them, encourage Learning; have certain fixed principles of truth, with practises of Devotion, and good Works: but many of the Sect. and Sectaries in our days, deny all Principles of Religion, are enemies to all holy-duties, Order, Learning, overthrowing all: being vertiginosi Spiritus, whilgigg-Spirits. And the great opinion of an universal Toleration, tends to the laying all wast, and dissolution of all Religion, and good manners, &c. — What swarms are there of all sorts of illiterate mechanick Preachers; yea of Women, and Boy-Preachers? — What liberty of Preaching, Printing of all Errors, or for a Toleration of all; and against the Directory, Covenant, Monthly-fast, Presbyterial Government, and all Ordinances of Parliament in reference to Religion? — These Sectaries have been growing upon us, ever since the first year of our sitting; and have every year increased more and more.

And in his Book, from pag. 18: to pag. 36. he instances no less than one hundred seventy six Heretical and Blasphemous Tenets, broacht by the Sectaries (the Off-spring of the Presbyterian) within the compass of the four years, next and immediately insuing the Convention of that Long-Parliament.

But, to draw towards the end of this point, touching their Preservation and Defence of the Protestant Religion, exprest in the Doctrine and Discipline Establish'd by Law in the Church of **England**, so much protested, declared, and voted for, at the first: I shall be bold to observe, after all these Barbarous and Blasphemous Practises: That, having by their Malitious and Causeless Impeachment of that worthy Pillar of our Church, the late Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, kept him a Prisoner for above four Years; and had nothing against him, by the Law of the Land, worthy of Imprisonment, much less of Death; these Blood-thirsty Harpyes,

Anno 1644.

° 4 Jan.
1644.

Harpyes, by their own usurped Legislative Power, Condemn'd (n) him to Death: And the very same day (to accompany that Horrid Fact) damn'd the Reverend Liturgy of the Church of **England**, Establishing a thing called a *Directory* instead thereof; and within six days following, Executed (o) that Bloody Sentence upon that worthy Prelate; whole Memory and Martyrdom for the *Protestant Religion* (as it stood here Establish't by Law) will be precious with the best of Men, to all Succeeding Ages.

° 10. Jan.

And having done this, they sent Commissioners, (*Scottish and English*) to treat at *Uxbridge*, with others from his Majesty, concerning Peace. Where, the very first day of their Meeting, (p) they countenanced a Bold and Scandalous Person, (q) to Preach to the People — that they had no Enemy but the King; adding, that if they had no truth with their Peace, they should have God to be their Enemy: Bidding them not dote upon that Treaty? saying, that there was as much distance between that Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell: And How can ye hope for truth, since there are so many Prophane Lords; such an Un-preaching and un-gifted Clergy; so many Erroneous Papists, perverse Bishops; so many Irish Rebels, who are the chief Assistants at **Oxford**: I tell you, these Lords come hither with Hearts full of Blood.

° 30. Jan.
° Mr. Love,
who was not
punish't by
their Com-
missioners,
though
complain'd
of.

Towards which Blessed Peace (as they call'd it) a, mongst other things, to the absolute Ruine of Monarchy, they there demanded no less than the utter Extirpation of the *Protestant Religion*, as it stood Establish't by Law; with the Patrimony of the Church to boot, as a Prey to themselves and the *Scotts*, who would serve God (if I may fitly call it a Service) in Barnes or Stables, at a cheaper Rate; which makes me call to mind, that Expression of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his History (r) of the World: Where, making mention of the Care which *Moses* had of all things that concern'd the Worship and Service of God; which Care of his all Ages have in some Degrees imitated: Says thus; it is now so forgotten, and cast away, in this Superfine Age, by those of the Family; by the Anabaptists, Brownists, and other Sectaries, as all Cost and Care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be Served and Worshipped, is accounted a kind of Popery, and as proceeding from an Idolatrous Disposition, in so much as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes,
and

° Lib. 2. Cap.
5. § 1.

and from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, and under the Hedges; and the Offices of the Ministry (Rob'd of all Dignity and Respect) be as contemptible as those places: All order, Discipline and Church Government left to newness of Opinion, and Mens Fancies: Yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religion would spring up, as there are Parish-Churches within **England**; every Contentious and Ignorant Person, Cloathing his Fancy with the Spirit of God, and his Imagination with the Gift of Revelation: In so much, as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple Multitude, no less variable than contrary to it self, the Faith of Men will soon after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in Scorn and Contempt.

An. 1642.

CHAP. XLIV.



EOR the Laws of the Land, with the Liberty and Property of the Subject, because the first ought to be a Defence to the latter; let us see what these great pretended Champions for both, did for their Preservation: Or rather how manifestly they violated them all, by their unjust Practises.

Their Actings against the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subjects.

Was it not for Execution of his Majesties Legal Writ; grounded upon the Statute, for Suppressing of Tumults, that Justice Long was Committed (a) to the Tower?

^a 11. Dec. 1641.

And were not Commands laid upon the Judges of the King's Bench, that they should not grant any *Habeas Corpus* (the Antient Remedy for the Peoples Security) for such as the Members had Committed to Prison, by their own Authority? And, did not Mr. Rigby (a beloved Member) move twice, that those Lords and Gentlemen which were Prisoners (for no cause but being Malignants, as they term'd them) should be sold as Slaves to **Argiere**, or sent to the new Plantations in the **West-Indies**, because he had Contracted with two Merchants for that purpose? Though Mr. Pym himself had (in a Speech in that Parliament) acknowledged it against the Rules of Justice, that any Man should be Imprison'd, upon a General Charge, when no Particulars were proved against him.

An. 1642. . . As these things were most evident, so was their Order
b 4. July. 1642. . . (*b*) against Publishing the King's Proclamation, contrary
c Daniel Kniveton. . . to Act of Parliament then in Force. Likewise their Bar-
d 4. Mar. 1642. . . barous murder of his Majesties Messenger, (*c*) for bring-
 ing a Legal Writ to the Sheriffs of **London**, to that pur-
 pose : As also Collonel *Nathaniel Fienes* his causing (*d*) the
 King's Proclamation, concerning Marriners, to be burnt in
 the open Market-place at **Bristol**, by the Common Hang-
 man (he being then Governour there) and Imprisoning
 the Earl of *Bristol* and Justice *Malet*, for having an hand in
 the *Kentish-Petition*.

And, notwithstanding the Statute in force against
 Loanes and Benevolences, grounded upon the *Petition of*
Right (and that on *Magna Charta*) which the *Lord Say*,
Mr. Pym, and *Mr. Hampden*, once held so Sacred, that,
 being asked (upon occasion) in King *James* his time ; why
 they would not then Contribute to the King's Necessities by way of
 Loan? They Answered, that they could be content to lend, as well
 as others, but, that they feared to draw upon themselves, that Curse
 in *Magna-Chartra*, which should be read twice every Year a-
 gainst the Infringers thereof : Nevertheless, did not these men
e 12. Oct. 1642. . . Commit (*e*) *Mr. Fountain* the Lawyer, and divers others
 which refused to lend Money for advancement of their Re-
 bellion? And by a special Order, (*f*) sent those Loyal Ci-
 tizens, *Sir George Whitmore*, Alderman *Gurney*, *Mr. Gard-
 ner*, and others, to several Remote Prisons (*viz.* **Par-
 mouth**, **Colchester**, **Norwich**, &c.) for not submit-
 ting to their Lawless and Rigorous Tax of the twentieth
 part, for the support of their Rebellious Forces? And give
 power (*g*) to their Officers, to break open Trunks, to
 search for Money and Plate, and to seize (*h*) the same for
 that purpose ; *Mr. Strode* (one of the five Members) in Ju-
 stification of these heavy Oppressions, saying ; that it was no
 more than they had right to do: And, that every Man in **England**
 had trusted his whole Estate to be disposed of, as the Members of
 both Houses should think convenient : For if the Members of
 both Houses (quoth he) think fitting to seize the Estate of eve-
 ry Man in **England**, all the whole Kingdom is bound to submit
 to them.

And was not their Licentious Boldness such ; that *Mr. Pym* (a single Member) during a recess of both Houses,
 by an Order under his own hand, did dispence with the
 Act

Act of Parliament, 1. *Eliz.* for Uniformity of Common-Prayer!

Anno 1642.

And when, upon a motion of the House, that certain Gaolers should be tryed by Marshal Law, by reason of some Prisoners escape; and that it was opposed by divers Lawyers as an illegal course, the Gaolers being answerable by the Law, for the same; was it not Replied; (k) that they were not to be tyed to any Forms of Law; those being to be laid by at such times as this, when **Necessity** is the Rule, by which they must guide their Actions?

March.
1642.

What Misery have many Reverend and Orthodox Divines, and others suffered by long Imprisonment; some sent on Ship-board, and kept under the Deck, lying many days upon the hard Boards, for no other Offence than their firm Loyalty to the King, and Constancy in the true Protestant Religion, Establish't by Law: His Majesties Ser- vant, (l) coming only to them on a Message for Peace, being likewise so long Imprisoned, that he dyed therein with hard Usage. How partially Indulgent have they been to those of their own Rebellious Tribe, is evident from sundry Instances; as that of Mr. *Gryffith* (one of their Members) who was made a Captain of Horse, with Silver Trumpets, and extraordinary Bravery, though he had Ravish't the Lady *Sidley*, and was by her Accused for so doing: Mr. *Lentball* their Speaker, having also six Thousand Pounds given him, of that Money which had been raised by Act of Parliament for publick Service.

Mr. Alex.
Hampden.

Having therefore thus trampled down the Laws, and made seizure of the Kings Forts, Towns, Navy, and Magazine, whereby he was devested of all Power, to protect his good Subjects; no marvel that they deprived him of all other Authority; declaring (m) his nomination of Sheriffs Illegal; and authorizing his Deputy Lieutenants and Trained-Bands, to Suppress, and Apprehend such Sheriffs, Levying Money for Horse and Plate; as also the twentieth part, and a vast Weekly Tax by Distresses and Imprisonment; to say nothing of Sequestrations and Plunders. Add hereunto the Hanging of those Loyal Persons, (n) Mr. *Yeomans*, and Mr. *Bourchier*, at **Windsor**; Likewise (o) Mr. *Tompkins*, and Mr. *Chaloner*, at **London**.

29. Nov.
1642.

30. May.
1643.
5. July.
1643.

Anno. 1643.

p 10 July.
1643.p 15. Sept.
1643.p ... March.
1644.p 24. Mart.
1641.
Exa^d Coll.
p. 121.p Exa^d Coll.
p. 638.p 3. May.
1643.

p 6. May.

p ... June.
1643.p 21. Oct.
1643.

p Nov. 3.

And that the Oppressed People might take no benefit of the Law, an *Order and Declaration* (p) was set forth by Authority of both Houses, that the Judges of Assize should forbear to go their Circuits, as they would answer their Contempt to the Parliament. Moreover to let the Reins of all Government loose, they discharged (q) all Apprentices from their Masters Service, as would serve in their Rebellious Armies; Compelling divers against their Parents good will.

Nor is it less observable; that though by their own Fundamentals; they had declared; that the Subject was not to be forced unto the Wars, against his will, except it were by the consent of the King and the Estates in Parliament; there being an Act in that Parliament passed also to that purpose: Nevertheless, they frequently pressed great numbers of Men, to serve them in their Rebellious Armies: And by a *Ipecial Ordinance*, (r) gave Power to any three of the Militia of **LONDON**, to raise and send out Men, as also to Fine, Imprison, and Execute Martial-Law.

By the like Authority it was, that they raised (s) vast Sums upon Merchandize, under the name of *Tunnage and Poundage*, contrary to an express Act made also that very Parliament. So likewise a new Imposition, called *Excise*, upon Victuals and all other Commodities, against which they themselves had much declaimed. (t) And to countenance these grand Oppressions, voted, (u) that an *Ordinance of Parliament* was as binding to the Subject as an Act of Parliament: Thereupon ordaining; (x) that such Persons, as ought to pay any Rents, Debts, &c. due to those, who are assessed, and refused so to do, should be Discharged against the Landlord or Creditor.

And at length became so bold, as that their new Lord Mayor (*Isaac Pennington*) chalenging a Sturgeon, which was taken above **LONDON**-Bridge; and it being answered, that it belonged to the King, or Lord Admiral; Relyed (y) you Malignant Rogue, I would have you to know, that there is neither King nor Admiral, that hath any Power in **LONDON** but my self.

Add thereunto their *Ordinance* (z) for keeping *Michaels Terme* at **Westminster**, notwithstanding his Majesties Proclamation. And another, Constituting (a) the Earl of *Warwick* Governour; and Lord Admiral of all the Islands

lands in **America**, Inhabited or Planted by the King's Subjects. Another, (b) declaring the King's Broad-Seal Invalid, and Commanding Obedience to all Writs, &c. to be issued under a new great Seal, made by themselves: And Sequestering (c) all Offices of those Clerks in **Westminster-Hall**, which were with the King: The authority given to the Earl of *Manchester*, by another Ordinance, (d) to deprive and displace all Masters and Fellows of Colledges and Halls in **Cambridge**; and all other Clergy-Men within the Association, as he should think convenient: The Ordinances (e) for seizing the Kings, Queens, and Princes Revenew; for cutting (f) down their Woods: For Commanding (g) all Men to pay nothing to his Majesty, the Queen, and Prince, which was due and ought to have been paid to them (for those are the words) also the Commitment of *Laughern* and *Vivian* to **Colchester-Goal**, for denying to pay two Thousand Pounds, which was due to the Prince from them, though the Receiver was Plundered of the Money.

And, when it was told Mr. *Strode*, Chair-Man to the Committee for raising Money, that no more Money could be advanced (their Purfes having been so drain'd already) he Replied, (h) that they must have no denial; for their Money was demanded by the Supream Court of Judicature; adding, that those were times of necessity. Another of the Members, sticking not to say (shortly after) that if it would advantage their Cause, he thought it lawful to unvote, whatsoever had passed since the beginning of that Parliament.

Besides which grievous Impositions upon the Subjects Estates, they stuck not at the like to their Persons; upon pain of Death, restraining (k) all Persons, for going from **London** to the King or Queen. And for a farther Testimony of their dealing with the People, in point of their Proprietie, take their Governour of *Abington's* Answer (l) (*viz.* *Coll. Browne*) to no less than Seven-score poor People which came thither to him, at one time, wringing their hands, and begging for some small Pittance, of what he had caused to be taken from them, in the Villages thereabouts (which was no less than all their Goods, even to part of their wearing Apparel) which was thus (with Tears in his Eyes) — *Alas good People, it*

Anno 1643.

11. Nov.

25. Dec.

20. Jan.

21. Sept.

1643.

2. Oct.

1643.

28. Dec.

1643.

Feb. 1643.

Apr.

1644.

16. Aug.

Oct.

1644.

Anno 1642. is not in my Power to help you: For if this were done by meet Rudeness of my Souldiers, I could say something; but you have not lost a Pin, but according to the Command of both Houses of Parliament, who injoin'd us to spare nothing: Therefore (said he, whispering to one or two of them) if you have any thing left, 'tis your best course to Convey it away quickly; for the Parliament hath Commanded me to take all I can carry, and burn up the rest, before the King comes.

These and the like, as by many Instances might be made apparent, have been their Practises, in violating the *Laws of the Land*, with the *Liberties and Properties* of the Subject, however Fair and Specious, their Promises were otherwise, until they had got Power into their hands; being at length not ashamed to discover their full Intentions, by those *Propositions*, which they tendred to His Majesty at **Oxford**, upon the 23d. of November, 1644. And whereupon a *Treaty* was had at **Uxbridge**. Where it was judiciously observ'd (m) by his Majesties Commissioners; That, after a War of near three Years, for which the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, and the Priviledges of Parliament, were made the cause and Grounds; in a Treaty of full twenty days; nor indeed in the whole Propositions, upon which the Treaty should be; there was nothing offered to be treated on; concerning the Breach of any Law; or of the Liberty, or Property of the Subject, or Priviledge of Parliament: but only Propositions for the altering a Government Established by Law; and for the making of new Laws; by which all the old were or might be Cancelled; there being nothing insisted upon, on the part of his Majesties Commissioners, which was not Law; or denied by them, that the other demanded as due by Law.

Their Violating the Priviledges of Parliament.

The next and last particular, for which they made such great Pretences, is the *Priviledge of Parliaments*. Having therefore under that colour justified most of their pernicious Actions; let us take notice how consonant to Justice, Reason, or common Honesty, their Practices upon this point have been.

Did they not, soon after the beginning of that Unhappy Parliament (without any president) found (n) a *Close-Committee*, consisting of eight persons, whereof no less than seven were principal Contrivers of the ensuing Rebellion? And in the business of the Earl of *Strafford*, was not

ⁿ 11. Nov. 1640.

Anno. 1641.

not their Bill for his attainder, twice (o) read and voted Anno 1642.
in one day? and fifty-five of the Members Posted, (p) for 19. Apr.
not assenting thereto, whose Names (to their lasting Ho- 21. Apr.
nour) I have here added.

1. George Lord Digby.
2. James Lord Compton.
3. Richard Lord Buckhurst.
4. Sr. Robert Hatton.
5. Sr. Thomas Fanshawe.
6. Sr. Edward Alford.
7. Sr. Nicholas Slanyng.
8. Sr. Thomas Danby.
9. Sr. George Wentworth.
10. Sr. Peter Wentworth.
11. Sr. Frederick Cornwallis.
12. Sr. William Carnaby.
13. Sr. Richard Wynn.
14. Sr. Gervase Clifton.
15. Sr. William Widdrington.
16. Sr. William Pennyman.
17. Sr. Patricius Curwen.
18. Sr. Richard Lee.
19. Sr. Henry Slingsby.
20. Sr. William Portman.
21. Mr. Gervase Hollies.
22. Mr. Sidney Godolphin.
23. Mr. Cooke.
24. Mr. Coventrey.
25. Mr. Benjamin Weston.
26. Mr. William Weston.
27. Mr. Selden.
28. Mr. Alford.

29. Mr. Llloyd.
30. Mr. Herbert.
31. Captain Digby.
32. Serjeant Hyde.
33. Mr. Tailor.
34. Mr. Gryffith.
35. Mr. Scowen.
36. Mr. Bridgman.
37. Mr. Fettiplace.
38. Dr. Turner.
39. Capt. Charles Price.
40. Dr. Parry, a Civilian.
41. Mr. Arundell.
42. Mr. Newport.
43. Mr. Holburne.
44. Mr. Noell.
45. Mr. Kirton.
46. Mr. Pollard.
47. Mr. Price.
48. Mr. Trevanion.
49. Mr. Jane.
50. Mr. Edgcombe.
51. Mr. Chichley.
52. Mr. Mallorej.
53. Mr. Porter.
54. Mr. White (Secretary
to the Earl of Dorset)
55. Mr. Philip Warwick.

Likewise, after the Lords had passed their Votes there-
in; was not their House called, (q) to find out which of 29. Apr.
them had not given their Votes thereunto? And was not
Mr. Gervase Hollies (Burgess for **Gymelby** in Lincoln-shire)
expelled (r) the House, for his free Speech against the 25. Apr.
Scots propositions, for the altering of our Church-Gov-
ernment?

Anno 1642.

7. May.

26. May.

34. Nov.

Also the Lord Digby's Speech against the Bill, for the Earl of *Strafford's* Attainder, Voted (s) to be burnt by the common Hangman; Mr. *Taylor* (Burgess of *Windfore*) Expell'd (t) for speaking his mind against the same; and Mr. *Geffrey Palmer* (Burgess of *Stamford*) Committed, (u) for speaking against the Printing of that Scandalous *Declaration*, called the *Grand-Remonstrance*.

3. May.

29. Nov.

15, 27, 28,
29, Dec.

Were not Multitudes brought down to *Westminster*, even to the Doors of the Parliament, (many of them Weaponed) by the Instigation of Captain *Venn* (then a Member of the House of Commons) who, by Notes under his hand Sollicited them, in these expressions; *That the better sort, were like to be over-powred by the worse?* And did not those tumultuous People cry loud (x) for Justice, against the *Earl of Strafford*; saying, (y) *down with the Bishops*; aspersing, (z) also, divers of the Peers, by name, for evil and Rotten-hearted Lords?

10. Dec.

And, notwithstanding that the Lords by several Messages desired the House of Commons, to join with them in a *Declaration* against those Tumults; did not they refuse or neglect to do it; Mr. *Pym* plainly saying (a) in the House; *God forbid we should dishearten our Friends, who came to assist us?*

And when his Majesty by a Legal Writ, upon the Statute, for Suppressing of Tumults, setled a Guard at *Westminster*; was it not Voted a *Breach of their Priviledges!*

31. Jan.

Moreover, was not there a Petition (b) Exhibited to the House of Commons, in the Name of many Thousands of poor People, in and about the City of *London*, taking notice of a Malignant Faction, which made Abortive all their good Motions: Desiring that those Noble Worthies of the House of Peers, who concurred with them, in their happy Votes, might be earnestly desired to join with that Honourable House, and to sit and Vote together, as one entire Body? And professing, that unless some speedy Remedy were taken, for the removing of all such Obstacles, as hindred the happy Progress of their great endeavour, the Petitioners should not rest in quietness; but should be forc'd to lay hold on the next Remedy, at hand, to remove the Disturbers of their Peace. And (Want and Necessity, breaking the Bounds of Modesty) not to leave any means unessayed for their Relief: Adding; that the cry of the Poor
and

and Needy, was, that such persons who were the Obstacles of their peace, and the hinderers of the happy proceedings of that Parliament, might be forthwith publickly declared, whose removal would put a period to those Distractions. Anno 1644.

Which Petition, being brought up by the House of Commons, unto the Lords at a conference; a Member of the Commons, (by a Message) pressed the Lords at their Barr, to joyn with them in their desire about the Militia, expressing; *That if their desire were not assented to; those Lords, who were willing to concur, would find some means to make themselves known; that it might be seen who were against them, to the end they might notifie it unto those which sent them.*

To proceed: Was not the Duke of Richmond, Voted (c) by the Commons, *an evil Councillor to his Majesty, one of the Malignant-Party, and not fit to bear Office or place of Trust; and that consideration should be had of drawing up a Charge against him; and all this for no other, than moving in the House of Lords, that the Parliament might be Adjourn'd for six Months.* And Mr. Gamull (Burgess for the City of **Chester**) told him, *that if he left not the Town speedily, he should be Committed to the Tower, or knockt on the head by the Souldiers?* And when an Order was reported, to be confirm'd by the House, hath it not been, only, put to the Question, without any debate thereon; and publickly said, in the House, to those who have taken Exceptions theréat; *that they were only to Vote, and not to Dispute?* 27. Jan.

Was not Sir Ralph Hopton Committed (d) to the Tower, for speaking against that Declaration of March the Second. Also Serjeant Hide Voted (e) to be Expelled, and Committed to the Tower, for not Publishing the Order of the House, as Recorder of **Salisbury**: And Sir Sidney Montague Expelled (f) the House, for refusing to take the Protestation to Live and Dye with the Earl of Essex. 4. Martij.
4. Aug.
1642.
3. Dec.
1642.

Did they not Impeach, and Commit divers Lords to the Tower, for not Concurring with them in these their Irrational and most Unjust Doings? And, when it was moved that they might be Bailed; was it not answered; (g) *That there would be no Sitting for them if those Lords were Released, and Restored to the freedom of their Votes again.* Aug.
1643.

And when the Members of the House of Commons, had upon a solemn Debate, (h) agreed to join with the Lords, in sending Propositions for Peace to his Majesty; 5. Aug.
1643.

Anno 1644.

were there not Printed Papers, the next day, scattered in the Streets, and fixed upon Posts in publick places, in the City and Suburbs; requiring all Well-Affected persons to rise as one Man, and to come to the House of Commons next Morning, for that Twenty thousand Irish-Rebels were Landed? And was not Direction and Information given in the Pulpits, by their Seditious-Preachers; and in some of those Papers, Express; that the Malignant Party had over-Voted the good; and if not prevented there would be Peace? The Propositions (i) for Peace, (the Day before) being carried by twenty nine Voices. Whereupon multitudes, by the Instigation of Alderman Pennington, came, in a most tumultuous manner, with Threats and Menaces to divers of the Members of both Houses; and said, that their Petition tooke notice of Propositions, passed by the Lords for Peace; which, if allowed, would be destructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties: many of them telling the Members, that if they had not a good Answer, they would be there the next Day with double the Number.

7. Aug.

2. Martij.

Again, when it was moved, (k) that the two Sir John Evelins should be Discharg'd from Prison (being Members of the House) and thereupon the House dividing LXXI. standing for their Enlargement, and LXV. against it; were not divers called out of the Committee-Chamber, who neither heard the Debate nor Vote; and because the LXXI. Opposed their entrance; did not the LXV. prohibit the Speaker to pronounce any Order therein. Lastly, did not the Commons Vote (l) that the Committee of both Kingdoms should proceed as they did, for three Months longer; though the Lords refused to consent thereto?

7. May.
1644.

Many more Instances of this nature might be given, but I shall for brevities sake pass them by, and descend to some; where the Lords, after they had freely passed their Votes, were, by the prevalent Party in the House of Commons (contrary to all course and usage in Parliament) constrain'd to yield unto what they had, upon free and serious Debate, resolv'd against.

7. Junij.
1641.

In the Case of the Bishops, the Lords first Voted, (m) that they should retain their Voices in Parliament.

30. July.
1641.

For taking the Protestation throughout the Kingdom, the Lords first cast (n) out the Order. And notwithstanding their Order and Declaration, (o) for the due Observance

9. Sept.
1641.

of

of the Book of *Common-Prayer*; the Commons made and set forth a contrary Order (p) thereto; appointing it to be dispersed and published in all the Churches throughout the Kingdom. Likewise, though the Lords refused (q) to joyn with the Commons for Petitioning his Majesty that the *Cinque-Ports* might be secured: Yet (r) were they afterwards by terror constrain'd thereto. So Likewise, though they refused to join with them in their consent for removing the King's Magazine from *Hull*; yet, afterwards, through over-awing, did it. And though they concurr'd not with them in that case of the *Militia*; the House of Commons Voted (s) that they did agree therein.

Anno 1642.

p. 28. Sept.

1641.

23. Jan.

1641.

2. Apr.

1642.

15. Martij.

1641.

Exact Coll.

p. 112.

Thus we plainly see, that the Breach of those antient Priviledges; for *Freedom of Debate*, and Vote in Parliament, was not made without some difficulty: But these subtile Men, having by the help of those Tumults from the *Londoners*, opened the gap, went afterwards smoothly through, with all their unjustifiable Practises, which in the end brought Confusion, both of Parliament and Kingdome. So that, by these Devices, having effected whatsoever they had a mind to; they stuck not to deliver (t) it, for a Breach of Priviledge, that the Lords should dissent to any thing they had Voted; as is manifest, from that of the *New great Seal*; wherein the Lords had the same measure put upon themselves, as they had offered to the King, in joyning with the Commons, to Vote his Majesties Dissent to the Bills they tendred to him, a Breach of their Priviledges.

July.

1643.

Anno-1642.

C H A P. XLV.

Their A-
versness to
Peace.

Y what hath been already said, I doubt not, but it is apparent enough, that these great pretended Champions for the Protestant-Religion, the Laws of the Land; the Liberty of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament, made use of those specious pretences, for no other end; than, to Captivate the People, and by that means get the Power of the Sword into their Mercylefs Hands.

Now forasmuch as they were not asham'd in the midst of all their Vile Practises, to cry (*u*) out, that they sought nothing, but that Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom should be preserved: Having already shewed, how well they regarded Religion, and the Peoples Liberties; let us see how much they endeavoured that generally wished for Peace.

† 1. Nov.
1642.

Did they not order, (*x*) that the King's Proclamation of Pardon, to all that would lay down Arms, and return to their Obedience, should not be Proclaim'd in **London** and **Westminster**? And, when divers Cittizens met at **Guild-hall**, to frame a Petition to present to the Members at **Westminster**, for Peace; was not there a Troop of Horse sent (*y*) amongst them; which, with their Swords drawn, and terrible Menaces, caused them to Disperse, for safeguard of their Lives; And afterwards, when a Committee of the Petitioners, were, by appointment, attending (*z*) the Court of Aldermen and Common Council at **Guild-hall**; did not more than Twenty Souldiers rush in amongst them with drawn Swords; Crying, *On, on, strike now or never: Let us destroy these Malignant Doggs, that would have Peace: Let us cut the Throats of these Popish Rogues:* And, accordingly fell upon the Petitioners in a cruel manner, beating and wounding divers of them. And, when the Petitioners (being many) disarm'd those Souldiers, and shut up the Hall Doors, was not there then a Troop of Horse which Discharg'd their Pistols in, at them; threatning to kill any that issued out?

† 8. Dec.

† 12. Dec.

And

And, did they not presently bring two great Guns and plant them against the Doors; so that the Petitioners were constrain'd to fly up to the Common-Council Chamber for Protection, and beg for their Lives, to be dismissed with safety. Which being granted, and they let out; did not many lye in wait for them, with drawn Swords; who pursued them with bitter Execrations; the Multitude kicking and striking at them, in their Passage; crying, *Hang them, cut their Throats.* Whereupon divers of them were fore hurt; and some drag'd to Prison.

Did not their House of Lords refuse (a) a Petition for Peace; from the Inhabitants of **Westminster** and the Suburbs? And was not there a Constable (b) in **Westminster** Committed for having a hand in that Petition?

17. Dec.

Mr. Carr
a Barbour.

And when His Majesties Commissioners of *Array*, in *Cheshire*, and the Parliaments Committee, in that County, for Exercising the *Militia*; out of an earnest regard, to prevent the Miseries of War in those parts, had made an Agreement against any farther Hostility; and to preserve the Peace of the Country; did not they at **Westminster** make a publick Declaration (c) against the same, whereby they Renounced that Agreement, as prejudicial and dangerous to the whole Kingdom; and declared it void? And was not Sir William Brereton thereupon sent down, in all hast, with a Troop of Horse, a Regiment of Dragoons, and four Field Pieces, for raising new Forces in that County, to serve the Parliament?

7. Jan.

And was not the like Revocation and Disclaymer (d) made by those Members at **Westminster**; against the Agreement in *York-shire*, by the Earl of *Cumberland* and others the Commissioners of *Array* there, for His Majesty; and the Lord *Fairfax* and others for the *Militia*?

4. Oct.

Was not Mr. *Nicholls* and *Prideaux* (two of their Members) ordered (e) to go down, to break the like Pacification, made by the Gentry and others, in the Counties of *Devon* and **Comwall**; notwithstanding that the Commissioners had taken a Solemn Protestation, and received the Sacrament for Observation thereof?

11. March.

And;

Anno 1642.

f 17. Jan.

Exact coll.

p. 893.

e 26. Jan.

b 27. Jan.

i 13. Martij.

k 8. Aug.

1643.

l 1. March.

1643.

Merc. Au.
lic. p. 869.

And, when His Majesty had sent (f) a Gracious Letter and Declaration to the Sheriffs and City of **London**, with Direction that it should be read in their Common Hall; was not there an Order, (g) in the Name of both Houses; to forbid their meeting, for to hear it Read? And divers Discharg'd by Order (h) of the Houses, who met accordingly?

Likewise, when His Majesty sent a Message to them for a Treaty, with free Trade; did not the Members in the House of Commons signify to the Lords, at a Conference, (i) that it would prove destructive to the Liberty of the Subject and to the Kingdom? And when the Women came (k) in great Numbers to **Westminster**, to cry for Peace; were they not beaten and abused, and three of them killed?

Were not there certain Propositions read in their House of Commons, which were found in Mr. Saltmarsh his Trunk near **Hull**; First, that all means should be used to keep the King, and his People from a suddain Union. Secondly to cherish the War, under the notion of Popery, as the surest means to engage the People. Thirdly, if the King would not grant their demands, then to root him out of the Royal Line, and collate the Crown upon some body else?

How hard a matter it was like to be, to obtain Peace from these Men, therefore, let Stephen Marshall tell you (whom Mr. Case stiled a great Teacher in Israel:) who, being in private conference (l) with Obediah Sedgwick, and one Alliston, and askt by Alliston whether it were possible to end the War by a Treaty?

No, (said he) we will never Treat, unless we may have all granted, which we formerly demanded. Nay, if the King should grant that now, we should not agree. For, if the King had put down Bishops and Cathedrals at first, we would have given him all their Lands: But should he do it now, we would not give him any of their Revenues. For we must have both Church-Lands and Delinquents Estates also; and all little enough to pay the Parliaments Debts, and recompence those, who have Suffered for us, and reward such as have laboured in our Cause.

Whosoever, therefore, observes their Demands, by those Propositions, presented (m) to His Majesty at **Oxford**, and the Passages of the Treaty at **Uxbridge** thereupon;

m 27. Nov.
1644.

thereupon; will find, that their Commissioners did not much swerve from Mr. *Marshals* Principles. And now I mention this *Treaty for Peace at Urbridge*; I cannot but take notice of a Memorable Accident; First, That, whereas the *Buckinghamshire-men*, were the first of all the Counties in this Kingdom, that came in a Tumultuous manner to *Westminster*, 11 Jan. 1641. with a Petition; on the behalf of the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members, (which gave Countenance to the many Exorbitant Practises, that after ensued) and had *Thanks* returned them by the two Houses. So were they the first County, that Attempted to *Petition for Peace*: But coming (n) towards *Urbridge*, in great Numbers, for that purpose; were by Authority of the Commissioners there, from those at *Westminster*, met by a Regiment of Horse, and Forced to return home with their Petition. Sir *John Lawrence*, one of the Principal of them, with others, being sent up to *Westminster*, and Committed to Prison, for going about to Exhibit such a *Malignant Petition*, as they call'd it.

n 13. Febr.
1644.

C H A P.

Anno 1642.

C H A P. XLVI.

The Practi-
ses of the
Rebellious
Barons.
temp. H. 3.



AVING now done with these Obser-
vations ; let us see what Resemblance
that great Rebellion of the Barons, above
four hundred Years since, had with this.
Touching which I shall chiefly make use
of what that Learned Antiquary, Sir Ro-
bert Cotton Kt. and Barronet (who died many Years since)

- hath written thereof, in that brief discourse of his, Intituled,
 *Impr. Lond. 1642.8^o. *A short view of the long Reign of K. Henry the third.*
- ^b Ib. p. 3. — No (b) other disquiet did the State then feel, but
^c Ib. p. 2. such as is Incident in all, Malice to Authority. — The Com-
^d Ib. p. 4. mons greedy of Liberty, the Nobility of Rule: — The (d)
 greatest in trust for publick Affairs being still shot at, by the as-
 piring of those, that doom themselves less in Employment, than
 they are in Merit. — That the Surfeit of a long Peace, per-
 chance having let in some abuses, from whence the Commons (to
 whom days present, seem ever worst) commend the foregon Ages
 they never remembred, and condemn the present, though they know
 neither the Disease thereof, nor the Remedy.
- ^e Ib. p. 5. — To (e) these Idle and usual Humours, fell in some of
 the Young and Noble Spirits ; who (being as truly ignorant as the
 rest) first, by sullyng the Wisdome of the present, and greatest
 Rulers (making each casual mishap their Errors) seem to deci-
 pher each Blemish in Government ; and then, by holding certain
 imaginary and phantastick Forms of Common Wealths, flatter
 their own Belief and Ability, that they can mould any State to these
 general Rules, which, in particular Applications, would prove
 Idle and Gross Absurdities. — Amongst (f) this Une-
^f p. 6. qual Medley, there were of the Nobility, Richard Earl of Pem-
 broke, Gloucester, and Hartford, Darlings of the Multi-
 tude : Some for the merit of their Fathers, whose Memories they
 held Sacred, as Pillars of publick Liberty, and Opposers of en-
^g Ib. .7. croaching Monarchy. — These (g) by force would effect,
 what the other did effect by Cunning.
- ^h l. 11. — The (h) Lords still frustrate of their Malicious ends,
 began to ~~son~~ on these late grounds of the Peoples Discontents,
 quærelas & ambiguos de principe sermones, & quoque
 alia

alia turbamenta Vulgi, and (i) took it up a fashion to endeare Anno 1642.
and glorify themselves, with the senseless Multitude, by depraving 1b p. 12.
the King's Discretion and Government.

Neither (k) was the Church without a busy part in this Tra- k 1b. p. 18.
gick Work: For Walter Bishop of Worcester, and Robert (l) 1 Ipsius con-
of Lincoln, to whom Mountfort and his Faction præcordiali- silio tracta-
ter adhærebant, were far engaged. In such Designs Church- bat ardua
men are never wanting, and the distast of the present Govern- tentabat du-
ment (as well in the Church as Common-Wealth) will ever be a bia, finivis
knot of Strength for such Unquiet Spirits; who as well framè inchoata. M:
to themselves some other form of Government than the present in Parif. p. 998:
the Church, as in the Temporal State; as that which with the
giddy Multitude winneth best Opinion, and did at this time sute
the Peoples Humours, so much distasting the new Courts of the
Clergy, their Pomp, &c.

A (m) fair Pretext was it to those Factionis Bishops, to use m 1b. p. 19.
their bitter Pens and Speeches, so far against Religious-Orders,
Ceremonies, and State of the Church; that one of them incurred
the Sentence of Excommunication at **Rome**, and Treason at
home: For he enjoined (n) the Earl of Leicester, in remissi- n M. parif.
one peccatorum, ut causam illam (meaning his Rebellion) p. 998:
usque ad mortem assumeret: Asserens pacem Ecclesiæ
Anglicanæ, nunquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari:
It was not the best Doctrine that this Man could plant by Liber-
ty or War, when the first Church rose by Fasting and Prayer.
True Piety binds the Subject to desire a good Sovereign; but to
bear with a bad one; and to take up the burthen of Princes with
a bended Knee; rather in time so to deserve Abatement, than re-
sist Authority,

To (o) Suppress these Troubles and supply the King's Extre- o 1b. p. 20.
mity, a Parliament (p) was called much to the liking of those p Parliam.
Lords, who as little meant to Relieve the King, as they did to Lond. Ann:
quiet the State; their end, at that time, being only to open at 1255. M.
home, the Poverty of their Master; to lessen his Reputation a- Parif. p. 904
broad, and to breath out their own Passions freely, whilst those
times of Liberty permit. Here they began to tell him, he had
wronged the Publick State, in taking (q) to his Private Ele- q M. Parif.
ction, the Justice, Chancelour and Treasurer, that should be on- Ann. 1255:
ly by the Common-Council of the Realm. p. 904.

— They (r) blame him, &c. to have hurt the Common- r 1b. p. 21:
Liberty by Non-Obstantes, in his Patents; to make good Mo-
nopolies for private Favourites, &c. And that Sir Robert

Anno 1642.

* *Gualt. Coventr.*

* *Ib. p. 23.*

Reg. Roff: Joh. de Wal. lingf.

* *Ib. p. 25. Claus. 46. & 47. H. 3. Anno. 1251.*

* *M. Parif. p. 807.*

* *Ib. p. 26.*

* *Ib. p. 27.*

* *An. 1258. M. Parif. p. 970.*

Insanum Parliamentum. Cokes Instit. part.

3. p. 2.

* *Ib. p. 28.*

* *M. Westm. 227, & p. 330, & 331.*

Passelew had torn from the Borderers of his Forest, under pretence of Inroachments or Assarts, great Sums of Money: And therefore they (f) wonder, that he should now demand relief from his so pill'd and poled Commons.

— Upon (t) new grant of the great Charter, admittance to his Council of some Persons Elected by the Commons, &c. They spare him such apittance, as must tye him to their Devotion for a new supply. Thus Parliaments which before were ever a Medicine to heal up any Rupture in Princes Fortunes, are now grown worse than the Malady; satyb from thence more Malignant Humours began to Reign in them, than well Composed Tempers.

— Before (u) the King would again submit himself, as he had the last Parliament, to so many strict Enquiries of his Disloyal Subjects, he meaneth to pass through all the shifts, that extremity and need, with greatness of mind could lay upon him, &c. Beginning with the Sale of Lands; and then of Jewels. — And, in the end, having not means to defray the Diet of his Court, was enforced to break up House, and with his Queen and Children, cum (x) Abbatibus & Prioribus satis humiliter Hospicia quesivit & prandia.

This (y) low Ebb gave great assurance to the Rebellious Lords, that they should now at last, have the Sovereign Power left a Prey to their Ambitious Designes: And to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more, than to see the King's Extremity constrain a Parliament: For at such times. Princes are ever less than they should be; Subjects more. To hasten on the time, and adapt the means, there are sown certain Seditious Rumors, that the King's Necessity must repair it self upon the Fortunes and Blessings of his People; that having nothing of his own left, he might, and meant to take of others: But (z) sceing still that Majesty and Right subsist not without means and power; and himself had of neither so much as would stop the present Breach in his own wants; or his Subjects Loyalties, he flyeth to the Bosom of his People for Relief and Council.

At **Oxford** (a) they met in Parliament; where his Necessities found so many undutiful demands, that he was forced to render up, to their Rebellious Will, his Royal Power.

Here (b) the Commons knowing, that Quum eligere inceperunt, they were loco libertatis, stood with the King to have the managing of the State, put (c) to the care of XXIV. (whereof XII. by their Election (whereto they look't strictly)

and

and the other by him, who in all things else was left as a Cipher. Anno 1644.

— **Dover** (d) Castle (the Key of the Kingdome) they had furnished (as most of the Forts of Reputation in the Realm) with Guardians of their own, sworne respectively to the State: And then, taking the like assurance of all the Sheriffs Bayliffs, Coroners, and other publick Ministers; searching the behaviour of many, by strict Commission upon Oath, to win Opinion in shew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions; whereas their end was truly (as it proved) by displacing the Faithful Subjects of the King, to open a way to their own Dependents. Thus, changing sole Power into the Rule of many, and those by popular Election, made the State believe, that by this form of limited Policy, they had utterly suppressed the Mind of Man for ever Dreaming more upon the Imaginary Humours of Licentious Sovereignty. But it fell out nothing so: For now every Man begun to estimate his own Worth, and to hammer his Head on every design, that might enlarge his Power and Command. Then began the great Men to rent from the Crown and Regal Seignories all such Royal Sutors as Neighbour'd any of their Seats, whereto (e) they Inforce their Service: And so (as the Record saith) *ad sectas indebitas, & servitutes intolerabiles, subditos Regis compulerunt.* Thus they made themselves, of so many Subjects, whilst they lived in Duty, *totidem Tyranni* (as the Book of St. Albans saith) when they had left their Loyalty.

Net etiam Rex, qui jam regnando quinquagesimus extiterat, pro umbra nominis habebatur. M. Westm. p. 328. ^d lb. p. 29. & 30.

Montfort, Gloucester, and Spenser (the Heads of this Rebellious Design) having by the late Prouisions, (f) drawn to the hands of the XXIV. Tribunes of the People, the intire managing of the Royal Estate; and finding that Power too much dispersed; to work the end of their Designs, (g) forced the King, again to call a Parliament, where they delivered the Authority of the XXIV. to themselves, and Created a Triumvirate (h) (non constituenda Reipublicæ causâ; as they first pretended) for their own ends: And so in the interest of some private contented, the publick was staid, but to make a speedier way to one of them (as it fatally did) to become Dictatores perpetuos.

^e Ibid. p. 31. *Magnas induxerunt Magnates, Regni super subditos Regis, servitutes & Oppressiones. Rot. 56. H. 3. in Scacc. ^f Provisiones Oxon. Ann. 1258.*

^g *Eluatis in Angliâ XXIV. capitaneis antedictis, ordinatisque sub ipsis in Regno & curiâ regiâ cunctis officialibus & ministris, fuerunt eis Parliamenta continua; sibi Escetas & wardas, ac filiis suis & nepotibus spectantes, ad patronatum Regis Ecclesias providerunt; &c. M. Westm. p. 331. ^h lb. p. 336.*

Anno 1642.

M. Westm.
p. 336.

These three Elect nine Councillors; and appoint, (i) quod tres, ad minus alternatim, semper in Curiâ sint, to dispose of the Custody of Castles, & de alijs regni negotijs, the Chief-Justice, Chancellor, and Treasurer, with all Offices, Majores & Minores, they reserve the choice of to themselves.

* Ib. p. 33.
c 34.

The (k) Lords, that had impeded their Wings with Eagles Feathers, and liked no gain, but what was raked out of the Ashes of Monarchy, made head against their Sovereign; and to mate him the better, called in some French-Forces. Thus the Commonwealth turned again the Sword into her own Bowels: And though these Men were more truly sensible of their own Design than of others Miseries; yet found they no better pretext for private Interest, than that of the publick: And therefore, at the entry of the Warr, they cried Liberty; although when they came near to an end, they never spake word of it.

At **Lewes** the Armies met. Where the King endeavours a Reconciliation, but in vain: For Perswasions are ever unprofitable, when Justice is Inferior to Force. The Sword decides the difference, and gave the King and Prince Prisoners. (l)

M. Paris.
p. 996.

* Ib. p. 35.

The (m) Person now, as well as the Regal Power, thus in the hands of Montfort and Gloucester, found neither bound of Security, nor expectation of Liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatness (which now began to break out between these mighty Rivals) gave hope of. For Montfort meaning, by ingrossing from his Partner to himself, the Person of the King; and to his Followers the best Portion of the Spoil; to draw more fruit from this advantage, than it should in Fellowship yield, dissolved the knot of all their Amity. Thus equal Authority, with the same Power, is very fatal (we see) to all great Actions: For to fit Minds to so even a Temper, that they should not have some motions of Dissenting, is impossible.

* Ib. p. 36.

The (n) King now at the Victor's Discretion, suted himself with incomparable Wisdome, according to the Necessity of the time: Neither did Humility wrong Majesty, when there was not other means to contain Spirits so Insolent, but Dissembling.

* Ib. p. 37.

— Leicester (a) is become a Darling of the Common Rout, who easily change to every new Master; but the best durst not Sail along his Fortune, by the Light of his Glory. Christal that fairly glistereth doth easily break: And as the Ascent of Usurping Royalty is slippery; so the top is shaking, and the Fall fearful. For by this time the Imprisoned Prince was escaped,
and

and fast assured of Gloucester, by the knot of his great Mind and Discontent: And both, with the torn remainder of the Loyal Army, United, and by speedy March, Arrived unlook't for, near **Evesham**, to the Unarmed Troops of the secure Rebels, whom they instantly Assailed; for it was no fit season to give time, when no time did assure so much, as Expedition did promise.

Dispenser (p) and other Lords of that Faction, made towards the King, with the best speed for Mercy; but could not break out, being hurried along the Storm with the giddy Multitude. Publick motion depends on the Conduct of Fortune; private on our carriage. We must beware of running down steep Hills with weighty Bodies; they once in motion, suo feruntur pondere. Stops are not then voluntary. But Leicester, at that instant with the King, and out of the storm, might have escap'd, if his Courage and Hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune; so that he could neither forsake his followers, nor his Ambition. Thus making adversity the Exercise of his Virtue, he came and fell.

Let us now in the next place observe, what ready Instruments the Londoners then were to promote that Rebellion of the Barons, with their just recompence for so doing. And next the Miserable Actors in that Bloudy Tragedy.

Matthew of Westminster (a credible Historian of that time) tells us; that after the King, encompassed with Forces of his Enemies in the Tower of **London**, was constrain'd to yield unto those Ordinances, which were made at **Oxford** by the Rebellious Barons: The Queen being very much troubled, endeavoured to pass from the Tower to **Windsore**-Castle (where the Prince then lay with considerable Forces) was Interrupted (q) by the Londoners, Reproach't with their Opprobrious Clamours, and basely driven back, with Stones and Dirt, which they threw at her from **London**-Bridge.

^q— Intercepta est à Londinensibus, & ab eisdem enormiter blasphemata et exclamata jactuque lapidum & luti subius ponte vilissimè repulsa. p. 315.

And the same Year, the King returning with his Army from **Deber**-Castle (which the Barons held against him) might have Surprized **Montfort** in **Southwarke** (which, doubtless had prevented that deluge of Blood that

Anno 1642. that afterwards was spilt) but that the *Londoners* with all their Power, came (r) out to his aid, and rescued him.

¹ — *Irruerunt Londinenses, quorum eoyda habuere Barones valde propitia, cum impetu fortitudinis magna, catenas frangunt, portas aperiuunt, & ad eum succurrendum cateruatim occurrunt. Ib. p. 317.*

— *Contra Leges & Canones, conscientias scismatis & erroris, trahentes secum, ad sui erroris fomentum, multos pseudo prophetas, lupos rapaces in ovium vestimentis; contra Christi vicarios, & Christum domini, Regem proprium murmurantes, non ut Spiritus sanctus eloqui, sed ut superioris potestatis abjectus obloqui dabit illis, M. Westm. p. 332. Ib. p. 334.*

¹ — *Instanter supplicarunt, ut primos istius Belli habere possint, & eventum rei sub dubio percipere. Anonym. Abbingd. fol. 119. a.*

² — *Omnibus ita terrorem incussit, quod illos, quos fuga non eruit, cruentatus & vibrans gladius interemit. M. Westm. p. 335.*

² Anon. Abbingd. f. 119. b. M. Paris. p. 995.

¹ M. Paris. p. 999.

of Churches; Robbing and Killing all manner of Persons, Christians and Jews; Fire and Sword without any distinction, of Sex, Age, or Order. Nay, so violently Zealous were they, for the Cause; that in the Battel of **Lewes**, these *Londoners*, desired (t) that they might undergo the first shock of the Fight, and the hazard thereof. And though it was the King's Unhappiness to lose the day, at that time: Yet got those Citizens nothing thereby: For the Valiant Prince *Edward*, charging (u) them with extraordinary courage, put them to the Rout, and pursued (x) their Rear divers Miles.

But, the next Year following, the Scene being chang'd by the happy overthrow of all those Barons in the Battail of **Evesham**, the King (by the Advise of his Parliament, held at **Winchester**) seized (y) the Liberties of these Rebellious Citizens, and Committed the chiefest of them to Prison; whose Redemption afterwards raised him no small Sum of Money; and to awe them the more, demolished their Bulwarks, and fortified the Tower of **London** against them.

² Virg.

— En (z) quo discordia Cives preduxit miscros?

Now

Now for *Montfort* (Earl of *Leicester*) the principal Actor in this great Rebellion, his Haughtiness was such, after the Battail of **Lewes**, that having the King and Prince his Prisoners; he not only seized all their Castles into his own hands, but disdaining *Clare* (Earl of *Gloucester*) by whose Assistance he became thus powerful, he disposed of the whole Kingdom, according as he list-ed; his Sons also Committing many intolerable Outrages: So that *Clare* (whose discontents inclined him to return to his Duty) consulting with the Lord *Mortimer*, how to pull down the pride of that insolent Rebel, contrived a means, for the Prince's Inlargement. Which succeeding accordingly (by his clear escape (a) from **Hereford**, to **Wigmore**-Castle) gave that Life to the rest of the Loyal Party; that with incredible celerity, they raised a Gallant Army; wherewith after he had Surprized the Earl of **Oxford**, and many other of the most eminent Rebels; with no less than thirteen Banners, at **Kenelworth**; he encountred *Montfort* himself; and his whole Army, the next day, (b) near **Evesham**; and giving them Battel, suddainly put a Period to their Usurped Authority. In which fight that great Rebel, with his Eldest Son *Henry*, being slain; his *Head, Hands, and Feet*; were cut (c) off by the fury of the Souldiers: And, though his Body, through the Charity of others, was Buryed in the Abby; the Common People out of high Indignation, towards him (who had been the Chief Instrument of Mischief to the whole Realm) dig'd it up, and carried (d) it to a more remote place; esteeming (e) it unworthy of Christian Burial, by Reason it had been so much infected with the Leprosy of Rebellion.

Neither did the judgment for his Iniquities terminate here; but pursued his two other Sons, *Guy* and *Simon*; who, being escap't out of Prison, got into **France**; and there, endeavouring to bring in Forrein Forces, ended (f) their Days in Misery.

As for his Complices, most of them perished in that Battail at **Evesham**: And the rest, excepting one, (g) were taken Prisoners, and disinherited: (h) But afterwards, through the King's Special Favour, restored (i) to their Lands, upon several Fines, according to the Measure of their Offences.

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^a In Vigiliâ
Tritit. M.
Parif. p. 997.
n. 50.

^b Pridic. Nô.
nas Aug.
Ann. 1265.

^c M. Parif.
p. 958. n. 50.

^d Anon. Abb.
f. 121. b.
& 122.

^e M. Westm.
p. 350. &
353.

^f Johannes
fit. Johannis:
Anon. Abb.
121. b.

^g M. Westm.
p. 339. &
340.

^h M. Parif.
p. 1002.

Anno 1642.

C H A P. XLVII.

The Parallel
of the Holy
League in
France.



THE *Holy League* in **France**, is so exact a Pattern of ours in **England**, as we have just reason enough to conceive, that the Contrivers of this Rebellion, did borrow the Plott from thence. All the main parts, and many of the Material Circumstances, being the same in both: Only the Scene is changed and the Actors divers.

The full Story of that League, would require a Volume, having been written at large by several Authors of note in sundry Languages; viz. By *Thuanus* in *Latine*; by *D'aubigny* and others in *French*: But by none better than *Caterino D'avila* in *Italian*, in that unparallell'd History of the Civil-Wars of **France**: Out of whose relation especially, I shall present to the Reader, a brief view of so much as concerns our present purpose, without filling the Margin, with Attestations from other Authors, where they concur with him: And but rarely making use of them by way of Supplement.

In the draught of this Parallel, I shall endeavour to observe the same method as in the former: First laying down the Original of that *League*: Then the manner, by which the Faction grew to that heighth of greatness, as they quite overtop'd and almost trampled upon the Crown. What use they made of this Usurped Power, quite contrary to their Pretences: And, lastly, how they fell from their vast hopes, and failed of their Ambitious ends. As also, by the way take notice of some such eminent Persons, and Circumstances, as may seem to have the neereft Resemblance with these of our times.

What hath been already observ'd of the main design of our *Covenanters*; viz. That it was long a working under ground, before it appeared in its true shape of *Rebellion*. That the first Seeds of it were sown in *Queen Elizabeth's* time; grew up in *K. James*; and came to perfect ripeness in *K. Charles* his Reign, is proportionably true of the
Holy

Holy-League. The first Platform of that, was laid in the time of K. *Charles* the Ninth, soon after the *Reformation of Religion* got footing in *France*. It broke out in K. *Henry* the third's time; and was, at last, suppressed by K. *Henry* the Fourth: So that it infested the Reigns of three Kings, no less than this of ours.

The cheif pretended occasion of it, was the *defence of Religion*; which, the Ring-Leaders of that Faction, did (if not conceive themselves, yet) labour to perswade the People to be in danger of utter Ruine, and Extirpation: And, that, by reason of some Indulgence and Toleration, (a) granted by *Charles* the ninth, and the Queen *Mother*, and continued by *Henry* the third, unto the *Huguenots*, or *Protestants*, who were as odious to them, as *Papists* were with our Men: though, the truth was those Princes did as intirely detest the Religion of *Protestants*, as the most zealous among ours, can do the *Papists*: And what they did in favour of them, was meerly to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom.

^a Davila
P. 75.

Before the *League* was fully hatch't, the State of that Kingdom was not much unlike this of ours, before the late Troubles. Some Grievances there were, which waited upon it into the World. For besides the Toleration of the *Huguenots*; which distasted the Zealots; the (b) greatness of some new Men at Court, bred an high discontent in divers of the Nobility: And the heavy Taxes, (c) and Impositions upon the Common-People, made them generally dissaffected with the present Government. And this Variety of Malignant Humors rising from several Springs, all met in the same Stream, and bent their course to the same common end, Innovation, and Subversion of the Establish't Government.

^b Ib. p. 348.

^c Ib. p. 349.

A *Parliament* (for so I shall take leave to call the general Assembly of the three Estates in *France*; not according to the modern use of the Word in that Country from whence this Kingdom borrowed at first, the name and thing, but in compliance with our own Language) was thought to be a sure Remedy at a pinch for settling the publick Distractions. And though such Assemblies had been long intermitted in that Realm, and the Kings of later time were grown out of love with them; as concei-

^d Ib. p. 43.

*convened together with such Supream Power, the Royal Authority, in the mean time, remained little better than suspended. Yet, upon a consultation had with a Council of Peers (like that of ours at **York**) and a motion from them to that purpose, Francis the second was content to call a Parliament (e) at **Orleans**, which was quietly Dissolved by his Death, before the States had done any thing, but only shew'd (f) their Teeth against the Protestants; taking (g) a solemn Protestation for Defence of their Religion; and by that excluding all others from any Vote in that Assembly.*

By the like exigence was *Henry the third* driven to have recourse to the like Remedy, which proved (indeed) worse than the Disease: For after his Intimation of a Parliament to Commence at (h) **Blois**, the Duke of *Guise*, and his Allies, laid the Foundation of the *League*; who being the most Popular and Powerful Subjects in the Kingdome, sought (i) by that means to *augment their own greatness, and secure the State of Religion, which was so straitly twisted with their Interests.*

This Duke, besides his Ambition, which prompted him sufficiently to those Turbulent Undertakings, had formerly received some disgust at Court, (not much unlike that of *Philip Earl of Pembroke*) for the Keys of the Pallace were taken (k) from him, and bestow'd upon the King of *Navarr*. With which disgrace he was extreamly vexed; and his Brother the Cardinal much more, though they cunningly Dissembled, and made a shew as if nothing troubled them, but the Toleration of and connivence at *Calvinisme*; by that means veiling their own Passions and Private Interests, with an honest Cloak, and colour of Religion. So, by little and little, the Factious among the great ones were confounded with the differences in Religion; and instead of *Male-Contents*, and *Guisards*, they put on the name of *Catholicks* and *Huguenots*; Parties, which under colour of Piety, ministred so much the more Pernicious Fewel to all the Succeeding Combustions and Troubles.

The *League* was ushered in with *Declarations*, *Remonstrances*, and *Protestations*, to the same effect, and much in the same Language with this of our *Covenanters*. (l)

¹ *D'aubignie Hist. univ. chelle Tom. 2. lib. 3. cap. 3. col. 824.*

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We the Princes, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Commons (Parties to that League) profess, that nothing but pure Zeal, and Sincere Devotion, which we bear to the Honour of God, his Majesties Service, the Publick Peace and Preservation of our Lives and Estates, together with the Apprehension of our utter Ruine and Destruction, hath necessitated us to this Resolution, which we are constrained to put on; for which we cannot any way be taxed, or traduced for Suspition of Disloyalty: Our Councils and Intentions having no other Design, but meerly the Maintenance, and Advancement of the Service of God, Obedience to his Majesty, and Preservation of his Estate. And, perceiving by what is past, that our Enemies have not, nor ever had any other aim, but to Establish their Errors in the Kingdom; to extirpate Religion, and by little and little to undermine the King's Authority, and totally alter the Government; we can do no less in discharge of our Honours and Consciences, than withstand the Sinister Designs of the Supream Enemies of God, and his Majesty by a common Covenant and Association; it being (m) no more than time, to divert and binder their Plots and Conspiracies, for all Faithful and Loyal Subjects to enter into a Holy Union, and Conjunction, which is now the true and only means left in our Hands by God, for restoring of his own Service, and Obedience to his Majesty.

Compare with this the Preface to the Covenant in the Declar. of the Lords and Commons.

22. Oct.

1642

Exact Coll. p.663.

m lb. coll.

827.

The chief Heads of the League, to which they swore, were either altogether, or in Proportion the same with those in our English Covenants, viz.

1. To Establish (n) Religion, the Law and Service of God, in its Pristine State, according to the form and usage of the Catholick Roman-Church (there, as of the Protestant Reformed-Church here.)

m lb. col. 830.

Et Davila

p.327.

2. As our Covenanters swore, in the second Article, to extirpate all Popery, Heresy, &c. So did the Leaugers Renounce (o) and abjure all Errors contrary to their Religion.

o Ibid.

3. As our Men, in the third Article, swore to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and to preserve the King's Person and Authority (but with a Reservation) in the Preservation

Anno 1642. and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom: So did they, to preserve Henry the third of that Name, and his Successors, the Most Christian Kings, in the State, Splendour, Authority, Right, Service, and Obedience, which are due unto him from his Subjects (but with this Abatement) according as is contained in certain Articles, which shall be presented unto him in the Parliament, which at his Coronation he swears to observe; with Protestation to do nothing contrary to what shall be proposed unto him, and ordained by the States. As also they swear to Reestablish in all the Counties of the Kingdom, their Ancient Priviledges, Preheminencies and Liberties.

4. As in the fourth Article of the Covenant, our Men Swear the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments by hindring the Reformation, &c. That they may receive condign Punishment (not in any ordinary way of Justice, according to the Law of the Land, but) as the Degrees of their Offences shall require or deserve: Or (in case they neither require nor deserve) as the Supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms, or others having Power from them shall think convenient. Just so, the Leaguers Swear, in case there shall be any hindrance, or Opposition in the fore-mentioned Particulars (preservation of Religion, &c.) by whomsoever it be made, all the Confederates shall employ their Lives and Fortunes, for the bringing of all such to Punishment; and that either by way of Justice, or of Arms, without any respect of Persons.

5. The like mutual defence of all that enter into their Covenant, and their constant Perseverance in it all the Days of their Lives; not to suffer themselves directly, nor indirectly, to be withdrawn by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion, or terror, &c. The promoting of it against all Impediments, and revealing of all Designes to the contrary. which our Men Swear in the first Article. Just so the Leaguers protest, (p) that, if any of their Confederates shall be molested or troubled, all the rest shall be bound to Revenge his Cause, against any Person whatsoever; and to discover whatsoever they shall know Prejudicial to their Association, they Swear (q) by Almighty God, and promise upon their Lives and Honours, to continue in this League, even to their last drop of Bloud, and not to depart from it, or go against it, upon any Command, Pretence, Excuse, or Occasion whatsoever.

^p Davila p. 328. D'au-
bignie col. 831 & 832.

^qIb. col. 827.

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6. As ours profess in each Article, to take the Covenant Sincerely, &c So each of them Swears, (r) that he enters into this Holy League Loyally and Sincerely. ^{1b.}

7. As our Men, in the close of the Covenant, did make a general Confession of their Sins, and Profess and Declare, before God and the World, their unfeigned desire to be humbled for them, and to amend their Lives in all Duties they owe to God and Man; and each one to go before another in the example of a real Conuersation; and likewise invite other Christian-Churches to joyn in the same, or like Association and Covenant with them. So did the Leaguers in the close of their Declaration, intreat (s) all Persons, of what condition soever, not yet confederate with them; that they would fauour them, and to their Power assist them in the Execution of so good and holy a work: Professing they will receive into their Association, all good Men, that have a Zeal to the Honour of God and his Church, and to the Welfare and Reputation of Religion. Concluding thus; (t) ^{1 Davila p. 387.} ^{1b, p. 388.}

Seeing of necessity all our help must come from God, we intreat all good Catholicks, to put themselves in good condition to Godwards, and be Reconciled to his Divine Majesty by a thorough Reformation of their Lives, so to appease the Wrath of God, and to call upon him with an upright Conscience, both in publick and private Prayers, and Devotions; to the end that all our Actions may be referred to the Honour of God and his Glory, who is the Lord of Hosts, and from whom alone we look for strength, and certain deliverance.

And the Parliament at **Bloys**, though at the first meeting, it seem'd to concurr in the same intentions with the King; yet the effect was nothing less: For it was an Assembly packt up of Persons disaffected to the present Government; the (u) greatest part of the Commissioners of Shires, being such as had underhand Subscribed the League, and had given themselves up, to be guided by the Councils of the Duke of Guise. Besides the Knights or Commissioners of divers Counties, and the Burgesses of several Cities, were either not returned, or neglected to come, or were departed: And therefore the Prince of Conde, when certain of their Members were sent unto him, with a Message ^{1b, p. 335.}

sage

*Anno 1644.** *Ib.* p. 339.

sage in Writing, as from the States-general, or Parliament, he refused (x) to open the Letters, or to acknowledge them to be a Parliament; affirming, that such a Congregation as that, where the Commissioners of so many Cities, Shires, and Counties were wanting; in which they went about to force Mens Consciences, to Oppress and Extirpate the Total Line, and Violate the Prerogative of the Crown of France, to comply with the Humours of some Strangers, whose Hearts were set on Fire with an unsupportable, and Pernicious Ambition, could by no means be call'd a Parliament; being indeed nothing else but a Conventicle, of a few Suborned Persons, corrupted by the Disturbers of the publick Peace.

* *Ib.* p. 329.
& 367.

If we consider the quality of the Persons engaged in that League, we shall find them much of the same make with these of ours. They were principally of two much different sorts; the first, (y) for the most part, consisted of Noblemen, and Persons of Quality; such as were ill satisfied with the Power and greatness of the King's Dominion, and could not endure to see themselves past by, in the disposal of Preferments, and Court-Favours; and therefore sided with the Faction, partly out of discontent, and partly out of hopes of Innovation; thinking, that by putting down the present, that they should raise their private Fortunes to a better condition; and at last arrive to the height of their Desires.

* *Ib.* p. 396.

The second sort (z) whereof the League was Composed, were Persons, who for Quality seemed to be much inferior to the former; but for use and profit were not a whit below them. For these were they that won the Cities, the common People, and the Tradesmen, generally over all the Kingdom. These, for the most part, were Men of a free and good nature, passionately affected to the Catholick Faith, and most intestine haters of the Huguenots: Some of them believing in good earnest, that their Religion was in danger of utter Ruine. Others desirous to see the destruction of Heresy, did not only readily engage themselves in the League in their own Persons, but contributed their utmost endeavours to draw on the common People, and to win others to the Faction. With these fell on (as a third sort) some of the long Robe (Preachers and Lawyers) who, under colour of Religion, did hide either their fickle and inconstant nature, or their Ambitious, or Covetous Desires of their own Greatness and Preferment.

To which we may add a fourth sort of Men ; which were moved, either out of private Spleen against some Court-Favourites ; or were drawn in, to side with the *League* meerly upon their fair Pretences ; never dreaming that their aimes were against the King or the Government. With which bait some Wise Men were allured into the snare ; among whom *Villeroy* the chief Secretary of State was one, and *Brissonus* Premier President of the Parliament of **Paris**, another, the former entring himself one of the *League*, out (a) of a private grudge to the Duke D'Esperson, desired the Duke of Guise's Faction might prevail, that Espersons might be abated ; never imagining, nor could he ever believe, that the *League* would ever attempt any thing against the King's Person, but only had an aim to cashiere his Minions, and endeavour to extirpate the Huguenots. The later, (b) though he had been at first a principal Instrument for the *League*, fell off, when he perceived, that the ends of the King-leaders were not so sincere for the publick good, as he at first had fancied.

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Ib. p. 497.

Ib. p. 796.

And divers other there were (as there will be in all Factions where great Men are engaged) who adhered to that Party ; not out of any ends, or Inclinations of their own, but by reason (c) of their Alliance with, or dependence on the House of *Lorrein*, and other chief Men of the *League*.

Ib. p. 518.

Having thus laid the grounds of their *League* upon these fair Pretences to gull the People, their means of advancing it were such, as our Men have transcribed from their Copy : Not any thing of moment having been used here, which was wanting there, to increase their own, and undermine the King's Power and Authority. They had (d) their Feares and Jealousies of dangerous Plots against their Persons at home ; of Designs to seize upon the City of **Paris** ; to overawe them by armed force, and put an hundred of the chief to Death ; of Practises with Forrein Princes against them and their Religion ; and of suddain Invasion intended from abroad. They had Reports broacht (f) upon no grounds, and Tumults (g) raised in the City, upon no other occasion than those Reports. They had their Preachers (h) to amaze and fright the People out of their Witts, by Strange and Miraculous

Ib. p. 385.

Ib. p. 494.

Ib. p. 457.

Ib. p. 482.

& 367.379.

Anno 1642.

¹ *Ib.* p. 349.

lous Stories, and out of their Allegiance, by traducing and inveighing against the present Government. They had (i) their Scandalous Libels and Pictures first Published in the City, and thence dispersed abroad to Poison the Countrey

¹ *Ib.* p. 384.
See the like
of our men.
Exact Coll.
p. 100. 197.
& 259.

They neglected no means of courting and winning the Common-People, by rubbing up their sores of new Taxes and Impositions, and promising relief unto them, by crying (k) up the *Fundamental Laws, and Liberties of the Subject*, by rendring the King's Person contemptible, and his Actions Odious in the Eyes of his People, letting forth *Declarations and Remonstrances* of the State of the Kingdom, of such a tenor, as it will be no new thing to Translate what they at *Westminster*, have in a manner, already done to my hand.

They wounded the King's Honour, through the sides of his Councillers; they stained the sincerity of his Professions, and Protestations in point of Religion; they went about to supplant his just Power and Authority, by their new and insolent demands (such as those of ours in the *Nineteen Propositions.*)

¹ *Ib.* p. 329.

² *Ib.* p. 336.

Whil'st (l) they seem'd to maintain his Authority, they rob'd him of it, transferring it wholly to the head of their *League*. And though their Parliament (in that point more moderate than ours) waived that antient Question, and would not contend about it; viz. *Whether the King or the Estates concerned in Parliament be Superior* (a point determinable by the very form of holding Parliaments, and ever carried by the King in all former times) yet, they thought fit to Petition the King, that for the more expedition, and general satisfaction of all differences, he would please to make choice of a certain number of Judges, such in whom the States might confide; who, together with *XII* of their Members, might hear and receive the several motions from the several Estates: And whatsoever those Judges and *XII* Commissioners should jointly agree upon, to have the force and strength of a Law, without any Power (in the King) to alter or repeal it.

When this would not be granted by the King, upon grave reasons of State, which we need not here set down; the Heads of the Faction and their Adherents, took

took (n) a new course, to restrain the King's Power, by proposing that the number of the Kings Council should be limited to X X I V. (the very next number, which our Lords and Commons, in the second of their Nineteen Propositions, (o) would limit his Privy-Council to; viz. not to exceed X X V.) and they to be chosen, not by the King, at pleasure, but by every County of the Kingdom.

ⁿ Ib. p. 341.
342.
^o Junii. 2.
1642.

They required, (p) that all Moneys to be raised upon the Subject by way of Subsidy, or Impost, should be employed for the defence of the Kingdom; and that by all means, a Free-Parliament should be called (q) every three years, at the least, with full Power to any Man, to present his Grievances to the States so Assembled.

^p Ibid. p.
^q 386.

They charged (r) upon the King his Oath taken at his Coronation; not only to be obliged to preserve the Antient Laws, and Liberties of the Subject; but such better Laws and more Commodious, as should be presented unto him.

^r Ib. p. 327.
328, & 382.

Their first *grand Remonstrance* of the State of the Kingdom, was cast in the same Mould with that of ours: Which, though it were the Contrivance but of a few chief Men of the *League*; yet was it published in the name (s) of all the Lords and Commons of **France** (only signed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whom they made a Stale to their Ambition.) [By this they declared, (t) that **France** had been miserably tormented by a *Pestiferous Sedition* raised for the Subversion of the antient Religion of their Fore-fathers: That (u) no Remedies had been applied, but such as were more proper for nourishing than curing the Disease: That the Catholick Religion being in great danger, it was most necessary to take some speedy prudent course, for prevention of the imminent ruine thereof: That Agents were sent to practise with the Protestant Princes of **Germany**, for Suppressing the Persons of Honest Men, and pulling down the Catholick-Religion; and an endeavour to destroy the great Men, who had the principal places of Honour: That (x) the King's Favours (whose Majesty was and ever should be Sacred to them) and Government of the State, were engrossed by such, who had drained his Coffers, and placed Officers in the Exchequer, for their own private advantage: That though some Rays of hopes appeared by that As-

Compare with this the third *Remonstrance*, made by the Members at *Westminster*.
Exact. Coll. p. 268.
^s Ib. p. 385.
^t Ib. p. 382.
^u Ib. p. 383.

^x Ib. p. 384.

sembly of the States-General at **Bloys** (the antient Remedy for all Domestick-Wounds) yet, after their great Labours and Expences in that meeting, no Fruits were Reaped; by reason of the evil-Council of those Men, so dissaffected to God, and the good of the Common-Weal: So (y) that the abuses, which by little and little, at first stole upon them, did then burst in, like an Impetuous Torrent, ready to overwhelm the Kingdom; the Church of God being prophaned, the Nobility scorn'd and vilified, and every day oppress'd with Innumerable Grievances, and Illegal Exactions.

Compare with this the Answer of the Members at Westminster to his Majesties Message of XI. Sept. 1642. Exact coll. p. 587. *Ib. p. 386.

And, that upon these just Causes and Considerations, they declared; that they had all sworn and religiously promised to stand upon their Guard, that the Church of God might be restored to her Honour; the true Christian-Catholick Religion Established; the Nobility enjoy their Liberty entirely as they ought; the People relieved, and all new Impositions abolished.

Compare with this the Declaration of the Members at Westminster Aug. 1642. Exact Coll. p. 491.

And, that these were the occasions (z) of their taking up Arms, for rescuing the Kingdom of **France** from ruine, the preservation of good Men, and punishment of bad; and for the security of their own persons; there being no other means left to preserve themselves, and turn away the Knife from their own Throats; which yet they would not make use of, if their Estates only were in danger, and the Subversion of Religion, and State of the Kingdom were not inseparably joined with their own; for the preservation of which, they should not fear any hazard; concluding, that they could not choose a more Honourable Grave, than to spend their Lives in so Holy a Cause; so just a Quarrel in discharge of that Duty and Obligation, which they owed as good Christians to the Service of God, and as good and Loyal Subjects, to oppose the Subversion of which the State, must naturally follow the alteration of Religion. Protesting that they did not take up Arms against the King their Sovereign Lord; but for the guard and just defence of his Person, his Life and State, for whom they had promised and sworn to hazard their own Lives and Fortunes to the last drop of their Blood; and to lay down Arms so soon as it should please his Majesty to remove the danger, which threatned the ruine of the Service of God and so many good Men — Intreating (a) all that were not Confederate with them, to favour their Designs, and to assist them by their Power, in the Execution of that good and Holy Work.

*Ib. p. 387. Compare with this their Declaration July. 1642. Exact Coll. p. 464.

Exhorting

Exhorting all Towns and Corporations, as they tendered their own preservation, to judge uprightly of their Intentions; and to consider what benefit and repose would accrue unto them; and so doing, to put their hands to that good work: Declaring, that they would not use any act of Violence, but against such as should oppose them, and by other undue means favour their Adversaries; which sought to ruine the Church, and Subvert the State: Assuring every Man, that their Holy-Armies should do no Man any wrong, or oppression, whether in passing or staying in any place; but should live orderly, and pay for all they took: Protesting (b) never to lay down Arms, till they had fully Executed all the Premises, but rather die with a willing Heart; desiring to be Intombed in a Monument, Consecrated to the last of French-Men, who died in Arms, for the Service of God and their Country.

See their Declaration for inviting the Scotts 7 Nov. 1642.

At which time they were so high in their own Opinions, and their Conceits of the Peoples Inclinations; that, in this Declaration (as an argument to win every Man to their Party) they Invited (c) all, to put to their helping hands to their good Design; which, by the Grace of God (as they said) could not choose but prosper.

See the like Expressions by those at Westminster in their Declaration. in Answer to his Majesties Message Aug. 1642. Exact Coll. p. 585. And the Covenant taken by both Houses 15th Junij. 1643.

Sutable whereunto, our Men, to affright such from their Loyalty, as they could not perswade; told (d) them, that they had brought their work to such an height and degree of Success, that nothing seemed to be left in their way, able to hinder the full accomplishment of their desires, unless God in his Justice should send a grievous Curse upon them.

1643. 1b. p. 387. Declar. 19th May. 1641. Exact Coll. p. 213.

And, (e) as the Leaguers, backing the words of their Remonstrance, with Actions of no less efficacy, began immediately upon it; to impatronize themselves of many Cities and Strong-holds; partly by underhand Practises, and partly by open force; such were **Tull** and **Verdune** (the first Citties in France, that cast out the Kings Officers, and received the Leaguers) so did ours possess themselves of **Hull** and **Plymouth**, and other places of Strength, which tended so much to the advancement of their Design.

1b. p. 388.

When therefore the Leaguers had by these Subtilties wrought the People out of Opinion with the King; and him out of his Power over his Subjects: When (m) he could not with satisfaction to himself, neither joyn with the Huguenots, nor give content to the Leaguers; waiting

^m D'Avila p. 381.

Anno. 1642. to make use of such Council as time should Minister unto him, his Affairs going on but a slow pace, he stood rather to justify himself, than to stop the Progress of the Confederates. And, when he was assured from all parts, at the same time, of raising Forces, and frequent meetings of Men in Arms, he did no more than set forth an Edict; (n) wherein, after the usual Preamble, he protested his earnest desire of the Publick Tranquility; and, by all good means to provide for the ease of his People. In which, perceiving, that some who were Enemies of their Peace, did labour to oppose him; He therefore straitly prohibited all Levies, and gathering together of Souldiers; Commanding that their Leaders should be Apprehended, and Prosecuted according to Law. By which he gained no more but this; viz. That by the continuing of their Levies, it did then sufficiently appear who were his Enemies.

Compare
with this his
Majesties
Proclamati-
ons of May
27. and June
18. 1642.
Exact Coll.
p. 301 &
367. & q. d. f.

• Ib. p. 382.
Compare
this with his
Majesties
Proclamati-
on of Aug.
10. 1642.
Exact Coll.
p. 510.

Thus did the *Leaguers* get the Start of the King, in their warlike Preparations; and it was long before he could perswade himself to prepare for his Defence: But being at last necessitated (o) to make other Provisions (than Proclamations) more suitable to the exigency of the times; after much doubting, and deliberation, he resolved to resist the force and practises of the *League*, as well as he could, without any Intelligence or Assistance from the *Huguenots*; hoping that he should be able of himself to curb them. But scarcely had he begun to put this deliberation in Execution, than that he discovered the weakness of his Councils, in that of his Forces.

The Lord of *Truery* had raised for him Ten Thousand *Switzers*: But the Counties of *Burgundy*, *Champaine*, and *Lyons*, being all possess'd by them of the *League*, there was no passing for them that way. The Count of *Scomberg* was sent to hire some *German-Horse*; but in his passage thither, through those Counties, he was seized on and Committed to Prison by the Duke of *Lorrain*. Nor did the Kings business go on much better at home than abroad: The Nobility divided, partly by reason of their Religion; and partly by antient Feuds, (newly divided by these Dissentions,) came but slowly in to the King. The Peo-
ple

ple generally disaffected, did not concur to the relief of his wants : The Revenues of the Crown, not only stoppt by noise of War ; but purposely Interrupted and seized (p) upon by the Heads of the Faction, were utterly decayed, so as the Sinews of War were wanting on all sides to the Kings Party. Those of the *League* therefore perceiving with what difficulties the King wrestled ; began with great earnestness to gather Forces, and to put in Execution the Plot they had laid long before.

The King having, as yet, nothing to oppose them but his Pen, was necessitated to imploy it, in vindication of himself from those Imputations, which were thrown upon his Government, and in their *Manifesto's* reflected upon his Person. To which he publisht an Answer (q) wherein, having first inform'd his People ; that though he had several times heretofore, both by his Letters and Commands ; admonished them, not to suffer themselves to be perswaded or perverted by such as endeavoured to raise Insurrections amongst them, and to draw them into their Party ; and, by so doing to turn them out of the ways of Peace : And had also proffered and promised Grace and Favour to all such as being already engaged, should return to their Obedience, after they should truly understand his Intentions : Nevertheless, with great grief of Heart, perceiving ; that notwithstanding his Commands and Gracious Advertisment, some of his Subjects did not forbear to engage themselves in that Faction, being drawn into it by several Interests : But the most of them purely transported and blinded with the fair and specious Colours, which the Authors of those Seditions put upon their Designs ; he thought it a part of his Duty, for the general benefit of all his Subjects, and in discharge of his Conscience to God, and Honour to the World, to oppose the clear light of the Truth to those Artifices of his Adversaries : To the end that his Subjects, being guided by the clearness of that Light, might in time, and without any Impediment, discern and know the grounds and ends of those Troubles ; and, by that means avoid the Miseries and Calamities, both publick and private, which were like to grow upon those Commotions.

Anno 1642.

The like did the Members at Westminster by several Orders of 21 Jan. and 26 Nov.

1642 and by an Ordinance 21 Sept. 1643 10 Dec. 1643 10 Oct. 1643 10 p. 390

After this Preface, he proceeds to shew the Vanity of their Pretences, and to remove the occasions of their *Fears* and *Jealousies*.

^bp.391. First in point of *Religion*, appealing (*r*) to his own constant practise of, and endeavours for the *Religion Established*; the dangers and hazards he had undergone for the defence of it: That (*s*) he should not refuse to consent to any Laws for the securing of it, so they were just and possible in themselves, and profitable for his Subjects. Nor did he refuse any that were offered to him, by the Parliament at **Wloys** in favour of it. Nor (*t*) did there ever any the least thought enter into his Heart of Countenancing Heresy in his Dominions.

¹lb.p.393.
Compare with this, his Majesties Answer to the Petition, which accompanied the grand Remonstrance Dec.

1641.
Exact Coll. p. 23.
And his Declaration. Exact Coll. p.26.

¹lb.p.392.
Compare with this his Majesties Declar. De.

1641.
Exact Coll. p.25.26.27.

&c.
¹lb.p.393.
²lb.p.395.

Secondly, in point of Justice and Defence of the Laws, he shewed what he had done, since his coming to the Crown, in favour of it; what good Laws and Constitutions he had made, and how desirous he had been that they should be observed: But, if any default were in the Execution of them, the blame must rest upon his Officers, not upon him; whose particular care (*u*) had been so great for the Rebuilding of those two Pillars, *Religion* and *Justice*, which the violence of former times had (*x*) pull'd down, and Level'd with the ground.

He likewise intreated all his Subjects, to open their Eyes, and consider the dangerous Consequences of these Wars, which would not be ended so soon as they imagined; and not to stain their Loyalty, by suffering themselves to be made Instruments of their Countries, ruine to their Enemies advancement.

Thirdly, as touching the disposal of places of Honour, and trust in the Kingdom, first he stood upon his Prerogative; that, as all his Predecessors, so he might freely confer such places upon whom he pleased, being not restrained by any Law to make choice of one more than another: Appealing to the People, how groundless that Calumny was, when they might see those that most complained, and were the Authors of those Troubles,

bles, (y) to be such as had been most preferred by him.

Observe this rightly parallel'd in the Earls of Northumb. Essex, Holland, the L. Say, Kimbolton, Sr. Hen. Vane, Mr. Oliver, St. John, and divers others.

Fourthly, for the Grievances of the People, he professed (z) he had already begun, and promised his continuance to relieve them.

^z Ib. p. 396.

Fifthly, for the secret Plots and Conspiracies, which the Heads of the Faction pretended to be laid against their Persons; for preventing whereof they said they were enforced to take up Arms; his Majesties known Clemency might sufficiently secure them from any on his part, who was naturally so far from all desire of revenge, that no Man living had ever the least cause to complain of him in that respect, notwithstanding what ever Provocation he had from any. But very many have had sufficient proof of his natural Bounty, and Mercy: Therefore his Majesty prayed, and intreated the Heads of that Faction to Disband their Forces; to relinquish their League, and return to their Duty and Loyalty; and so doing he promised to receive them into his favour.

But after the King and the Leaguers had for a long time bandied Writing, one against the other, they so far incensed (a) each other, that it was now full time, either to come to Action, and not to multiply any more words. The (b) Forces of the Kingdom, which adhered to the King were very weak; for he had not time sufficient to ripen his Designs, being prevented by the sagacity and forwardness of the House of Guise; his own Followers and those of his Favourites, were divided; some taking one part, some another: And those which stood with the Royal Authority, were very cold and slow, their Courages being much daunted by the bold attempts of the Confederates: Nay some of the King's own Party, and who had been highly favoured and preferred by him, were revolted (c) from him to the League.

^a Ib. p. 397.

^b Ib. p. 398.

^c Ib. p. 399.

Was not his Majesty thus used by the Earls of Salisbury, Monmouth, Westmorland, the L. Coventry and others?

But that which Afflicted the King above all, was his feares of the City of Paris (a just Parallel of our London) which was indeed the Head of the Kingdom; but a Head so great and Powerful, that which way soever it inclined,

inclined, it was sure to turn the Scales. This City was not only united with the general *League*, but had entred into a particular *League* and *Covenant* amongst themselves: And, having secretly provided themselves of Arms, was ready to revolt upon the first occasion; and if need were to seize upon the Kings Person, which very much troubled him: For, if he should stay in **Paris**, he could not do it without great danger to himself, being liable to every affront from the inconsiderable headiness of the Multitude: And if he should abandon it, it was sure to revolt.

^d Ib.

To secure his stay there, he was therefore forced to call (*d*) all the Souldiers of his Ordinary Guard to their Colours; and farther made choice of forty five Gentlemen, in whom he could repose confidence, whom he maintained at the charge of an hundred Crowns a Month, besides their Expences at Court, to attend continually upon his Person: Yet, for all this he lived in continual Jealousies, and Affliction of Mind, seeing himself upon such an Head-strong Beast, as was not possible for him to manage: Wherefore he endeavoured all fair means of accommodation with the *Leaguers*, profering them all security.

^e Ib. p. 437.
^f In Decem-
ber. Anno.
1641.

The City of **Paris** erected (*e*) a new Council of Sixteen (as **London** new-moulded (*f*) theirs) which were the most intersted and affected to the *League* (according to the number of Wards in that City) who were to manage all the affairs and dispose the minds of the People; with whom were joined one of every Mistry in the City, who made their Addresses to, and received their Orders from the *Sixteen*; as well concerning the defence of the City, and Service of the *League*, as to counterpiose the Kings Designs.

^g Ib. p. 457.

When there was no hopes of accommodation left with the *Leaguers*, the King began (*g*) to raise Forces too; and summon'd all the Nobility to assist him. Wherein he met no where with so much Opposition, as from the Turbulent Citizens of **Paris**, where the *Preachers* and Council of *Sixteen* never ceased to provoke and incense the

the People, and raise frequent Tumults in the City, so as the Magistrates was set light by, and trod under foot, with danger of an open revolt, which those Men desired and endeavoured. Nor did it stand with the present condition of the King to chastise the Authors of those Tumults, for fear of ministring any occasion to the City of revolting from him. Whereupon they Multiplied their Practises with much boldness, which had (doubtless) arrived at that end, which the *Leaguers* designed, but that the fear (b) of the *German-Army*, and the Kings *Protestation*, and *Oath* for defence of Religion against the *Huguenots* (which he had solemnly taken upon New-years day 1587.) did contain them within some bounds of Moderation. ^h Ib. p. 447.

The King therefore, having (i) with great Dexterity ^h Ib. p. ^k 457. and Moderation, many times stilled those Reports, which had been raised on no grounds; being likewise heartily vexed at the Ringleaders of those Tumults, but deeply concealing his Passion, left (k) the Lord *Villaclere* to be Governour, and the Queen-Mother Regent in **Paris**; and departed thence about the end of *July*, 1587.

Thus was that King driven from **Paris** by the Tumults.

The House of *Lorraine* (who were the prime Men in the *League*) putt up with the Opinion of their own Power, forgot all Moderation, and spread their Sailes to vast hopes; talked of nothing, but utter extirpation of the *Huguenots*; of deposing the King, and thrusting him into a Cloyster (as they found in Stories that King *Chilperick*, had been served:) of expelling all Favourites from the Court; sharing the great places of the Kingdom amongst themselves, and Governing all **France** as they pleased. And so high were they in their own Conceits, that their Councils were not bounded, either by Justice, or Possibility. For supposing all things to be now in their own hands, they imagined their Merit to be such, as they might lawfully undertake, and their Power no less, as that they might easily perform, any the highest and most advantageous atchievement what soever.

¹ See their third Remonstrance Exact Coll. p. 265.

What was this other, than, as our Men told his Majesty, *If they should make the highest Precedents of former Parliaments their Patterns, it would be no Breach of Modesty: To which purpose they caused, or suffered those Infamous Stories of King Richard the Second's time, to be Published in Print.*

Davila p. 481.

ⁿ Like the Petition for the *Militia*, and the XIX Propositions. Exact Coll. p. 59. & 307.

When all their Plots were now ripe, and they in readiness for Execution; they took the very same course, and upon the very same Grounds, as our Men did actuate their Designs; which was (forsooth) by an *Humble Petition*. (m) For they agreed, that the Duke of *Guise*, and other Lords of the *League*, should not immediately set upon the King with open force: But to make a shew, as if the nature of the Affairs themselves, did carry them on to their Designed end, they should present a Petition, which should contain many demands, very advantagious to themselves; and such as would necessitate the King to declare himself to the full. For if he granted their Requests without more ado, than they had their end, but if he should hold off, and be unwilling, than he would give them occasion to make use of their Armes; and to take that from him by force, which he was not willing to part with of his own accord.

Exact Coll. p. 102.

ⁿ *Davila* p. 482.

* See the like demands by the Members at Westminster in their Propositions Exhibited to his Majesty 23 Nov. 1644.

The chief Heads of their Petition (presented to the King, by the Duke of *Guise*) after many Preambles and Reasons couched together with a great deal of cunning, were these; *viz. That the King would cordially Joyn with the League for Extirpation of the Huguenots [His Majesty join with his Parliament, for defence of Religion] That he would dismiss from his Privy-Council, and other places of Trust and Command; and from the Court, and their several places, all such Persons as they should name; such as were suspected by them [Such as they could not confide in, disaffected to the Catholick Religion] That (n) he would grant the Confederates some places of Strength, wherein they might place Garrisons for their own security, and those to be maintained at the charge of the Crown. That an Army should be maintained on the confines of **Lorein**, to hinder any Forreign Invasion, and that to be commanded by one of the Confederates [This the *Militia* * just] That he would confiscate and cause to be sold, all the Goods of the Huguenots*

Huguenots [Papists and Prelates] and with the price of them, defray the Charges of the former War, and help to maintain the Leaguers for the future.

And in their Articles of Treaty at Edenborough 29.

Nov. 1643.

To this Petition, which was presented to the King, in the beginning of *February*, Anno. 1588. his Majesty was not hasty to return an Answer; nor did the Duke of *Guise* much desire it, because the ends of their Demands, were only to make the King contemptible, and odious to his People, as also suspected as a Favourer of Hereticks: And, in the mean time to give occasion to the *League*, to rise in Arms, and Prosecute their Designs, while Fortune smiled upon them.

A full Relation at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. p. 6. & p. 72.

The (o) Citizens of **Paris** being led away by their new Council of Sixteen, could no longer endure the Kings Government; but were full of Scandalous Libels, politick Discourses, Satirical Verses, and feigned Stories, wounding the Kings Honour. The Preachers likewise, after their usual manner, but with more freedom, speaking against the present State of things, filled the Peoples Eares with new, strange, and miraculous Stories. Which poison being derived from the City of **Paris**, as from the Heart, spread abroad into all other parts of the Kingdom; all Counties being possess'd with the like Impressions in favour of the *League*, and disadvantage of the King.

° Ibid.

The (p) Duke of *Guise*, purposing to derive all the Kings Authority upon himself and his Adherents, applyed himself mostly to the *Parisians*, being inform'd by the *Sixteen*, that the City was at his Devotion, with Twenty Thousand Armed Men, under Sixteen Commanders of their several Companies, ready for any Employment. But not confiding in those Commanders, he thought fit to lessen the number, and sent them five Captains to regulate and Command the Popular Arms; viz. *Brissac*, *Boisdaufin*, *Chamois*, *Escaroles*, and Colonel *St. Paul*; with whom was joined the Lord of *Menevil*, as the prime instrument of the Plot.

° Ib. p. 483.

And, though the King, in his own Person, was a most Rigid Opposer of the *Huguenots*, and none more Zealous in his Religion than himself; yet did they defame him to the People, as a Favourer of *Hereticks*; yea and to For-

rein Princes too; *Traducing him* (saith *Thuanus*) (q) *who was otherwise a most intestine Enemy to the Protestant cause, both in France, and with Forreign Princes, as if what he did for the Peace and Quiet of his Kingdom, he had done it in favour of the Protestants.*

¹ *Hist. Lib.*
85. *Anno.*
1586.

Touching the point of *Placing and Displacing Councillors*; as their Demands and Colour for them, were alike with our Mens; so was the Kings Answer not much different.

¹ *Davila.*
P. 492.

It (r) was the publick discourse of the *Guisards* in **Paris**, that the Kingdom could never be settled in Peace, nor the Minds of true *Catholicks* at ease, so long as they saw the Kings Person environ'd with non-confiding Persons, and of uncertain resolutions in point of Religion.

The King made answer he was very willing to any thing that might conduce to the settlement of Religion; and that (s) he was heartily inclin'd to the Extirpation of *Huguenots*; there being no Prince in *Christendom*, that more hated, and desired the Suppression of *Hereticks*, than himself. And, that for those about his Person, they had never suggested to him any Councils to the contrary: That all Kings had ever enjoyed the free Liberty of preserving and favouring whom they pleased; and to choose their Companions according to their own Gust. Were it not so, the liberty of Kings should be chained, and limited to that which private Men enjoy free, and without restraint; there being no person so mean, but hath Power to live and converse with whom he please, according to his own *Genus* and liking. But if it should be proved against his Ministers, that they had in any thing, demeaned themselves with less Sincerity than they ought, he would be ready to punish them accordingly, to the quality of their Offence; but would not Banish them from his Court to humour other Men.

Compare with this his Majesties Answer to the Petition which accompanied the Grand Remonstrance Dec. 1641. *Exact Coll.* p. 13. And his Answer to the Petition concerning the *Militia* *Exact Coll.* p. 60.

¹ *Davila* p. 494. & 495.

When the King, by reason of the Tumults in **Paris**, had (as was said) for his own Security, enlarged the number of his Guard, the Duke of *Guise* and his Partisans spread (t) a Rumour in the City, that the King had a purpose to put a Hundred and Twenty of the Principal *Catholicks*

Catholicks to Death, and to put Garrisons in the chief places of the City, to awe the Citizens; and therefore, that it was necessary for them to stand upon their Guard.

Compare with this that Scandalous Asper-sion aganst his Majesty, that he had a design of actual violence upon the City of London.

Upon this Succeeded (u) the Barricados at **Paris**, when the King was in a manner wholly in the Duke of *Guises* Power: But yet he made a shift to slip away privately, from his Palace (the **Louere**) attended only with Sixteen Gentlemen. The Duke not taking care to prevent the escape, whether (x) out of Honesty, of which he pretended to be the Protector, or that he desired to cloak all his Designs with the Mantle of Piety and Religion; or that he intended nothing more but his own safety, and Reformation of the Government; promising to himself that all would fall into his Lap, by means of his cunning Carriage; and that he needed not to make use of open Force; brought the King to such a low Ebb, that he must of necessity yield up himself to his Disposal, and condescend to such Conditions as he desired, which he doubted not but would be approved by the general consent of the People.

4 Jan. 1641.
1b. p. 501.
1b. p. 498.

The King, being desirous of an accommodation, imploy'd the Queen Mother to treat with the Duke of *Guise*, and his Adherents. [Which had the like success as his Majesties Majesties Message from **Nottingham** to those at **Westminster**.]

But the Duke's demands were (y) extream high and Exorbitant, more like an absolute Conquerour, than a Subject; viz. That the King should declare him his Lieutenant-General over all the Provinces of his Dominions; That a general Assembly of the States should be called at **Paris**; and this Authority being then confirm'd to him by them, that the Taxes and Impositions upon the People should be moderated; That, for removing all suspicion of Innovations, all Forms of Government should be settled in such a way, as it might not be lawful for the King to make any alteration; That the Duke *D'Espernon*, and several other Ministers of State, (as persons suspected to keep Intelligence with the *Hereticks*, and to be continually hammering out new Projects,) should be put out of their Places and Commands, and for ever Banished from the Court; That to remove the Jealousies

1bid. p. 499.
& p. 500.

* Compare with this, the Propositions to his Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, concerning the War of *Ireland*.

Full Relation, &c. p. 95.
 See the like demands by the Members at *Westminster*.
 Exact Coll. p. 259. & 465.

ties generally conceived of too remiss Proceedings against the Hereticks, the sole managery (2) of that War should be Committed to the Duke; That to take away the suspicion of any Tyrannical Intentions, or Actions from the King, he should dismiss (a) his Guard of forty six, and interdict them all [*his Majesty to return to the Court, and content himself with such an ordinary Guard, as his Predecessors used to have.*]

That *Griglion*, the Captain of the Guard, should be displaced and another put in his room, in whom the *Catholicks* could confide: That the forts of **Provence** should be consign'd to the Duke *D'Aumarle*, and others to others of the *League*; and that the King should deposite in the hands of certain Lords of the *League*, six other strong Holds, such as they should nominate, which should be Garrison'd by them, and have such Governours as were to their liking: That a convenient Assignment should be made to the Cittizens of **Paris** for reimbursing the Expenses they had been at: And that the Government of the City should be confer'd upon the Count of **Brissac**, the Duke of *Mayne* made high Admiral, and *de Chatres* *Ld. Marefchall*.

When the Duke of *Guise* failed of his Intentions upon the Kings Person (by reason of his escape) and his Design of obtaining from him, as his Prisoner, what Conditions he pleased, was by that means crushed, he bent (b) his thoughts to the securing himself of the Command of the City of **Paris**. For, perceiving that he must now go to War with the King; he knew very well, that he could have no stronger Foundation, than the Power and Assistance of the *Parisians*: Therefore to assure himself of the City, he got into his Hands the *Bastile*, dispossessing *Tefstate*, who held it formerly for the King, but was now forc'd to surrender it into the hands of the People, who instantly made the Duke Governour of it. The Duke therefore, loosing no time, call'd the People together in a Common-Council, and caused *Hector Perose*, provost of the Merchants [a place answerable to that of Lord Mayor of **London**] to be deposed, as a dependent on the King; Committed him to the *Bastile*, and made *Ca-*

pello Martell to be chosen (c) Provost in his place; he being a Principal Incendiary among the People, and chief Minister of the *League*.

[Just a *Pennington* for a *Gurney*.]

The Duke of *Guise*, seeing the King was got out of the toyl, and that he could not bring his first Design about, endeavoured (d) to make it appear, that it was done with his consent (the King's Escape) though it happened by his Inadvertence: Therefore, with many fair words and plausible reasons, laid down in several Writings, both to the King and People of *France*, he strove to make them believe, that all his Actions had no other aim, but the benefit of the Kingdom, Allegiance and Obedience to the King, and Zeal to the publick good: That the Tumults (e) in *Paris* were occasion'd by the fears of the People, without any consent of his: That his Intentions were ever most Inclind to Loyalty; and all due Obedience, desiring nothing, but that Evil Councilers might be removed, and due care taken for the securing of Religion. And though (says my Author) his Actions were for the most part, quite contrary to his Professions; yet the colour of Religion was so lively and plausible; he knowing so well how to demean himself, that the People generally believed him still, a Loyal Subject to the King; and that all he did was only out of Zeal to Religion, and an Ardent desire for promoting the publick good of the Kingdom.

When things were in this State, there followed the face of an accommodation betwixt the *King* and the *Leaguers*; and for the composing of all differences, another Parliament was convened at *Blois* 16. Oct. 1588. In the Election (f) of Members to assist at it, though both parts laboured to have such chosen, as were their own dependents, yet those of the *League* prevailed by much above the Kings Party: For the Commons being vexed with their pressing Grievances (their end being mainly to shake off that Burthen) did willingly adhere to the Kings Enemies, who promised and professed an earnest desire of easing the People of their unsupportable burthen by Taxes and Contributions.

* Compare
with this
the Prote-
station fra-
med at *West-*
minster.
3 *Maij.*
1641.

In this Parliament all the States took a Solemn Oath or *Protestation*, (*g*) for defence of *Religion*, with the Kings Person and Authority. Which Oath they ordered to be taken by all the Subjects of the Kingdom. Notwithstanding all which Obligations, whereby the *Leaguers* bound themselves to abandon their former Practises, and to apply themselves to a sincere obedience of the King: yet did they not remit any thing of their former Machinations: For not only the Duke of *Guise* aspired to obtain the expresse Title of Lieutenant General (which he could not before accomplish, though he had the Power) but the rest ceased not to tamper with the States, that the Government might be reformed in such a manner, as that the King should have no share left him in it, but the bare name and shadow of a Prince; the whole Power to be transferred to this Duke, and his Dependents of the *League*.

Nay the very number of the States [which equaliz'd ours in the House of Commons] engaging themselves in the Interests of the Faction, did contend, and squabble for the same ends with them, without any regard of their so many and Solemn Oaths, in evident contempt of the Person, Name, and Majesty of the King.

¹Ibid. p. 523. The (*b*) Commons in this Parliament, (notwithstanding they had resolv'd upon a War with the *Huguenots*, which must needs be expensive: Yet) demanded from the King a moderation of Taxes, and diminution of new Impositions; which [*like that of Ship-money*] amounted to two Millions of Crowns, yearly; as also the Reformation of many Offices erected about the Customs, and the total abolishing of some other Grievances. They declared the King of *Navarr* (who was next Heir to the Crown) incapable of Inheriting; and Sollicited the King to make a new Decree upon it, unto which they would have him swear, as a Fundamental Law.

After many other Plots and Practises in this Factious Parliament; when business was now fully ripe, and the Duke of *Guise* having sufficiently canvassed and prepared the States, both in general, and particular: Grown now secure and bold, upon confidence of former Experience,
he

he began to bring his Plot upon the Stage, of being made Lieutenant-general, at the Request and by the Authority of the Parliament, which was the last end of his present hopes. But those hopes were quickly frustrate by His untimely Death.

After which his Brother the Duke of *Maine* took up Arms to Prosecute that design of the *League*: And, though the King wrote kind Letters to him; yet were they of no force, to make him hearken to any Concord: For making himself Head of the *Holy Union*, he was by the *Parisians* declared Lieutenant General, of the State and Crown of *France*, with the same authority and power, wick is naturally inherent in the King (abating only the name) which Power was intended to continue, until the States-General should think fit to alter it: Upon the possession whereof he entred 22. *Febr.* 1589 Having taken a Solemn Oath to Protect and defend the *Catholick* Religion against all Persons whatsoever; to preserve the Estate belonging to the Crown of *France*; to defend the Priviledges of the three Estates of Parliament, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; to cause the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm to be observed; and the Authority and Power of the Courts of Justice.

Having done this, he chose and setled the Council of the Union [*like a close Committee*] consisting of fourty the chief and most eminent Persons of the *League*, to manage all the most Important Affairs with his Assistance; leaving still the Government of the City of *Paris* with the Sixteen. And, as our Men had their Committies in several Counties, which received Directions from, and sent Informations to their great Council; So did these of the *League* ordain, (*i*) that there should be six, eight, twelve, or more of them, nominated in several places of the Kingdom, to propose what was fitting to the Council; and, having received Directions from them, to act accordingly.

¹ *D'Anbig-*
nie Tom. 2.
lib. 3. cap. 3.
col. 828.

Nor hath scarce any act of Insolence been Committed by our Men, in which they might not urge these for an Example. What hath been done to Justice *Mallet*, taken off the Bench, and Committed to the Tower; the like was done in *Paris*: For they, (*k*) in a Tumultuous manner, beset the Hall of the Pallace, where the Judges

² *Davila* 2.
548.

than fate; seiz'd upon *Harle* and others, whom they deem'd to be well affected to the King, and Committed them Prisoners to the Bastile.

The King (upon like Motives as his Majesty Adjourn'd the Term from **LONDON** to **Oxford**) adjourn'd (l) the Courts of Justice; the Parliament of **PARIS** to **Tours**; that of **Roan** to **Caen**; that of **Dijon** to **Chalon**.

And, that nothing might be wanting in this Rebellion, which was in that: As our Men took upon them, to make a *new great Seal*, ransackt the Kings Pallace at **White-hall**; seiz'd all his Revenues, Forts, and Magazine into their own hands; usurped his Authority, and called in a Forreign-Nation (the Scots) to their Assistance; their Parliament Voting it, and their Preachers being the Trumpeters of War against the King. So our own *Camden* tells (m) us, the *Leaguers of France* did. — *Populus ubique Magistratibus parere dedignatus; Regias aedes Lutetiae diripuit. — Conjurati, novo consilio instituto, novo Sigillo ad res administrandas confecto, Regiam sibi auctoritatem arrogarunt; munitissima quæque loca, immo integras Provincias sibi raptarunt; Regni redditus interceperunt, Auxiliares Hispanos è Belgio evocarunt, Parliamentis suffragantibus; & Ecclesiasticis Bellum in Regem ubique buccinantibus.*

^m *Annal.*
Eliz. in An.
1589. p.
557.

The (n) King, after all this, being straitned for Money, and entertaining no Thoughts but of Peace and Accommodation, procured the Popes Legate to Interpose for that end; promising to refer all difference to his Holiness. Which when the Legate moved to the Duke of *Maine*, he refused to hearken to it; alledging it to be but a shift of the King to gain time, in regard he found himself at present unprovided and unarmed. All hopes of accommodation therefore fayling; the King being persuaded, that he had used all means possible on his part, and that not without descending far below the honour of his person, began to alter his Opinion: And, to the end (o) he might not be surprized (without assistance) by the Power of his Enemies; the urgency of his necessities constraining him perforce to look about for some Supplies, he began to hearken to an accord with the King of *Navarre*, a Professed Protestant.

ⁿ *Davila* p.
561.

^o *ib. p.* 562.

Certain it is, that in his own Inclination, he was ever averse from such an accord; his nature being incompatible with all Commerce with the *Huguenots*. But there being an evident necessity, (p) that he could not then do otherwise; all his Councillers, with one voice told him, he must needs resolve and side with one Party, unless he would stand alone in the midst of his Potent Enemies; one on one side the *Loyre*, and the other on the other side, having possess'd themselves of all.

^p Compare with this his Majesties Answer to the two Papers concerning Ireland.

Full Relation &c. p. 215.

What Moneys, what Friends, what Armies, what Forces had he sufficient to grapple with such Factions at the same time? Tis clear, which way soever he could turn himself, he must have one Enemy before his Face, and another behind his back: His Kingdom also being divided, and Forrein Princes likewise divided betwixt two Religions; he (a new Example) should have both averse, both Enemies to him, would he continue in this distraction; without Forces, without Moneys. While one side Invades one part; another side another part of the Regal Authority.

He is now, what he was always, affraid of, in the midst of two Violent Torrents. He did as much as man could do for Peace: He forgot his own Honour to be reconcil'd with the Seditious; and gave the Rebels and Despisers of his Authority that satisfaction which they little deserved. With unheard of Patience he endured all the Injuries of the People, the Invectives of their Preachers, the Villanous Insolencies of the Factious Commons, and the bold Decrees of the *Sorbon*; submitting his Royal Majesty to the inordinate desires of the Reliques of the *Guises*. He did that which never King before him would have endured to have done. What could he do more, unless to please the *Spaniards*, he would patiently wait, without providing any defence, till he were miserably torn in Pieces by his Enemies; and the like outrages Committed upon his Person, as had been already done to his Statua's, both in *Paris* and *Tholouse*. It is more then time therefore, that he shew he hath the Heart of a *Lyon*; and, making use of the King of *Navarr's* Assistance — *de Inimicis suis vindicare Inimicos suos*, to revenge himself of his Enemies by his Enemies; this being no new nor unheard of Course. His Brother *K Charles* many times, and

Was not his Majesties Statua abused, both at the Old Exchange in London, and at Winchester?

himself sometimes, when Necessities were less pressing, had made Peace with the *Huguenots*. Why should he not, therefore, seek all just means to restrain the Seditious, to recover his own Power; and now at last to restore Peace and Rest to his Kingdom?

⁹Ib. p. 563. Upon (q) this then followed several adverse *Declarations* of the King's; justifying his own Proceedings. The like by the Duke of *Mayne* in behalf of the *League*.

¹⁰Ib. p. 564. After these Instigations of his Councillers, the King beginning to incline to an accommodation with the King of *Navarr*, and the *Huguenots*: Though (r) all his followers desired that he should not come to an accord with them; yet, such was the obstinacy of the Duke of *Mayne* and the *Leaguers*, and such the State of the Realm, by reason of the present Seditious, that none of them could blame him, though they all abhorr'd it.

¹¹Ib. p. 565. Seeing (s) therefore, that of necessity he must take up some resolution; and that his Affairs were in danger of utter ruine, if he did not; he concluded a Truce for one Year with the King of *Navarr*, upon these Conditions.

1. That the publick Exercise of the *Catholick* Religion should be restored in all places under the Command of the *Huguenots*, without Exception.

2. That the Clergy should be restored to their Means; and the Prisoners which they had in their hands should be set at Liberty.

3. That the King of *Navarr* should be obliged to serve him in Person; with four Thousand Foot and twelve Hundred Horse; wheresoever he should be Commanded.

4. That all Cities, Countries, and places of his Party should observe all the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, obey the Courts of Justice, and the Kings Magistrates; and receive such Orders as the King had or should hereafter give them.

On the other side it was agreed, that the King of Navarr should have the City of **Saintur**, and keep it as a free pass for him; upon the River **Loyre**; but be bound to yield it up again at the Kings Pleasure.

[How fully applicable is this to the Cessation made in **Ire-**
land by his Majesty?]

Hereupon the King set forth a Declaration (t) against the Duke of **Maine** and his Adherents, who had caused the Cities to revolt, and were then up in Arms; intimating to them; that if they did not return to their Obedience within the space of XV. days, and forbear to trouble the Realm by making Levies; as also not lay down Arms; they should incur the Crime of Rebellion, and all their Goods be Confiscate. ib. p. 567.

[Like to this was his Majesties Proclamation (u) against the Earl of **Essex** from **Pork** 9. Aug. 1642.] Exact Coll
P. 503.

Which Writings were attended with Actions suitable: [as his Majesty did set on foot his Commissions of Array] the King granting out Commissions to several Governours in sundry Provinces, for making of Levies, and drawing the People together in Arms. Nevertheless he still continued his Inclinations to Peace; and having (x) excused the Truce, which he was necessitated to make with the King of **Navarr**, and promised to persevere constant in the **Catholick** Religion; he intreated the **Pope's Nuncio** once more to trye the Mind of the Duke of **Maine**; and by conferring with him in Person, to labour him to an Accommodation; in regard, that, neither by the Duke of **Loreyne's** means (to whom he had Written) nor the **Dutchess of Nemurs**, (who had been employ'd to that purpose) he could at all work upon him, to lend the least Ear to any Treaty for Peace. x Davila p.
568.

And to make it evident to the World, how desirous he was to be free'd from the necessity of an accord with the **Huguenots**; he delivered to the Cardinal, a Paper, Written with his own Hand, wherein was contained what things he would be content to grant to them of the **League**.
Offering

Offering to make the Prince of *Loreyne* Governour of *Metz*, *Tul*, and *Verdun*; to Marry the Inheri-
trix of *Bullion*, with the Cities of *Comes* and *Sedan*
to the Count of *Vaudemont*. To the Duke of *Mayne* he
was content to yield the Government of the whole
Countrey of *Burgundy*, with the nomination of all
under-Governours there; and that to pass to his Son after
him. To the young Duke of *Guise*, the Inheritance of
Champaine, *St. Desir*, and *Rocroy*, for securi-
ty of his Person; with Thirty Thousand Crowns a Year
of Ecclesiastical Revenue for one of his Brothers: To
the Duke of *Nevers* the Government of *Lyons*: To
the Duke *D'Aumarle Saint-Esprit du Rae*, for his
security; To make his Brother General of the Foot,
with Twenty Thousand Franks a Year: To the Duke
of *Elleboef*, the Government of *Poictiers*. To these
and others, divers large pensions, and preferments; so
desirous was he to purchase his Peace, at any rate.

[Which Propositions were not much unlike his Maje-
sties Instructions to his Commissioners, for the Treaty at *Ur-*
bridge, and wrought as little with the Leaguers]

But this Paper of the King's wrought nothing at all;
the Duke of *Mayne*, meeting with the Legate, refusing
peremptorily to hearken to any Agreement; pretending
(y) that he could not accept of any Conditions, with-
out calling all the Estates of the *League*, and all the Prin-
ces of his Family together, to have their Consent.
Which he said indeed, because he thought himself by
much, Superior in force to the King, and because both
the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had promi-
sed to assist him with Men and Money.

? Ib. p. 569.

The News of the Truce, which the King had made
with the King of *Navarr* no sooner arrived at *Paris*;
but 'tis incredible what Malice they thereupon conceiv'd
against him, and all his Followers; what exorbitant (z)
Demonstrations they made of it; even by their publick
Ordinances, prohibiting any Prayers to be used for him,
in the Service of the Church, as had been ever done for
all the Kings of *France*; which the *Catholick Church*
many times, and *Piety* allows (particularly on *Good-Fri-*
day) even to Hereticks, Idolaters and Infidels. Nor is
it

* Was not
the like
done by our
Men against
his Majesty
for Affen-
ting to the
Cessation in
Ireland?

it possible to account the innumerable quantity of Libels, Declarations, and Pamphlets, Printed and Published against him, beyond all bounds of Reason and Modesty.

To conclude, the noise of Arms did soon drown that of their Libels, and Seditious Sermons: And many Battails were Fought, in which the King had the better, and came Victorious before that proud City of **Paris**: But, in the Seige of it, he was basely Murthered by *Jaques Clement*, a *Dominican Fryer*; 1. Aug. 1589.

After this Untimely Death of that King (*Henry the 3d.*) the Crown of **France** with its Troubles, descended upon the King of *Navarr*, *Henry the 4th*: Who being acknowledged (*a*) by the Catholick Nobility, in the ^a Ib.p.591. Camp; they swore Allegiance to him; he mutually promising (*b*) to maintain and defend the *Catholick Roman-Religion* to the utmost of his Power, and not to endeavour any alteration in it: And likewise to maintain [*the Priviledges of Parliament*] the three Estates of **France**, in their wonted Power, Priviledges, Immunities, Prerogatives, &c. without any prejudice or innovation whatsoever. ^b Ib.p.593.

But all this had little Operation on the *Leaguers*, they persisting in their wonted Obstinacy and Rebellion, though he omitted not any means to win them to peace and reconcilment. For first he sent (*e*) unto them, ^c Ib.p.596. that *Villeroy* might come to Treat with him; but was refused. Then he imploy'd a private Gentleman to **Paris**, to whom the Duke of *Maine* would not give Audience, but appointed that he should deliver his Message to *Villeroy*: Which was, that the King had expressly commanded him, to assure the Duke of his Majesties good Inclinations to peace; as also to represent unto him how necessary it was for the publick good; what great account he made of the Dukes person; how much he desired to make him his Friend; and to have him near at hand, that he might afford him an honourable share in his favour, suitable to his Condition. Likewise that the Duke might then lay aside the vain hopes of seeing the King abandoned by his Subjects, considering in what a good condition he did at that time stand. Desiring therefore, that he
would

would propose some Conditions, his Majesty being ready to gratify him in any thing he might.

[*This hath somewhat of his Majesties Letter to the Earl of Essex, at Leithiel*]

Whereunto, the Sum of the Answer, which the Duke gave Commission to be made, was [*in this somewhat more civil than that of the Earl of Essex*] that he had no private Quarrel with the King, whom, for his own part, he did highly Honour and Reverence; but his Religion, and his Conscience would not suffer him to enter any Treaty with him. *For if (quoth he) my Deceased Brethren took up Armes in the Kings Life time, upon a suspition of danger: Now that the Necessity is more urgent, and the danger present, I cannot lay down those Armes, which I have taken up, without sinning against the Memory of my Deceased Brethren [Essex might have urged his Father] and my own Conscience, and that Solemn Oath which I took [the Covenant forsooth] That I engaged my Faith, and Consecrated my Life to the publick Cause, when I accepted the Charge of Lieutenant General of the State; and that I could not resolve upon any thing without the publick Convention of all of my Party.*

^d *Ib.*p.597.
 & 599. Some there were, who urged (*d*) this Duke of Mayne, to usurp the Title of King of **France**; but others, on better grounds dissuaded him.

^e *Ib.*p.601. The (*e*) King therefore (in these great Distresses) Summon'd a general Convention of the Estates, to meet in *October*, at **Tours** (the chief City of his Party) But his
^f *Ib.*p.603. Army mouldring (*f*) away (and he with those left him, not above six Thousand Foot, and fourteen Hundred Horse) retired to **Diepe**, and there fortified. Whereupon the Duke of *Mayne* pursued, (*g*) and put the King in danger; but lost the Opportunity of a Victory; and, at the Battail of **Arches** was forc't to retreat with loss, though his Forces were Superior (by much) to the Kings.

^h *Ib.*p.612. Which success (*h*) in that Battail (upon the addition of four Thousand *English*, and a Thousand *Scotts*, then sent to **Diepe** by Queen *Elizabeth*) so encourag'd the King, that he presently Marcht towards **Paris**, and came before it upon the last of *October*, 1589. Which unexpected

cted Approach, stroke no small Terror (i) into the Multitude; especially the Ladies, seeing him come on such a suddain, ready to assail that proud City; and at a time, when they were perswaded he would have had enough to do to defend himself: Also, that in regard of the weakness of his Forces, he would either by that time have been subdued, or driven out of the Realm. For the Duke of *Mayne*, when he went against the King at *Drepe*; by way of ostentation of his Forces before the People, writ to *Paris*; that, *within a few Days, he would either bring the King Prisoner, or force him to flye into England with shame enough.* And now the City not well provided, and out of hopes of relief, their Mindes were full of Fears and Vexation. But, upon the Duke of *Mayne's* Approach, the King rose from before *Paris*, having first taken the Suburbs and sackt them.

The Convention of Estates thus met (k) at *Tours*, put out a Declaration in behalf of the King: And that at *Paris* Publisht another against him. After which contrary *Declarations*, the Schollars being as eager to contend for their severall Parties, as the Souldiers, there were publish't many Ordinances of Parliament; infinite Writings of particular Men; Decisions of the *Sorbon*; Letters of the Pope's Legate; Answers of the Bishops that adhered to the King; and such a number of Books every where dispersed; that it was a clear case, there was not a Witt in the Kingdom, but was Employ'd: Not a Pen but writ in defence of the Reasons of one side or other; but with so much Obstinacy of Mind in their Arguments; that it was easy to discern, that the Arms of the Spirit, when they are distorted and misused in divers manner, in the Heat and Incogitancy of Wars, are more apt to administer new Fewel to the Flame, than quench the Fire already begun

At this time the Affairs of the League were in a very tottering condition; the diversity of Pretensions, and contrary ends of the Confederates much disturbing the course of their Enterprizes; holding not only their Councils, but the Effects and Actions of their common Interests in suspence. Which, in regard of the speedy Expedition, and Resolutions of the King, could not admit of delays.

¹ Ib. p. 6: 8.

The (1) Duke of *Mayne* being Prince of the Faction, and head of the Design (who, by the Authority of his Person, Prudence of his Government, and experience in Marshal-matters, bore the chief burthen of their Affairs) conceiving that the reward and fruits of his Paines, did of Justice belong to himself, projected therefore, either to transfer the Crown upon himself, or upon some of his House: But in case he could not obtain so much; then, at least, to set it upon the Head of some such Prince, as might totally and absolutely be beholding to him for it; being resolv'd that the Kingdom should not be divided; much less that it should fall into the Hands of a Foreign Prince.

On the contrary, the King of *Spain* (who, in the beginning secretly, but now openly protected and fomented the *League*, and had of late Years laid out two Millions in the Service of the Confederates; and was now to contribute vast Sums of Money, both in publick and private, besides his maintaining of Foot and Horse; seeing, that without his Assistance, which they desired might be great and strong, not only the main Design was like to come to nothing, but the *League* could not long subsist without being Dissolved) thought, more than reasonable and more than just, that, as the Expences and Losses were his, so the Fruits and Benefits should be his also: And therefore, besides an under-hand secret Design of Uniting the Crowns, and gayning that of *France* to his Daughter *Isabella* the *Infanta*, (whom he had by his Queen *Elizabeth*, King *Henry* the 3^ds. Eldest Sister) he farther endeavoured, to get himself publickly declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with Sovereign Power and Authority to dispose of the Offices of the Crown; to choose the Governours and Captains of the Army; to conferr Bishopricks, and to have all the Prerogatives pertaining to an absolute Prince. All which was demanded, and publickly Solicited by his Agents *Mendoza*, *Mornea*, &c.

But the Citizens of *Paris* (who perceived well, that the main strength of the Faction consisted in them; not only in regard of the Multitude of their People, and Power of the City; but by reason of their continual Contributions, from whence the Sinews of the War were derived)

rived) thought it was come to their share, to dispose of the Crown: And, being all apay'd with the Duke of *Mayne's* bad Success in the Wars [the same fate which the Earl of *Essex* had with the Londoners] Imputing the loss of their Suburbs to his slackness (whom they called Coward and Block-head p. 741.) and that the City was now in a manner Besieged, and much straitned for want of Provisions, by reason of his want of Care, inclin'd to submit themselves to be ordered by the *Spaniards*; hoping by the help of their Forces, to destroy the King's (whose very Name was odious to them) and to extirpate the Religion of the *Huguenots*, whereunto they were naturally Enemies; and, by means of the *Spanish-Gold*, to be eased of the insupportable burthen of Contributions: For the King of *Spain's* Ministers bore them in hand, and went about cunningly with fair Promises, and big Words, both in publick and private, in order to their Assistance.

On (m) the other side, the Nobility, which took part ^m *Ib. p. 627.* with the *League* (in whose hands were the Arms and Forces of the Kingdom) were much averse from submitting to the *Spanish-Yoke*, inclined to the Duke of *Mayne*; conforming themselves to his Pleasure, to be guided by his Authority. But, in this great distraction of the Kingdom; divers of them were not without their own particular Designs. And of such variety of Councils was the *League* composed; that, by clashing with one another, they interrupted the course of their Affairs, and abated the heat, by which they first Conspired in that Band, which seemed to have no other end but Religion.

The King, therefore, taking advantage of these their Divisions, dismissed the Marquess of *Belin* upon his Parole (whom he had taken Prisoner at the Battel of *Arches*) with Commission, in his name, to proffer Peace to the Duke of *Mayne*; and to exhort him, as a Prince of an honest and moderate temper, not to assent to the Pernicious Designs of Foreigners; but, freeing himself from the base usage of the Vulgar, and cunning of the *Spaniard*, that he would hearken to an honest and safe Peace; whereupon, (n) answerable to his Merit and Honour, he ⁿ *Ib. p. 630.* should have as great a share in the Kings Favour as himself could desire.

When the Marquess made this overture to the Duke, the Opinions of the Councillers about him, were much divided; some favouring it; others declaiming against it: Telling how the War was founded upon the point of Religion, and therefore nothing must be done in it, without the Popes Approbation: Also, that the Duke of *Mayne*, being not absolute Prince of the *League*, but only the Head of his Party, ought not to adventure upon such an Important Action, without the joynt consent of all those that followed that Party, and all the Princes, that adhered to, or favoured the *League*; who (if they should not follow his deliberation) might choose another Head, and he be left destitute of the support of the *Catholick* Party, to the will of his Enemies. And, that this was but a trick of the Kings, to work a diffidence in the Dukes Party, and to sow Divisions and Suspicions amongst the Confederates, though the King might promise Golden-Mountains, to the end he might dissolve the Union of the *League*; yet there was no security; but that so soon as he should be Established King, in Peace, he would not observe the least Tittle of his promises.

The Duke, therefore, on the one side, by the disdain, which he had conceived against the Inconstancy, and Impertinency of the Citizens of **Paris**, and the want of Money to pay his Souldiers, was troubled much: But above all, the Subtilty and surliness of the *Spaniard* vexed him most; who having caused *Seignior de la Mot*, the Governour of **Gravelin**, to come out of **Flanders** with their Forces, to the confines of the Kingdom; refused to let him advance one Foot further, or to issue any Moneys, for the maintenance of the War, unless the *Catholick* King was first declared Protector of the Crown of **France**; with Authority to dispose of the Principal Dignities, as well Ecclesiastical as secular, which they called marks of Justice; whereby he desired to have Dominion and Superiority over the *League*.

Which demands seemed so Exorbitant unto him; so prejudicial to the Crown, and so dishonest, that he could not endure to think of them himself: Nor did he believe, that any one Man of the Confederates, from the *Parisians* downwards, would ever condescend to Decree them: Knowing, that this were to put the Bridle into the King
of

of Spaine's hands, to let him carry all things to such ends, as he pleased himself [*Nor did the Brethren of Scotland, sell their Assistance at a much cheaper rate, as is plainly to be seen by their Treaty of the 29th. of November, 1643. For their advance into England; and their second demands for their managery of the Government of Ireland*]

But, on the other side, his Fears of being abandoned, and left alone; his distrust of the Kings Sincerity in his Promises, and the Antient grudge he bore to him; but especially his hopes of getting the Crown for himself, would not suffer him to hearken to those overtures, made by the Marquess of *Belin*, whom he sent back to his Imprisonment, with some Ambiguous and General Expressions, and cut off the Negotiation for any Accord.

[*So still the King seeks, but the Faction declines all occasions of Peace*]

For (o) the People of **Paris** were so far Transported with Zeal to the Cause, by reason of the continual denunciations from the Pulpits, that there could be no Peace, or accommodation made, unless they would damn their own Souls; that they were resolved to endure any thing, rather than to hearken to an Accommodation: Insomuch as many, who had inconsiderately slipt a Word or two out of their Mouths, saying, *that Accommodation was better than starving, and rather Peace than a Siege*; were, in the Rage and Fury of the People, either publickly Condemn'd and Executed; or without more ado, thrown into the River, as damn'd Miscreants, Enemies of the *Catholick Religion*, and infected with the Poyson of Heresy.

It is not unworthy Observation, what Artifices the Heads of that Rebellion used to abuse the People. During (p) the Seige of **Paris**, both the Duke of *Mayne* without, and other Lords within the City, imploying all their Art and Industry, in giving out Reports, and spreading News; sometimes of a strong Power from **Flanders**, coming to raise the Seige; sometimes of great Provisions of Victual for Relief of the City; sometimes of some Accident, in favour of their Party, Letters and Messengers coming in every day, with a Mixture of true and False Reports together: Which being Published in their Pulpits, and divulged amongst their Guards, served to feed the People for a few days. And

° Ib p. 662:
& 663.

p Ib. p. 669.

^q *Ib.* p. 676.

And (*q*) when there were certain Commissioners sent from **Paris**, to treat with the King about an Accommodation: Notwithstanding his Majesties Answer was returned in Writing, with much sweetness of Language, and proffer of all security and possible satisfaction, upon return to their Obedience; with Letters, to the same effect to the Duke of *Nemure*, and others; exhorting them to Peace, and assuring them, that they should receive more from his Grace than they could desire: Yet, upon return of the Commissioners, the Duke of *Nemure*, and other great Persons, disaffected to Peace, would not permit the true Copy of the Kings Answer to be Published to the People; but caused Reports to be given out, that the King would not have any Peace, but upon condition of an absolute Submission; and that the Duke of *Mayne*, and other Lords of the *League*, should not be included in the Pardon.

^r *Ibid.* p. 733.

The (*r*) King of *Spain*, therefore, (upon the Duke of *Parma's* Advice) finding how much those of the *League* relied upon his ayd, and the necessity thereof, endeavoured to prolong the War: That, by the weariness and weakness of the *French*, he might, at length compass those ends upon them, which he saw it was impossible for him, at first to obtain. The Duke of *Parma* himself also, to win the more upon the People, when he came into **France** with his Army in assistance of the *Leaguers*; considering that the name of a *Spaniard* was there odious; strayn'd himself, with all possible earnestness of Mind, for to order his Army; as that his Souldiers should not commit any Outrage or Oppression, nor give any occasion of offence to the *French*.

Such hath been the Pollicy of the *Scots* with us.

Anno. 1597.
^s *Ib.* p. 679.

^t *Ib.* p. 701.

The (*t*) War thus Prolonged, and the charge thereof grown heavy, occasioned much repining in the People against the Duke of *Mayne*, notwithstanding all his Faithful Services and Paines taken for the *League*; against whom none complained (*u*) more than the Cittizens of **Paris**; who Accused the Duke of misgovernance, of an over greediness to keep all things in his own Power, and too much profuseness of other Mens Means.

^u *Ib.* 742.

^x *Ib.* p. 702.

With them Concurr'd (*x*) the Ministers of **Spain**, who liked not to see such a Supream Power in the hands of the Duke, of whose Affection to their Designs they had no good Opinion. Besides

Besides these discontents, *Briffonius* Premier President of the Parliament at **Paris** (who had been, at first, a principal Instrument for the *League*) when he perceived (as his Friends said) that the ends of the *Grande*s were not so sincere for the publick good, as he at first had conceived of them; (or as his Enemies reported;) being corrupted by large proffers made unto him, on behalf of the King; by some who were Prisoners in the City; or (as it was generally believ'd) out of the Levity and Inconstancy of his nature, began to favour the King's Party; who, taking heart unto them by means of his Protection; making a considerable Body, began to Plot, how to bring the City to revolt, and to reduce it to the Kings Obedience. One (*y*) of which Revolters (who had been a chief Fomenter of the *League*) being discovered, for holding Intelligence and Plotting for the King, was, by the instigation of the *Sixteen*, hurried to Prison: But whilst they made slow proceeding to his Tryal, he escaped; which so vexed the *Sixteen*, as that, supposing the Judges had a hand therein, they furiously raysed the People in Arms; and upon the *XVth.* of *November*, beset all the Passes to the Palace of Justice; seized upon three of the Judges, *Briffon*, *Archier*, and *Terdiu*, hauled them to Prison; and there, without any Legal Process Strangled them the same day; Hang'd up their Bodies upon the Gallows next Morning; and like Mad Men, ran about the City, setting Guards in sundry places, with Threats of the like Cruelty to divers others.

Upon endeavour to suppress which Uproar, the City Garrison refused to obey; being so much Devoted to the Councils and Actions of the *Sixteen*, that *Alexander de Monte* said plainly, *He would not move against them, who managed the Cause of God and all good Men with so much sincerity:* The (*z*) Council of the *Sixteen* Condemning and Executing many Citizens (whom they suspected to incline to the Kings Party) in a precipitous manner.

About that time, there being a consultation held at **Reus** by the chief Heads of the *League*, where they Treated long about their Common Interests; though every one did palliate their divers Pretences, and coloured their private Designs; yet was it plain enough, that they would never concur in the same end.

As for the *Spaniards*, they wholly trusted to their own Power, and the necessity in which the rest stood of their Assistance: The Popes *Nuncio* insisting upon the Majesty of the Apostolick See, and the Foundation of Religion, which the Pope must dispose. The Duke of *Lorreyne* stood upon his credit, as Head of the Family, and pretended that the rest in Modesty must sit down to him. The Duke of *Savoy* had an aim at the Compassing of *Provence*; The Duke of *Mercur* at *Brittain*; The Duke of *Namur* meant to Cantonize the Government; The Duke of *Mayne*, as Head of the Army and chief of the Faction, relyed upon the Union of the People and assent of the Nobility, who stood well affected to him. But things being not yet ripe, and every one, proceeding with great Caution and Secrecy, concealed his own Designs, and made a semblance as if he were moved with no other Considerations, but of the publick good.

^a *Ib.*p.726. The Duke of *Mayne* attempted (a) to Storm *Mant*, where the Kings Council, many Lords, and Prelates, and chief Officers of the Crown were, with a less Guard than the Quality of the Persons and weakness of the place required: To which purpose he brought divers of the Citizens of *Paris*, drew out the Garrisons of *Meaux*, *Dreux*, and *Pontois*; but was repulst by the Valour of the Lords themselves, and their Families.

^b *Ib.*p.733. President *Janin* was sent (b) into *Spain*, to negotiate with the King of that Realm, in behalf of the *Leaguers*, but return'd without any resolution: For it was desired in *Spain*, that the War should move but a slow pace; that the Duke of *Mayne* should not grow so much in Credit and Authority with his Party.

^c *Ib.*p.740. The (c) Council of the *Sixteen* at *Paris* (to whom the Preachers stuck close) which was at first the Basis and Ground-work of the *League*; pretending to carry all things according to their own liking, demeaned themselves with much partiality and Passion, proper to a Faction, without any regard to preserve the Rights of the Crown, or the Honour and Reputation of the *French* Nation; their only Studies and whole Endeavours being set upon such things, as might ruine the King, whom they hated most perfectly, and extinguish both his Name, and all the *Huguenot*-Party, so that they might put the
Reins

Reins of Government into the hands of such Persons, as would rule all things according to their Humours. But the Duke of *Mayne*, studying how to curb and moderate their turbulent desires, instituted a *Council of State*, distinct from that of the *Sixteen*, consisting of many Wise and Moderate Men, to counterpoise and restrain the heady courses of the other: Amongst which were *Villeroi*, *Jannin*, &c. Men not tainted with *Spanish* Practises, nor the inconsiderate Zeal of the Preachers; which kindled a great-Heart-burning and emulation betwixt the Council of the State, with the Parliament at *Paris*, and Council of the *Sixteen*, especially some of the Zealots amongst them.

Thus have we seen the main resemblance of the *Holy-League* with this of ours, as to the Original and Prosecution of it; though in the ends of them, they did somewhat differ.

Apparent it is, that the carriage of the *Scotts* here, was the very same with that of the *Spaniards* there: Their Pretences the same; viz. *Religion*, and *Assisting their Brethren*; Their private ends the same, *the advance of their own greatness*. Which were no sooner fully understood by the *French*; but even those which were the Kings greatest Enemies began to detest them; and chose rather to submit to the just Obedience of their King, than undergo the *Spanish-Yoke*.

For (d) when the Council of *Spain* were resolv'd ^d *Ib.p.747.* to send but small Forces into *France*, and to spin out the Wars to their own least cost and most advantage: Hoping, by that means, to obtain their ends upon the *French* (who without their help, were not able to stand against the Kings Forces) which were to procure the Lady *Infanta Isabella* of *Spain*, to be declared Queen of *France*, in a full Assembly of the States, which they intended (e) to force the Duke of *Mayne*, to call for that ^e *Ib.p.761.* purpose: The Duke perceiving it, began utterly to disgust them, complaining (f) of their niggardly and ^f *Ib.p.792.* sparing assistance afforded to the *League*, and eager desires of ^{& 851.} domineering, which had occasioned the loss of all their former pains; and given the King opportunity of recove-

ring such strength, as that he was now Superior to them both, in Reputation and Forces; (with much more bitter Language to the *Spanish* Embassadors) he underhand began to Treat (g) of an accord with the King; yet remitted nothing of his Violence, and pursuit of his Ambitious ends; but calling an Assembly of the States at **Paris**, declared (h) himself fully against the King; and Proposed the new Election of another; hoping the Crown might be conferr'd upon himself, for his great Actions in the Wars, none having merited more of the *Cause*. Yet could he not prevail with those of his own Family; the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Guise* thinking as highly of themselves as he. And (i) when the matter came to be opened in a *Close Committee* of the chief *Leaguers*, before some select Delegates of the three Estates; the Duke of *Feria*, in a set Speech, full of Art and Eloquence, recommended (k) the *Infanta* to their Election (a thing which the *Spanish* Agents had before Practised (l) under hand) with many large proffers of Honour and Reward to those of the House of *Lorraine*, and other chief Agents of the *League*.

¶ *Ib.* p. 724.

¶ *Ib.* p. 811.
& 821.

Thus did
Cromwell
here.

¶ *Ib.* p. 862.

¶ *Ib.* p. 865.

¶ *Ib.* p. 837.

¶ *Ib.* p. 161.
& 866.

Which Proposal sounded so strange in the Ears of the *French*, generally; that (m) the Bishop of *Saintliz* (*William Rosa*) a Man of an harsh Temper and dogged Eloquence (which he had many Years Exercised against the King and his Adherents) though a Fiery-Zealous *Leaguer*, could not endure to hear with Patience; but instantly said, *he now saw the Kings Party was in the right of it; who had always given out, that they of the League, did nothing but veil their State-Interests with the Mask of Religion: Which Imputation himself and his Companions had ever laboured to confute out of the Pulpits; and that now it grieved him to the Heart, to see it confirm'd from the Mouths of the Embassadors themselves: adding, that hereafter he should learn to know the Policies of Spain to be no less than those of Navarr; And therefore Intreats them, for their Honours Sake, and Credit of the Holy-Cause, to desist from all Thoughts of altering the Fundamental, the Salique-Law of France, by Transferring the Crown upon a Woman, and Submitting the Kingdom to the Dominion of a Stranger.*

But this Proposal of the *Spaniard* was resented (*n*)ⁿ Ib.p.867. with no less Indignation by most of the Members of the State, than by the Bishop of *Saintliz*, who scorned that Strangers should rule over them; as if they were, either so base, as to make themselves instantly Slaves; or so foolish as not to understand their own Interests. Above all, they of the House of *Lorrein* were netled (*o*)^o Ib.p.868. at it, who thought to have shared the Cake amongst themselves. Yea, the very People of **Paris**, being wearied (*p*)^p Ib.p.879. out with necessities and wants; and having tasted a little of the Sweets of Peace (by means of a cessation (*q*)^q Ib.p.845. concluded, during the time of the Treaty at **Suren**) did impatiently desire an Accord with the King; and began to threaten the States, unless they would hearken to an Accommodation: The *Spaniards* being now grown so odious to the *Parisians*, as that their Embassadors could not peep abroad in the Streets, but they were entertain'd with Scoffs and Curses; though, but two Years before, they were so high in their Books, and gracious in their Eyes, that (*r*)^r they of **Paris** thought to have yielded Ib.p.743. the City freely, to be under the Subjection of the King of **Spain**.

No sooner was this great Mystery of *Spanish* Policy and Ambition revealed; and publickly made known through the Kingdom, and that Assembly of States (which was Call'd in Rebellion) Dissolv'd in Disorder; but that the Cities, which formerly held for the *League*, and Governours of the Garrisons made hast (*s*)^s Ib.p.901. to return, by their Obedience, to the King: **Beauc** led the way; **Beron**, **Pontois**, **Oliens**, **Bruges**, **Lyons**, and **Aix** followed after; and **Paris** it self was not long behind. **Roan**, and **Amiens**, and the rest came flocking in, and were all received to Grace.

The *Spaniards* therefore, when they saw their main Project for the Crown thus to fayl, had thoughts to reimburse themselves, by getting Possession of as many strong places, upon the Frontiers of **France**, as they could, either by Force or Fraud; **La Fera**, in **Picardy**, **Capella**, **Croisil**, and **Blabet** in **Brittany**, and **Calais**, they Surprized. By which means they had so strengthen'd themselves, as that the Dukes of *Guise* and *Mayne* (after they had made their Peace with the King)

and other Leaders of the *League*, were now content to joyn their Forces, to beat them out as Enemies, whom they had formerly call'd in as Friends.

And surely, if our *Covenanters* had been as truly sensible of the Honour of the *English* Nation, and *Scottish-Practises*, as the *French Leaguers* were of theirs, they wanted not as just Provocations on one side from the *Scotts*, and fair Invitations on the other from the King to joyn with him, in delivering this exhausted and bleeding Kingdom from the Misery which it did at that time suffer; and from that Slavery, which most good Men feared was at first intended by the *Scotts*; who had solemnly sworn (t) to subdue this late flourishing Church to the Tyranny of a *Scottish-Presbytery*: And, not content with that, demanded, (u) in effect the Supream Command of *Ireland* to be put into their Hands: As also to have an equal (x) share in the Government of *England*. Which Designs, of that insolency in them, and dishonour to us, were such, as our Fore-Fathers would not have endured the mention; and at the Memory whereof, our Posterity will doubtless blush.

^t See their Solemn *League* and *Covenant*.
^u See the full Relation of the Treaty at *Uxbridge* p.209.
^x lb.p.206.

And to bring these their ends about, 'tis very well known, that they made themselves Masters of the strongest Cities in this Kingdom, upon their own confines; viz. *Warwick*, *Newcastle*, and *Carlisle*: Out of which, and such other Footing as they had gained here, how they were got, the Precedent Story doth sufficiently manifest, whereof I shall not give any touch; that of the *Spaniards* departure out of *France*, having no resemblance therewith. For the King of *Spain* found, while he was Fighting to gain the Neighbour Kingdom of *France*, he had almost lost his own in the *Low-Countries*. Likewise, that neither his Forces, nor Moneys were sufficient to maintain two such Expensive Wars at the same time: And that he did not gain so much in *France*, but the *Hollanders*, by occasion of that diversion, got as much of him in *Flanders*, and therefore was willing to hearken to a Treaty for Peace: And the *French* (whose Kingdom was now miserably wasted by a long Civil War) not unwilling to imbrace the motion. Whereupon a Peace was

concluded betwixt those two Crowns at **Uerbins** upon the second of *May*, *Anno*. 1598. Whereby the *Spaniard* was to restore all the Towns he had taken in the *French* Dominion, and go away only with Baggage and Baggage.

It is not unworthy of Observation, that in all the several Compositions, which the *Leaguers* made with the King, upon their Reconcilement, and in all the Articles of the Treaty at **Uerbins**, for the general Peace, there is not the least mention of *Religion*, or Extirpation of Heresy, though that was the *great Cause*, for which they ever pretended to take up Arms: Only they were careful to preserve their secular Interests; and to secure their Persons and Estates upon as good Terms as they could: A plain Evidence, that *Religion* was but the Stale; *Honours* and *Preferments* being the Mark which they aimed at. Yet the *Protestants*, whom they had devoted to Destruction in their *Holy-League*, fared in the end never the worse for it: For the King was content to confirm and Republish in *Anno*. 1595, the same Edict in favour of them, which *Henry* the third had granted in *Anno*. 1577. and which had been the chief Eye-sore to the *Papists*, and a ground of their *League*. Which Edict (*y*) he caused to be verified in the Parliament at **Paris**, where *Coquilus*, one of the Judges, formerly a Violent *Leaguer*, was a special Instrument to further and facilitate the Publication, and reception of it in the Parliament.

And, and when the Kingdom had some Liberty to Breathe and Recover her Senses, even those that were professed *Papists*, did not much repine at the Toleration of *Protestants*, and enlargement of their Priviledges by the Edict of **Plantz**, *Anno*. 1598. Which the Historian (*z*) relating, labours, in part, to excuse, by discouraging to the Reader — That the Common Peace of **France**, Pressed and almost Oppressed with the Tragical Impetuosities of Schisms and Divisions, made every thing that was just, to be thought necessary, and all that was profitable be esteemed just. So that, seeing the torrent of *Religion* could not be stopt without a Breach in

D'Avila p. 943.

Piere Mathew Lib. 2. Narrat. 1. Sect. 4.

the State; that the Disease was inveterate, and a hard matter to remove what was so deeply settled: That the Restauration of a Church, is the work of God, as well as the Plantation: Men must be content to do no more than they can, and leave the Triumph and Conquest of Souls to the Wisdom of God, who only forms and Reforms the Hearts of Men as he pleaseth; and gives the signal to many wandring Souls, to bring them into the way of Salvation; it being not possible for Men to impose a necessity upon that, which God hath left at Liberty, the *Conscience*, which should be as free in a State as *Thought*.

Where, (going on) he shews, by the continued Practice of former times, that such Princes, as were well advised, never killed their Subjects to Convert them; nor wasted their Dominions by War, to inform their Consciences by the Sword; knowing, that *Religion* is an Act of Union and Concord, and must be planted by Instruction; whereas Wars are all for Division and Destruction: And those, who, in these later times, have mingled Heaven and Earth together, to compell the Consciences of their Subjects to an Unity in *Religion*, have, at last, been fain to give over, and let them alone; and to reject the advise of those unskilsul Physitians, who prescribe nothing but *Antimony*, and Letting Bloud, for all Diseases. Then he proves that the accord made with the *Protestants*, was both just, necessary, and profitable. The whole Discourse is not unworthy the consideration of our times; but I shall not trouble the Reader with Transcribing farther.

Having now dispatch't the *Holy-League*, and made good (I hope) so much as I undertook; that it was, for the most part, parallel to this of ours: One thing, only, I have not insisted on; not knowing whether it be convenient to particularize in it; namely the strange Disasters, and Unfortunate ends, which befell many Eminent Persons of that *League*. Like to which our own Story hath afforded us some Examples already, and Posterity may be able to observe more.

To say nothing of any that were Kill'd in those Wars, on either Party; nor much of the Tragical ends of many of that Family, who were the first Authors and constant Upholders of that *League*; it cannot be forgot, that the Duke of *Guise*, and his Brother the Cardinal, were both of them suddainly taken away by (a) Trechery, when their hopes were at highest: And the Duke of *Nemure* (their Brother by the Mother) Betray'd by one whom he most trusted, Dyed in Despair in the declining of the *League*. Likewise, That one of the Duke of *Guise* his Sons (a Person of special note for his Valour) was, some Years after the Peace, miserably torn in peices by (b) a Canon at *Arles*, which burst, when he gave Fire to it, Shooting at a Mark. The (c) chief of the Duke of *Lorreyne*s Family, who thought to have gained the Kingdom of *France* to his Son from the Father; (d) that Son lost all his own Dukedom to the Son. (e) The Duke of *Merceur*, who aimed to have had *Brittany*, at least, for his share, Dyed (f) of the Plague in a Forrein Countrey, left no Heir Male; so that his whole Estate came to the Duke of *Vendosme* with his Daughter much against her Will. The Count of *St. Paul*, who had been advanced by the Duke of *Mayne*, to the Title of Mareschal of *France*, was in the time of the *League*, Stab'd by the young Duke of *Guise*, as he came forth of the Church at *Remes*, *Villiers*, the Admiral, was basely Kill'd (g) by a Spanish-Souldier, in cold Bloud, and his Finger cut off by another for his Ring. *Briffon*, the Premier President of the Parliament at *Paris*, who had been first most Violent against the King; upon suspicion of complying; afterwards, was, with some others Strangled by the Tumultuous Citizens of *Paris*: And the Lord *Gomeron*, Governour of *Han*, in *Picardy*, who sold that place to the Spaniard, was Beheaded before the Walls of the same Town; a Reward not much Inferior to that of the two *Hothams*.

^a Du Tillet. p.242.

^b Davila p. 994.

^c Duplex Hist. p.27.

^d K. Henry the 4th.

^e K. Lewis the 13th.

^f Davila p. 629.

^g Du Tillet. p.263.

^h Davila p. 936.

I take no pleasure in reckoning up many of these Instances. He that will seek, may find more in **France**; and he that will observe (I do not wish, but fear it) in time may discover as many in **England**.

One Observation more, I shall Intreat the Reader to carry home with him, and then I have done with the *Holy-League*.

It hath already been shew'd at full; that when the *Leaguers* first took up Armes, and bound themselves by Oathes against their King; the pretended grounds of the one, and the Subject of the other, were nothing but the *Defence of the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties, and Property of the Subject*, with many fair Promises to make the King a *Glorious King*. Where I cannot chuse but observe, how the Hand of God, by a strange Providence, turned all their Vows into Prophecies, and their Promises into Predictions; by fulfilling them all, though in far different sence from what they intended. By setting the *True Religion*, they meant the *Roman*; but God fulfilled it of the *Protestant*: And those Armes, which they Vowed to the Ruine, God Converted to the Advancement of it; the *Protestants* of that Kingdom, having upon that occasion obtain'd, and ever since enjoyed greater Immunities, and a more free and settled course of the Profession of their Religion, than ever they had before.

As to the *Laws*, the Fundamental Laws of **France** (to speak with the *French-Man*) the *Salique-Laws*, touching the Succession of the Crown, and Prerogative of the King, which they intended to alter; they did, in the event, confirm.

And as *Henry* the third was Advanced to a State of Glory, by the cruel Hands of *Jaques Clement* (an Instrument of the *League*) and *Henry* the fourth, by *Ravilliac* (one Trained up in the same Principles:)

Principles:) So was King *Charles* the first, by his bloody Murtherers here.

But, as it fell out, consider what a purchase the Glorious Nobility, the Gallant Gentry, the Rich Citizens, and the Secure Farmer had; when, by siding with the *Leaguers*, they Exchanged their Loyalty, and present Peace, which they enjoyed under the King's Protection, for the airy hopes of a greater Liberty; and, if not bettering, at least securing their Estates. Did not the long continuance of those Wars, so inure the Souldiers to a Military course of Life, and the People to Patience under *Contributions*, and *Impositions*, that the former could never since be won to lay the Sword out of his Hands; nor the latter get the Yoke shaken off their Shoulders? Only the Scene is somewhat altered; for whereas before, their own Countrey was the Stage of the War; they have now removed it to their Neighbours: And the Crown of **France**, by reason of their many Victories and Successes, is now become justly formidable to a great part of **Europe**; whereby the promise of the *Leaguers* is fully verified, *the King is made Glorious*; but how far they so intended, is easy to imagine. And how the *Liberty of the Subject* in general, is enhaunted, and their *Property* Establisht, by these Glorious Atchievements of the King, when their Yearly Taxes, for support of his Wars, amount almost (if not altogether) to the value of their Lands, let the *French*, if they have any cause, make their boast.

And the People of **England** may now see, how by tracing them too far in the forbidden Paths of a conceited *Liberty*, they not long since fell into the known Slavery of the *French* Peasant: A Misery, which some of them felt but a little; when, for fear of it, they first Petitioned to be put into a *Posture of Defence*; but justly brought upon themselves, by those undue Courses, which they took to prevent it: God, in his Wisdom thinking it fit, to punish this Nation by a real Slavery, unto some of their own Fellow-Subjects, for fancying to themselves an imaginary, under their Lawful Sovereign, as a ground to

justify their Rebellion, when there was no cause for it.

Wherefore I shall now Conclude, with the Words of *Sr. Edward Coke*, at the end of this Chapter, (b) concerning Treason.

^b *Cokes Instit. part. 3. P. 35.*

—— It appeareth in the Holy Scriptures, (saith he) that Traytors never prospered, what good soever they pretended, but were most severely, and exemplarily punished; As (i) Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, by Miracle——*dirupta est terra sub pedibus eorum, & aperiens os suum, devoravit illos.* Athalia (k) the Daughter of Amri, *interfecta est gladio: Bagatha (l) and Thara, against Assuerus, appensus est uterque eorum in patibulo.* Absolon (m) against David——*suspensus in arbo-re; and Joab, infixit tres lanceas in corde ejus.* Ahithophel (n) with Absolon, against David; —— *suspendio interijt, he Hang'd himself.*

¹ *Numb. 16. 31, 32. & 27. 3.*

^k *Reg. 11. 36.*

¹ *Esther 6. 2, 3.*

^m *Sam. 2. 18.*

^{9. 14.}

ⁿ *Ib. 17. 23.*

^o *Reg. (2)*

^{21. 26, 27.}

Abiathar (o) the Trayterous High-Priest against Solomon; —— *Abiathar sacerdoti dixit Rex —— Et quidem vir mortis es, sed hodie non interficiam, &c. Ejecit ergo Solomon, Abiathar, ut non esset Sacerdos.*

^p *Sam. (2)*

^{16. 5, 6. Et}

Reg. (1) 2.

^{8. 4. 6.}

⁴ *Reg. (b) 16.*

^{9. 18.}

¹ *Act. Apost.*

^{5. 36, 37.}

Shimei (p) against David——*gladio interfectus.* Zimri (q) against Ela, who burnt himself. Theudas (r) (qui occisus est, & circiter CCCC. qui credebant ei, dispersi sunt & re-dacti ad nihilum) and Judas Galilæus; *ipse perijt, & omnes quotquot consenserunt ei, dispersi sunt.*

^s *Prov. 24.*

^{21.}

Peruse over all our Books, Records, and Histories (saith he) and you shall find a Principle in Law; a Rule in Reason; and a Tryal in Experience; that Treason doth ever produce Fatal and Final Destruction to the Offender, and never attained to the desired end (two incidents inseparable thereunto) and therefore, let all Men abandon it, as the most Poysonous Bayt of the Devil; and follow the Precept in Holy Scripture, (s) *Fear God, Honour the King, and have no Company with the Seditious.*

F I N I S.

A Full
RELATION
OF THE
Passages concerning the *TREATY*
FOR
A PEACE,
Begun at Urbridge,
January 30. 1644.

BEING
An **APPENDIX**
TO THE
HISTORY of the late **TROUBLES**
IN
ENGLAND.



RELATION

TWO BIBLES

A & B A C E

of the

of the

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AN APPENDIX

TO THE HISTORY OF THE ISLANDS

IN ENGLAND

OF THE

OF THE

A
T A B L E
O R
I N D E X.

S H E W I N G

Briefly the Method, and Order of this Narrative, and directing to the places, where each Subjects Matter therein contained, is to be found.

1. **A**RE set down the Messages and Propositions sent by His Majesty, and brought to Him, which preceeded the Treaty, and were inducements to it, beginning Page 737, and ending page 754.
2. The Passages in the beginning of the Treaty preparatory thereunto, wherein,
 1. Of the several Commissions, and Passages thereupon, beginning pag. 754. ending pag. 762.
 2. The Papers Concerning the Manner, and Order of the Treaty, pag. 762. ending pag 764.
 3. The Papers concerning a Scandalous Sermon Preached at Uxbridge against the Treaty, the first day of the Treaty, and before it began, pag. 764. ending pag. 765,
3. The Papers Concerning Religion, during the whole Treaty, Collected together, pag. 766. ending pag. 783.
4. The Papers Concerning the Militia, during the whole Treaty Collected together, pag. 784. ending pag. 825.
5. The Papers Concerning Ireland, during the whole Treaty, Collected together, pag. 826. ending pag. 868.
6. The Papers Concerning His Majesties Propositions, and particularly for a Cessation of Armes, and touching His Majesties return to Westminster after disbanding of Armies,

Index.

and further time for continuing or renewing the Treaty, are Collected together, pag. 869. ending pag. 884.

7. And lastly, an Appendix is added, wherein are contained such things as are mentioned in the Narrative, or were delivered in writing during the Treaty, and were not Printed before, or being heretofore Printed, are now out of Print, or not easily to be had, the particulars whereof are as followeth.

1. His Majesties Message from Evesham of the 4th of July, 1644. pag. 885.
2. His Majesties Message from Tavestock of the 8th of September, 1644. pag. 887.
3. The Bill for abolishing of Episcopacy &c. pag. 888.
4. The Articles of the late Treaty of the date at Edenburgh the 29th of Novemb. 1643. pag. 897.
5. The Ordinance for calling the Assembly of Divines, pag. 902.
6. The Votes and Orders delivered with it, pag. 908 and 909.
7. The Articles of the 6th of August, 1642. concerning Ireland, pag. 910.
8. The Ordinances of the 9th of March, and the 11th of April, touching the Forces in Ireland, pag. 915.
9. } The Letters and Advices from the Lords Justices, and
10. } Council of Ireland, pag. 917.

Hereunto is added His Majesties Answers to certain Papers delivered upon the close of the Treaty, one concerning the Militia, and two concerning Ireland, beginning pag. 927.



His MAJESTY having received an Account from His Commissioners, of their proceedings in the late Treaty at *Uxbridge*, to the end that all His people may be fully satisfied, of his earnest and constant endeavours to procure the publick Peace, whereby to put an end to these present miseries, hath commanded this full and plain Narrative, of all the passages concerning that Treaty, to be made and published.



After His Majesties Message from *Evesham* of the 4th of *July* last, desiring and propounding a Treaty for Peace; And His second Message from *Tavestock* of the 8th of *September* last, renewing that desire; At length; on the 23. day of *November* last past, the Earl of *Denbigh* and others repaired to His Majesty at *Oxford*, with Propositions in these words following:

See these Messages in the Appendix n. 1. & 2.

WE E Your Majesties Loyal Subjects, assembled in the Parliaments of both your Kingdoms, from the sense of that Duty we owe unto Your Majesty, and of the deep sufferings, and many miseries, under which your People of all Your Kingdoms lye bleeding in this unnatural War, after long and serious consultation about the best wayes and means of their preservation, and for settling Your Majesties Throne; and Your Subjects in Peace and Security, have, with common consent, Resolved upon these

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Propositions, which we do humbly tender unto Your Majesty.

The humble desires and Propositions for a safe and well grounded Peace, agreed upon by the mutual advice and consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, united by solemn League and Covenant, to be presented to His Majesty.

1. That by Act of Parliament in each Kingdom respectively, all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations against both or either of the Houses of the Parliament of England, and the late Convention of Estates in Scotland, or Committees flowing from the Parliament, or Convention in Scotland, or their Ordinances and proceedings, or against any for adhering unto them; And all Indictments, Outlawies, and Attainders against any for the said Causes, be declared Null, suppressed and forbidden; And that this be publickly intimated in all Parish-Churches within His Majesties Dominions, and all other places needful.

2. That His Majesty, according to the laudable example of His Royal Father of happy memory, may be pleased to swear and sign the late solemn League and Covenant; And that an Act of Parliament be passed in both Kingdoms respectively for enjoying the taking thereof, by all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms, and the Ordinances concerning the manner of taking the same in both Kingdoms, be confirmed by Acts of Parliaments respectively, with such penalties as, by mutual advice of both Kingdoms shall be agreed upon.

3. That the Bill be passed for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commissaries, Deans, and Subdeans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, Canons and Prebendaries; And all Chanters, Chancellours, Treasurers, Subtreasurers, Succentors and Sacristis; and all Vicars Choral and Choristers; old Vicars and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiat Church; And all other their under-officers, out of the Church of England, and Dominion of Wales, and out of the Church of Ireland, with such alterations concerning the Estates of Prelates, as shall agree with the Articles of the late Treaty, of the Date at Edenborough, 29 of Novemb. 1643. And joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms.

4. That the Ordinance concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

5. That Reformation of Religion according to the Covenant be settled by Act of Parliament, in such manner as both Houses shall agree upon after consultation had with the Assembly of Divines.

And

And for as much as both Kingdoms are mutually obliged by the same Covenant, to endeavour the nearest Conjunction and uniformity in matters of Religion, that such unity and uniformity in Religion according to the Covenant, as after consultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms now assembled shall be joyntly agreed upon by both Houses of the Parliament of England, and by the Church and Kingdom of Scotland be confirmed by Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively.

6. That for the more effectual disabling Jesuits, Priests, Papists and Popish Recusants from disturbing the State, and deluding the Laws, and for the better discovering and speedy conviction of Recusants, an Oath be Established by Act of Parliament to be administred to them, wherein they shall abjure and renounce the Popes Supremacy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, worshipping of the consecrated Hoast, Crucifixes and Images; and all other Popish Superstitions and Errors; and refusing the said Oath being tendred in such manner as shall be appointed by the said Act, to be sufficient conviction in Law of Recusancie.

7. An Act of Parliament for education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

8. An Act for the true leavying of the penalties against them, which penalties to be leavyed and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, wherein to be provided that His Majesty shall have no loss.

9. That an Act be passed in Parliament, whereby the practices of Papists against the State may be prevented, and the Laws against them duely executed, and a stricter course taken to prevent the saying or hearing of Mass in the Court; or any other part of this Kingdome.

10. The like for the Kingdome of Scotland; concerning the four last preceeding Propositions, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

11. That the King do give His Royal Assent,

To an Act for the due observation of the Lords day;

And to the Bill for the suppression of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the Worship of God; And for the better advancement of the Preaching of Gods holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom;

And in the Bill against the enjoying of Pluralities of Benefices by spirituall Persons and non-Residencie;

And to an Act to be framed and agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, for the reforming and regulating of both Universities, of the Colledges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton.

And to an Act in like manner to be agreed upon for the suppression of Interludes and Stage-plays, This Act to be perpetual ;

And to an Act for the taking the Accompts of the Kingdom ;

And to an Act to be made for relief of sick and maymed Souldiers, and of poor Widdows and children of Souldiers ;

And to such Act or Acts for raising of Moneys for the payment and satisfying of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom, and other publick uses as shall hereafter be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament ;

And to an Act or Acts of Parliament for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardships, Liveries, Primer seilins, and Ouster le maynes, and all other charges incident or arising for, or by reason of Wardship, Livery, Primer seisin, or Ouster le Maines ;

And for the taking away of all Tenures by homage, and all Fines, Licenses, Seisures, and Pardons for alienation, and all other charges incident thereunto, and for turning of all Tenures by Knights service, either of His Majesty or others, or by Knights service or soccage in Capite of His Majesty into free and common Soccage ; And that His Majesty will please to accept in recompence hereof one hundred thousand pounds per annum ;

And give assurance of his consenting in the Parliament of Scotland to an Act ratifying the Acts of Convention of the Estates of Scotland called by the Council and Conseratory of Peace, and the Commissioners for the common Burthens, and assembled the 22 day of June, 1643. and several times continued since in such manner and with such additions, and other Acts as the Estates convened in this present Parliament shall think convenient.

12. That an Act be passed in the Parliament of both Kingdomes respectively, for confirmation of the Treaties passed betwixt the two Kingdoms (viz.) the large Treaties, the late Treaty for the coming of the Scots Army into England, and the setting of the Garrison of Berwick of the 29 of November, 1643. And the Treaty concerning Ireland of the 6th of August, 1642. withall other Ordinances and proceedings passed betwixt the two Kingdoms in pursuance of the said Treaties.

13. That an Act of Parliament be passed to make voyd the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebels, without consent of both Houses of Parliament, and to settle the prosecution of the War of Ireland in both Houses of Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms ; And the King to assist, and to do no Act to discountenance or molest them therein.

14. That an Act be passed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively, for establishing the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, bearing date the 30th of January 1643. in England, and 1644. in Scotland, with the qualifications ensuing.

1. That the Persons who shall expect no Pardon, be onely these following, RUPERT and MAURICE, Count Palatines of the Rhene, James Earl of Derby, John Earl of Bristol, William Earl of Newcastle, Francis Lord Cottington, John Lord Pawlet, George Lord Digby, Edward Lord Littleton, William Laud, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Matthew Wren Bishop of Ely, Sir Robert Heath Knight, Doctor Bramhall Bishop of Derry, Sir John Byron Knight, William Widdrington, Colonel George Goring, Henry Jermin Esq. Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Francis Doddington, M. Endymion Porter, Sir George Ratcliffe, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir John Hotham, Captain John Hotham his sonne, Sir Henry Vaughan, Sir Francis Windebanke, Sir Richard Greenville, Mr. Edward Hyde, Sir John Marley, Sir Nicholas Cole, Sir Thomas Riddell Junior, Colonel Wate, Sir John Strangwayes, Sir John Culpepper, Sir Richard Floyd, John Bodvile Esq. M. David Jenkins, Sir George Strode, Sir Alexander Carew, Marquess of Huntley, Earl of Montrosse, Earl of Niddisdail, Earl of Traquayre, Earl of Carnewath, Viscount of Aubayne, Lord Ogleby, Lord Rae, Lord Harris, Lodwick Lindsey some time Earl of Crawford, Patrick Ruthen sometime Earl of Forth, James King sometimes Lord Ethyn, Iruing younger of Drumnim, Gordon younger of Gight, Lesley of Auchintoule, Sir Robert Spotswood of Dumipace, Colonel John Cockram, Mr. John Maxwell, sometime pretended Bishop of Ross, M. Walter Balcanqual, and all such others, as being proccessed by the Estates for Treason, shall be condemned before the Act of Oblivion be passed.

2. All Papists and Popish Recusants, who have been now, are, or shall be actually in Arms, or Voluntarily assisting against the Parliaments or Estates of either Kingdom.

3. All persons who have had any hand in the plotting, designing, or assisting the Rebellion in Ireland.

4. That Humphrey Bennet Esquire, Sir Edward Ford, Sir John Penruddock, Sir George Vaughan, Sir John Weld, Sir Robert Lee, Sir John Pate, John Ackland, Edmund Windham Esquires, Sir John Fitzherbert, Sir Ed-
ward

ward Laurence, Sir Ralph Dutton, Henry Lingen *Esq.* Sir William Russell of Worcestershire, Thomas Lee of Adlington *Esq.* Sir John Gurlington, Sir Paul Neale, Sir William Thorald, Sir Edward Hufsey, Sir Tho. Lyddell Senior, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir John Digby of Nottingh. Sir Hen. Fletcher, Sir Richard Minshall, Laurence Halstead, John Denham *Esquires*, Sir Edmund Fortescue, Peter St Hill *Esq.* Sir Thomas Tildesley, Sir Hen. Griffith, Michael Wharton *Esq.* Sir Hen. Spiller, Sir George Benion, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir Edward Walgrove, Sir Edward Bishop, Sir Robert Owsley, Sir John Maney, Lord Cholmely, Sir Thomas Aston, Sir Lewis Dives, Sir Peter Osborne, Samuel Thorneton *Esq.* Sir John Lucas, John Blomey *Esq.* Sir Thomas Chedle, Sir Nicholas Kemish, and Hugh Lloyd *Esq.* And all such of the Scottish Nation, as have concurred in the Votes at Oxford, against the Kingdom of Scotland and their proceedings, or have Sworn or Subscribed the Declaration against the Convention and Covenant, And all such as have assisted the Rebellion in the North, or the invasion in the South of the said Kingdom of Scotland, or the late Invasion made there by the Irish and their Adherents; And that the Members of either House of Parliament, who have not only deserted the Parliament, but have also Voted both Kingdoms Traytors, may be removed from His Majesties Councils, and be restrained from coming within the Verge of the Court, and that they may not without the advice and consent of both Kingdoms, bear any Office, or have any employment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And also that the Members of either House of Parliament, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and not rendred themselves before the last of October 1643. may be removed from His Majesties Councils; and be restrained from coming within the Verge of the Court, and that they may not, without the advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any employment concerning the State or Commonwealth: And in case any of them shall offend therein, to be guilty of High-Treason, and incapable of any Pardon by His Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed as both Houses of Parliament in England, or the Estates of the Parliament in Scotland respectively shall think fit,

5. That by Act of Parliament, all Judges and Officers towards the Law Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament and adhered to the enemies thereof, be made incapable of any
place

place of Judicature or Office, towards the Law Common or Civil; And that all Serjeants, Counsellors and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates and Proctors of the Law Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be made incapable of any practice in the Law common or civil, either in publick or in private. And that they, and likewise all Bishops, Clergy men, and other Ecclesiastical persons, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the enemies thereof, shall not be capable of any preferment or employment, either in Church or Common-wealth, without the advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament.

6. The persons of all others to be free of all personal censure, notwithstanding any Act or thing, done, in, or concerning this War, they taking the Covenant.

7. The Estates of those persons, excepted in the first three preceeding qualifications to pay publick Debts and Damages.

8. A third part in full value of the Estates of the persons made incapable of any employment, as aforesaid, to be employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages, according to the Declaration.

9. And likewise a tenth part of the Estates of all other Delinquents within the joynt Declarations; and in case the Estates and proportions aforesaid, shall not suffice for the payment of the publick engagements, whereunto they are onely to be employed, that then a new proportion may be appointed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, providing, it exceed not the one moyety of the Estates of the persons made incapable, as aforesaid, and that it exceed not a sixth part of the Estate of the other Delinquents.

10. That the persons and Estates of all common Souldiers, and others of the Kingdom of England, who in Lands or Goods be not worth 200 sterling; and the persons and Estates of all common Souldiers, and others of the Kingdom of Scotland, who in Lands or Goods be not worth 100 sterling, be at liberty and discharged.

11. That an Act be passed whereby the Debts of the Kingdom, and the persons of Delinquents, and the value of their Estates may be known; and which Act shall appoint in what manner the confiscations and proportions before mentioned, may be levied and applyed to the discharge of the said engagements.

15. That by Act of Parliament the Subjects of the Kingdom of England, may be appointed to be Armed, Trained and Disciplined in such manner as both Houses shall think fit, the like for
the

Treaty for Peace at Uxbridge, 1644.

the Kingdom of Scotland, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

16. That an Act of Parliament be passed for the setting of the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and for the raising of such Moneys for maintenance of the said Forces, and of the Navy, as both Houses of Parliament shall think fit; the like for the Kingdom of Scotland, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

17. An Act for the setting of all Forces both by Sea and Land, in Commissioners to be nominated by both Houses of Parliament, of persons of known integrity, and such as both Kingdoms may confide in, for their faithfulness to Religion, and Peace of the Kingdoms

of the House of Peers, and of the House of Commons, who shall be removed or altered from time to time as both Houses shall think fit; and when any shall dye, others to be nominated in their places by the said Houses; Which Commissioners shall have power,

1. To suppress any Forces raised without authority of both Houses of Parliament, or in the intervals of Parliaments, without consent of the said Commissioners, to the disturbance of the publique peace of the Kingdoms, and to suppress any Foreign Forces that shall invade this Kingdom, and that it shall be high Treason in any who shall Levy any Force without such authority or consent, to the disturbance of the publique Peace of the Kingdoms, any Commission under the Great Seal, or Warrant to the contrary notwithstanding, and they to be incapable of any Pardon, from His Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed of, as both Houses of Parliament shall think fit.

2. To preserve the Peace now to be settled, and to prevent all disturbance of the publique Peace that may arise by occasion of the late Troubles: so for the Kingdom of Scotland.

3. To have power to send part of themselves so as they exceed not a third part, or be not under the number of to reside in the Kingdom of Scotland, to assist and Vote as single persons with the Commissioners of Scotland, in those matters wherein the Kingdom of Scotland is only concerned: So for the Kingdom of Scotland.

4. That the Commissioners of both Kingdoms may meet as a joynt Committee, as they shall see cause, or send part of themselves as aforesaid, to do as followeth,

1. To preserve the Peace betwixt the Kingdoms, and the King, and every one of them.

2. To

2. To prevent the violation of the Articles of Peace, as aforesaid, or any troubles arising in the Kingdoms by breach of the said Articles, and to hear and determine all differences that may occasion the same according to the Treaty, and to do further accordingly as they shall respectively receive Instructions from both Houses of Parliament of England, or the Estates of the Parliament in Scotland, and in the intervals of Parliaments from the Commissioners for the preservation of the publick Peace.

3. To raise and joyn the Forces of both Kingdoms to resist all Forreign Invasion, and to suppress any Forces raised within any of the Kingdoms, to the disturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms, by any authority under the great Seal, or other warrant whatsoever, without consent of both Houses of Parliament in England, and the Estates of the Parliament in Scotland, or the said Commissioners of that Kingdom whereof they are Subjects; and that in those cases of joynt concernment to both Kingdoms, the Commissioners, to be directed to be there all, or such part as aforesaid, to act and direct as joynt Commissioners of both Kingdoms.

4. To order the War of Ireland, according to the Ordinance of the 11th of April, and to order the Militia, and conserve the peace of the Kingdom of Ireland.

18. That His Majesty give his assent to what the two Kingdoms shall agree upon, in prosecution of the Articles of the large Treaty, which are not yet finished.

19. That by Act of Parliament all Peers, made since the day that Edward Lord Littleton, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deserted the Parliament, and that the said Great Seal was surreptitiously conveyed away from the Parliament, being the 21 day of May, 1642. And who shall be hereafter made, shall not Sit or Vote in the Parliament of England, without consent of both Houses of Parliament, and that all Honour and Title conferred on any, without consent of both Houses of Parliament, since the 20th day of May, 1642. being the day that both Houses declared, That the King, seduced by evil Counsel, intended to raise War against the Parliament, be declared nul and void. The like for the Kingdom of Scotland, those being excepted whose Patents were passed the Great Seal before the 4th of June, 1644.

20. That by Act of Parliament the Deputy or chief Governour, or other Governours of Ireland, be nominated by both Houses of Parliament, or in the intervals of Parliament by the Commissioners, to continue during the pleasure of the said Houses, or in the intervals of Parliament during the pleasure of the afore-

mentioned Commissioners, to be approved or disallowed by both Houses at their next sitting. And that the Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Commissioners of the Great Seal, or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Chancellors of the Exchequer, and Dutchee, Secretaries of State, Judges of both Benches, and of the Exchequer of the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, be nominated by both Houses of Parliament, to continue quam diu se bene gesserint, and in the intervals of Parliament by the aforementioned Commissioners to be approved or disallowed by both Houses at their next sitting; The like for the Kingdom of Scotland, adding the Justice General, and in such manner as the Estates in Parliament there shall think fit.

21. That by Act of Parliament the Education of Your Majesties Children, and the Children of Your Heirs and Successors be in the true Protestant Religion, and that their Tutors and Governors be of known integrity, and be chosen by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, or in the intervals of Parliaments, by the aforementioned Commissioners to be approved or disallowed by both Parliaments at their next sitting. And that if they be Male, they be Married to such onely as are of the true Protestant Religion, if they be Female, they may not be married but with the advice and consent of both Parliaments, or in the intervals of Parliament by their Commissioners.

22. That your Majesty will give your Royal assent to such wayes and means as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms shall think fitting for the uniting of the Protestant Princes, and for the entire restitution and Reestablishment of Charles Lodwick Prince Elector Palatine, His Heirs and Successors, to His Electoral Dignity, Rights and Dominions, Provided that this extend not to Prince Rupert, or Prince Maurice, or the Children of either of them, who have been the Instruments of so much blood-shed and mischief against both Kingdoms.

23. That by Act of Parliament the concluding of Peace or War with Forraign Princes and States, be with advice and consent of both Parliaments, or in the intervals of Parliaments by their Commissioners.

24. That an Act of Oblivion be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively, relative to the Qualifications in the Propositions aforesaid, concerning the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, with the exception of all Murderers, Thieves and other Offenders, not having relation to the War.

25. That the Members of both Houses of Parliament, or others,
who

who have during this Parliament, been put out of any Place or Office, Pension or benefit, for adhering to the Parliament, may either be restored thereunto, or otherwise have Recompence for the same, upon the humble desire of both Houses of Parliament. The like for the Kingdom of Scotland.

26. That the Armies may be disbanded at such time and in such manner, as shall be agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, or such as shall be authorised by them to that effect.

27. That an Act be passed for the granting and confirming of the Charters, Customes, Liberties and Franchises of the City of London, notwithstanding any Non-user Mis-user or Abuser. That the Militia of the City of London, may be in the ordering and Government of the Lord Major, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Council assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint, whereof the Lord Major and Sheriffs for the time being to be there. And that the Militia of the Parishes without London, and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, may be under Command of the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Commons in Common-Council of the said City, to be ordered in such manner as shall be agreed on and appointed by both Houses of Parliament.

That the Tower of London may be in the Government of the City of London, and the Chief Officer, and Governour thereof from time to time be nominated and removable by the Common-Council.

That the Citizens or forces of London, shall not be drawn out of the City into any other parts of the Kingdom, without their own consent, and that the drawing of their Forces into other parts of the Kingdom in these distracted times, may not be drawn into example for the future.

And for prevention of Inconveniencies, which may happen by the long intermission of Common-Councils; It is desired that there be an Act, that all By-Laws and Ordinances already made or hereafter to be made by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common-Council assembled, touching the calling, continuing, directing, and regulating of the same, shall be as effectual in Law to all intents and purposes, as if the same were particularly enacted by the Authority of Parliament. And that the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common-Council, may add to, or repeal the said Ordinances from time to time as they shall see cause.

That such other Propositions as shall be made for the City for

their farther safety, welfare, and Government, and shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, may be granted and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Upon consideration of which Propositions, His Majesty sent the *Duke of Richmond*, and the *Earl of Southampton* with this Message of the 13th of December.

- II. **H**IS Majesty hath seriously considered your Propositions, and finds it very difficult, in respect they import so great an alteration in Government, both in Church and State, to return a particular and positive answer before a full debate; wherein those Propositions, and all the necessary Explanations, and reasons for assenting, dissenting, or qualifying, and all inconveniences, and mischiefs which may ensue, and cannot otherwise be so well foreseen, may be discussed and weighed; His Majesty therefore proposeth and desireth, as the best expedient for Peace, That you will appoint such number of Persons as you shall think fit, to Treat with the like number of Persons to be appointed by His Majesty, upon the said Propositions, and such other things as shall be proposed by His Majesty, for the preservation and defence of the *Protestant Religion* (with due regard to the ease of tender Consciences, as His Majesty hath often offered) The Rights of the Crown, The Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Priviledges of Parliament. And upon the whole matter to conclude a happy and blessed Peace.

Unto which Message this Answer of the 27th of December was returned to His Majesty.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

- III. **W**EE your Majesties humble and Loyal Subjects of both Kingdoms, have considered of Your Majesties Message of the 13 of December 1644. sent by the *Duke of Richmond*, and the *Earl of Southampton*, directed to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland now at London. And do in all humbleness return this Answer.

That

That we do consent there be a Treaty for a safe and well grounded Peace: But find that it will require some time to resolve concerning the Instructions, and manner of that Treaty; And therefore, that Your Majesty might not be held in suspence touching our readiness to make use of any opportunity for attaining such a blessed and happy Peace in all Your Majesties Dominions, We would not stay Your Majesties Messengers till we did resolve upon all those particulars, which we will take into our serious consideration, and present our humble desires to Your Majesty with all convenient speed.

*Westminster, the 20th
of Decemb. 1644.*

*Gray of Wark, Speaker of the
House of Peers pro tempore.*

*Signed in the name, and by War-
rant of the Commissioners of the
Parliament of Scotland.*

*William Lenthall, Spea-
ker of the Commons House
Assembled in Parliament.*

LOWDON.

And afterwards upon the 18th of January following, Sir Peter Killigrew brought this farther Answer to His Majesty.

May it please Your Most Excellent Majesty,

W*E E Your Majesties humble and Loyal Subjects, the
Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of Eng-
land at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament
of Scotland, do make our further answer to Your Majesties Mes-
sage of the 13th of December last, 1644.*

IV.

Concerning a Treaty for Peace as followeth.

*We do consent that there be a Treaty for a safe and well ground-
ed Peace between your Majesty and your humble and Loyal Sub-
jects assembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. And for
the present have appointed Algernon Earl of Northumberland,
Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William
Earl of Salisbury, Basill Earl of Denbigh, Thomas Lord Vis-
count Wenman, Denzil Hollis, William Pierrepont, Sir
Henry Vane Junior, Oliver St John, Bullstrode Whitlock,
John Crew, Edmund Prideaux, for the Lords and Commons
assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster; And
John*

Treaty for Peace at Uxbridge, 1644.

John Earl of Lowdon, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, Archibald Marquiss of Argyle, John Lord Maitland, John Lord Balmerino, Sir Archibald Johnston, Sir Charles Erskin, George Dundas, Sir John Smith, Mr. Hugh Kennedy, and Mr. Robert Barclay, for the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, together with Master Alexander Henderson, upon the Propositions concerning Religion, who, or any Ten of them (there being always some of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms) are appointed and authoris'd to meet at Uxbridge, on what day Your Majesty shall be pleas'd to set down before the last day of this present January, with such Persons as Your Majesty shall appoint under Your Sign Manual for that purpose; And the number of the persons to Treat, not to exceed seventeen on either part, unless the persons named for the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland now not here, or any of them shall come, and then Your Majesty may have the like number if you please. There to Treat upon the Matters contained in the Propositions we lately sent unto Your Majesty; according to such Instructions as shall be given unto them, And the Propositions for Religion, the Militia, and for Ireland, to be first Treated on and agreed, and the time for the Treaty upon the said Propositions for Religion, the Militia, and for Ireland, not to exceed Twenty days, and for the things mentioned in Your Message, to be propounded by Your Majesty, when the Persons sent by Your Majesty shall communicate the same to the Committees appointed by us as aforesaid, We have directed them to send the same to us, That they may receive our Instructions what to do therein. And to the end that the Persons that are to be sent from Your Majesty and from us with their retinue, not exceeding the number of one Hundred and Eight on either part, may repair to Uxbridge, stay there, and return at their pleasure without interruption, That mutual safe Conducts be granted to the said Persons according to the several Lists of their Names,

Signed by Order of the Lords
and Commons Assembled in
the Parliament of England
at Westminster.

Gray of Wark Speaker of
the House of Peers, pro
tempore.

Signed in the name and by
warrant of the Commissioners
of the Kingdom of
Scotland.

LOWDON.

William Lenthall Speaker of
the Commons House in the Par-
liament of England.

Where-

Whereunto His Majesty returned an Answer inclosed in a Letter from Prince *Rupert* to the Earl of *Essex*, dated the 21 of *January*; which Letter and Answer were as followeth.

The Letter.

My Lord,

I Am commanded by His Majesty to return this His answer to the Message, lately sent Him from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, by Sir *Peter Killigrew*. I have likewise sent your Lordship His Majesties safe Conduct for the persons desired, and also a List of the names of those His Majesty hath appointed to Treat, for whom, together with their Retinue, His Majesty hath desired a safe Conduct.

V.
Together with this inclosed in a Letter from Prince *Rupert* to the Earl of *Essex*, His Majesty sent a safe Conduct for their Commissioners and their retinue.

The Answer inclosed.

His Majesty having received a Message by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, concerning a Treaty, returns this answer, That His Majesty doth very willingly consent, that there be a Treaty upon the *Matters contained in the Propositions, lately sent unto him in such manner as is proposed, and at the place appointed in the said Message*; and to that purpose, His Majesty will send the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingston*, the Earl of *Chichester*, the Lord *Capell*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton*, the Lord *Culpeper*, Secretary *Nicholas*, M. Chancellour of the Exchequer, the L. Chief Baron *Lane*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer* (together with Dr. *Steward*, Clerk of His Majesties Closet, upon the Propositions concerning Religion,) to meet with the persons, mentioned in the said Message at *Uxbridge* on *Wednesday* night the 29th of this Instant *January*, the Treaty to begin the next day: Which persons, or any ten of them, shall be sufficiently authorised by His Majesty to Treat and conclude on His Majesties part. And to the end that the persons aforesaid and their Retinue may repair to *Uxbridge*,

VI.

bridge,

bridge, stay there, and return at their pleasure without interruption, or go or send, during their abode there, to His Majesty, as often as occasion shall require; His Majesty desires that a safe Conduct may accordingly be sent for the said persons and their Retinue, according to a List of their names herewith sent.

And then also inclosed in a Letter from Prince *Rupert* to the Earl of *Essex*, His Majesty sent Propositions to be Treated upon on His Majesties part, which Letter and Propositions follow.

My Lord,

VII.
Prince *Ruperts*
Letter.

I Am commanded by His Majesty to send these enclosed Propositions to your Lordship, to be presented to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, to the end that there may be as little loss of time as is possible, but that the same may be treated on as soon as may be thought convenient, after the entry upon the Treaty.

His MAJESTY's Propositions to the Lords and Commons Assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for a safe and well grounded Peace.

VIII.
His Majesties
Propositions

1. **T**HAT His Majesties own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, which have been taken or kept from Him by force, be forthwith restored unto Him.

2. That whatsoever hath been done or published contrary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to His Majesties Legal and known Power and Rights, be renounced and recalled; That no seed may remain for the like to spring out of for the future.

3. That whatsoever illegal Power hath been claimed or exercised by, or over His Subjects, as imprisoning or putting to death their Persons without Law, stopping their *Habeas Corpus*s, and imposing upon their Estates without Act of Parliament, &c. either by both, or either House,

House, or any Committee of both or either, or by any persons appointed by any of them, be disclaimed, and all such persons so committed forthwith discharged.

4. That as His Majesty hath always professed His readiness to that purpose, so He will most cheerfully consent to any good Acts to be made for the suppression of Popery, and for the firmer settling of the Protestant Religion established by Law; As also that a good Bill may be framed for the better preserving of the Book of Common-Prayer from scorn and violence; And that another Bill may be framed for the ease of tender Consciences, in such particulars as shall be agreed upon. For all which His Majesty conceives the best expedient to be, that a National Synod be legally called with all convenient speed.

5. That all such persons, as upon the Treaty shall be excepted, and agreed upon on either side out of the General Pardon, shall be tryed *Per Pares*, according to the usual course and known Law of the Land, and that it be left to that, either to acquit, or condemn them.

6. And to the intent this Treaty may not suffer interruption by any intervening Accidents, That a Cessation of Arms, and free Trade for all His Majesties Subjects may be agreed upon with all possible speed.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 21th day of Jan. 1644.

The Earl of Essex upon receipt hereof returned to Prince Rupert, together with a safe Conduct, this Letter of the 25 of January.

Sir,

I Am commanded by both Houses of the Parliament of England, ^{IX.} and desired by the Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland, to desire your Highness to let His Majesty know, That they do agree, that their Committees do begin the Treaty at Uxbridge on Thursday the 30th of this January, with the Persons appointed by His Majesty on the matters contained in the Propositions lately sent unto His Majesty in such manner as was proposed. And their Committees shall have Instructions concerning the Propositions sent from His Majesty in your Highness Letter. And you will herewith receive a safe Conduct from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, for the Persons that are appointed by His Majesty to come to Uxbridge, to Treat on

Treaty for Peace at Uxbridge, 1644.

the Propositions for a safe and well grounded Peace, with their Retinue in a List hereunto annexed. Sir I am

Westminster, 25th
Jan. 1644.

Your Highness, humble Servant
ESSEX.

Thursday the 30th of *January*, all the Commissioners named by His Majesty, and Commissioners named by the two Houses of Parliament in *England*, and the Estates of the Parliament in *Scotland*, did meet at *Uxbridge*, where their Commissions were mutually delivered in, and read, and are as followeth.

His MAJESTIES Commission.

CHARLES R.

X. **W**HEREAS after several Messages sent by us to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, expressing Our desires of Peace, certain Propositions were sent from them, and brought unto Us at *Oxford*, in *November* last, by the Earl of *Denbigh* and others, and upon Our Answers, Messages, and Propositions to them, and their returns to Us, it is now agreed, That there shall be a Treaty for a safe and well grounded Peace, to begin at *Uxbridge* on Thursday the 30th of this instant *January*, as by the said Propositions, Answers, Messages, and Returns in writing may more fully appear. We do therefore hereby appoint, assign, and constitute, *James Duke of Richmond and Lenox*, *William Marquis of Hertford*, *Thomas Earl of Southampton*, *Henry Earl of Kingston*, *Francis Earl of Chichester*, *Francis Lord Seymour*, *Arthur Lord Capell*, *Christopher Lord Hatton*, *John Lord Culpeper*, *Sir Edward Nicholas Knight*, one of Our principal Secretaries of State, *Sir Edward Hyde Knight*, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of Our Exchequer, *Sir Richard Lane*, chief Baron of Our said Exchequer, *Sir Thomas Gardiner*, *Sir Orlando Bridgeman*, *Mr. John Ashburnham*, and *Mr. Jeffrey Palmer*; (together with *Doctor Richard Steward*, upon these Propositions concerning Religion) to be Our Commissioners touching the premisses. And do hereby give unto them, and to any ten or more of them, full power and authority

ty to meet, and on Our part to Treat with *Algernoun* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Basil* Earl of *Denbigh*, *Thomas* Lord *Viscount Wenman*, *Denzil Hollis*, *William* *Pieirepoynt* Esquires, *Sir Henry Vane* the younger, Knight, *Oliver S. John*, *Bulstrode Whitlock*, *John Crew*, and *Edmund Prideaux* Esquires, for the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*; and *John* Earl of *Lowdon*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*; *Archibald* Marquess of *Argile*, *John* Lord *Mrytland*, *John* Lord *Balmerino*, *Sir Archibald* *Johnston*, *Sir Charles Erskin*, *George Dundass*, *Sir John* *Smith*, *Mr. Hugh Kennedy*, and *Mr. Robert Barclay*, for the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (together with *Mr. Alexander Henderson*, upon the Propositions concerning Religion) or with any ten or more of them, upon and touching the matters contained in the said Propositions, Answers, and Messages, or any other, according to the manner and agreement therein specified, or otherwise, as they or any ten, or more of them, shall think fit, and to take all the premisses into their serious considerations, and to compose, conclude, and end all differences arising thereupon, or otherwise, as they, or any ten or more of them in their wisdoms shall think fit; And upon the whole matter to conclude a safe and well grounded Peace, if they can; And whatsoever they, or any ten or more of them, shall do in the premisses, We do by these presents ratifie and confirm the same. Given at Our Court at Oxford, the Eight and Twentieth day of January, in the Twentieth year of Our Reign. 1644.

Their Commission to the English Commissioners.

Die Martis. 28. January. 1644.

BEE it Ordained by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; That *Algernoun* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Basil* Earl of *Denbigh*, *Thomas* Lord *Viscount Wenman*, *Denzil Hollis*, *William* *Pieirepoint*, *Sir Henry Vane Junior*, *Oliver St. John*, *Bulstrode Whitlock*, *John Crew*, and *Edmund Prideaux*, shall have power and authority, and are hereby authorized to joyn with the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, together with *Alexander Henderson* XI.
D d d d 2 upon

upon the Propositions concerning Religion only, To Treat with the Lord Duke of Richmond, Marquess of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Kingston, the Lord Dunsmore, Lord Capell, Lord Seymour, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir John Culpeper, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir Edward Hide, Sir Richard Lane, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. John Ashbornham, Mr. Jeffery Palmer, or any Ten of them, upon the Propositions formerly sent to His Majesty (for a safe and well-grounded Peace) from His Majesties humble and Loial Subjects assembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, together with Dr. Steward, upon the Propositions, concerning Religion only, and upon his Majesties Propositions according to such Instructions as have been given to them, or as they from time to time shall receive from both Houses of Parliament.

John Browne
Cler. Parliamentor.

Their Commission to the Scots Commissioners.

XII.

AT Edinburgh the saxteint day of Julii. The zeir of God M. vjc fourtye four zeires. The Estaiſtes of Parliament preſontlie convened be ver tew of the laſt act of the laſt Parliament, baldin by His Majesty and thrie Estaiſtes in Ann^o. 1641. Conſiddering that this Kingdome oſter all uther meanis of ſupplicationnes, Remonſtrances, and ſending of Commiſſionaris to His Majesty, have bein uſed without ſucceſſ, Did enter into a ſolemne League and Covenant, with the Kingdom and Parliament of England, for Reformationne & defence of Religionne, the honor & happines of the King, the peace and ſafety of the thrie Kingdoms, of Scotland, England, and Ireland. And ane Treattie aggried upon, and one Armie and Forces raiſed and ſent out of yis Kingdom for theſe endis. Quhairupone the Conventiounne of Estaiſtes of this Kingdome, the nynt of January laſt, being deſirous to uſe all good and lawfull meanes, that Treuth and Peace might be eſta- bliſhed in all His Majesties Dominions, with ſuch a bleſſed Pacificationne betwixt His Majesty and His Subjectis, as might ſerve moſt for His Majesties trew honor, and the ſafety and happines of His people; Granted Commiſſionne to John Erle of Lowdownne heigh Chancellor of Scotland, Johne Lord Maitland than and zit in England, Sir Archibald Johnſtounne of Warie- ſtounne,

stounne, one of the Lordis of Sessionne, and Maister Robert Barclay now in England, to repaire to England, with power to thame, or any twa of yame, to endeavour the effectuating of ye foirsaides endis, conforme to the Commissione and instructions than giving to thame, as the Commissione of the dait foirsaid proportis. Lyke as the saides Johne Lord of Maitland, Sir Archibald Johnestounne, and Maister Robert Barclay have evir since attendit in England, in the discharge of the foirsaid Commissione. Qnhill lately that Sir Archibald Johnestounne returned with some Propositiones, prepared by the Committie of both Kingdomes, to be presented to the Estaites of Scotland, and to both howfs of the Parliament of England, and by thame to be re-vised, and considerit, and than by mutuall ad-vyse of both Kingdomes to be presented for ane safe and weill grounded peace. Qwhilkies Propositiones ar re-vised, and considerit, and advysed be the Estaites of Parliament now convened, and their sense and resultis drawin up yrupone. Whiche Commissione is to endure while the coming of the Commissionars underwritin. And heirewith also considerin, That the endis for the whilk the samen was granted, ar not zit effectuate; and that the Propositiones with ye Estaites their resultis yrupone ar to be returned to ye Parliament of England. Thairfore the Estaites of Parliament be thir presentis gives full power and Commissione to the said Johne Erle of Lowdonne, Lord heigh Chancellor of yis Kingdome, Archibald Marqueis of Argyle, and Johne Lord Balmerino for the Nobility, Sir Archibald Johnestounne of Wariestonne, Sir Charles Erskyne of Cambuuskenneth, and Maister George Dundas of Maner, for the Barrones, Sir Johne Smyth of Grottell Pro-veist of Edenburgh, Hew Kennedy Burges of Air, and Master Robert Barclay for the Burrowes (the thrie Estates of yis Kingdome) and to Johne Lord Maitland supernumerarie in this Commissione, or to any thrie or mae of the haill number, thair being ane of ilk Estate as Commissionaris from the Estaites of Parliament of this Kingdome, to repaire to the Kingdome of England, (sick of them as ar not thair already) and with power to thame or any thrie or mae of the whole number, thair being ane of ilk Estait, to endeavour the effectuating of ye foirsaides endis, the concluding of the Propositions with the Estaites thaire results thairupon, And all suche yir matteris concerning the good of bothe Kingdoms, as ar or all be from time to time committed unto thame be the Estaites of yis Kingdome or Committies thair of, according to the instructions givin, or to be given, to the Commissionaris abovenameit, or their

quorum.

quorums. And for this effect, The Estates Ordeanes, Johne Erle of Lowdonne Chancellor, Johne Lord Balmerino, Sir Archibald Johnestounne of Warieftounne, Sir Charles Erskyne of Cambuskenneth, and Hew Kennedy, repaire with all dilligence to the Kingdome of England, to the effect before rehearsit conforme to this Commissione and instructions. As also the Estates Ordeanes ye saides Archibald Marqueis of Argyle, M. George Dundas of Maner, and Sir Johne Smyth Pro-veist of Edenburgh to repaire to ye Kingdome of England, with all sick con-veniencie as the occasione of ~~the~~ businesse shall require, or as they shall be commandit, ather be the Committie from the Parliament heir, they being in Scotland, or be the Committie with the Army, they being in England. And Ordeanes thame to joyne with the remanent Commissionaris to the effect above mentionat, conforme to the Commissione and instructions givin, or to be givin to the Commissionaris or their quorums thair anent be the Estates of this Kingdome or Committies yrof, And the Estates of Parliament, be thir presentis baldis and shall halde firme and stable all and what summe evir thinges the Commissionaris abovanameit, or any thrie or mae of thame shall doe, conforme to this Commissionie, and to the instructions given, or to be given to thame. Extractit furthe of the buikes of Parliament, be me Sir Alexander Gibsone of Dunrie, Knyt, Clerk of His Majesties Registers and Rollis, under my signe and subscriptionne Manuall,

Alexander Gibsone Cler. Regist.

After the Commissions read, their Commissioners delivered to His Majesties Commissioners this paper.

January, the 30.

XIII. **W**EE are directed by Our Instructions, to Treat with your Lordships upon the Propositions concerning Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, three daies a peice, (alternis vicibus) during the space of twenty dayes, from the 30 of January, beginning first with the Propositions of Religion, and accordingly we shall deliver unto your Lordships a Paper to morrow morning upon those Propositions.

Accordingly the Treaty did proceed upon those subjects three days a peice, (Alternis vicibus,) beginning with that
that

that of Religion upon Friday the last of *January*, and so continuing Saturday the first, and Monday the third of *February*, which was after resumed, Tuesday the 11, Wednesday the 12, and Thursday the 13, of February, and again the two last days of the 20. And the like course was held touching the Militia and *Ireland*.

But because the passages concerning each subject severally will be more clearly understood, being collected and disposed together under their several heads, therefore all those which concern Religion, the Militia, and *Ireland*, are put together; And in like manner the passages preparatory to the Treaty; concerning the Commissions, the manner of the Treaty, and a seditious Sermon made the first day appointed for the Treaty; And such as hapned in the Treaty touching His Majesties Propositions; The demands of farther time to Treat, and other emergent passages which have no Relation to those of Religion, the Militia and *Ireland*, are in like manner digested under their several heads, with their particular dates.

And first those which concern the Commissions.

Friday the last of *January*, His Majesties Commissioners delivered unto Their Commissioners this paper;

Ult. January.

WE having perused the power granted to your Lordships, in the Paper delivered by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and finding the same to relate to instructions, we desire to see those instructions, that thereby we may know what power is granted to you; and we ask this the rather, because by the Powers we have seen, we do not find that your Lordships, in the absence of any one of your number, have power to Treat. XIV.

All their Commissioners were not then come to *Uxbridge*.

Their Answer.

31. January.

BY Our Instructions we, or any ten of us, whereof some of either House of the Parliament of England, and some of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland, to be present, have power to Treat with your Lordships. XV.

Their

Their further Answer.

Ult. January.

XVI. **W**Hereas your Lordships have expressed unto us a desire of seeing our Instructions, to know what Power is granted us; and this the rather because you say you find not by what you have seen, that in the absence of any one of our number, we have power to Treat. To this we return in Answer, that since the Paper already delivered in by us, declaring that by our Instructions any ten of us, whereof some of either House of the Parliament of England, and some of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland to be present, had power to Treat with your Lordships, hath not given you satisfaction in the particular of the Quorum, We shall send unto the two Houses of Parliament, to have the Quorum inserted in the Commission, and do expect the return of it so amended, within two or three days, when we shall present it unto your Lordships. But as for your desire in general to see our Instructions, it is that for which we have no Warrant, nor is it; as we conceive, at all necessary, or proper for us so to do, for that the Propositions upon which we now Treat, have been already presented from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms unto His Majesty, and whatsoever is propounded by us in order unto them, is sufficiently warranted by what both Parliaments have done in the passing and sending of those Propositions, and by the Commissions authorizing us to Treat upon them, already shewn unto your Lordships, so as there can be no need to shew any other power.

Accordingly on Saturday the first of February, they did deliver their Commission for the English Commissioners renewed as followeth.

Die Sabbatis primo Feb.

XVII. **B**E it Ordained by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William Earl of Salisbury, Bazil Earl of Denbigh, Thomas Lord Viscount Wenman, Denzil Hollis, William Pierrepont, Sir Henry Vane junior, Oliver St. John, Bullstrode Whitlock, John Crew, and Edmund Prideaux shall have power and Authority, and are hereby authorized to joyn with the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, together with Alexander Henderson, upon the

the Propositions concerning Religion only, or any ten of them, Whereof some of either House of the Parliament of England, and some of the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, are to be present, To Treat with the Lord Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Kingston, the Lord Dunsmore, Lord Capel, Lord Seymour, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir John Culpeper, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir Edward Hyde, Sir Richard Lane, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Jeffery Palmer, or any ten of them, upon the Propositions formerly sent to His Majesty, (for a safe and well grounded Peace,) from His Majesties humble and Loyal Subjects assembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, Together with Doctor Stuard upon the Propositions concerning Religion only; And upon His Majesties Propositions, according to such Instructions as have been given to them, or as they from time to time shall receive from both Houses of Parliament.

Jo. Browne Cler. Parliam.

The same last of January, their Commissioners delivered to His Majesties Commissioners this paper.

January, 31.

HAVING considered your Commission and Power from His Majesty, given in last night by your Lordships, we find that you are authorized to treat only upon certain Propositions sent to His Majesty from the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, and upon His Majesties Answers, Messages and Propositions to them, and their returns to His Majesty; Wherein we observe, that the Propositions sent to His Majesty, from His Majesties Loyal Subjects assembled in the Parliaments of both His Kingdoms, are mentioned to be sent to His Majesty from the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, and upon His Majesties Answers, Messages and Propositions to them, and their Returns to His Majesty, that a Treaty is to begin. And wherein We also observe you have no Power thereby to Treat upon the Propositions sent to His Majesty from His humble and Loyal Subjects Assembled in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and the Answers, Messages, and Propositions sent from His Majesty to the Lords and Commons Assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, then at London, and their returns.

XVIII.

to His Majesty. We desire those defects may be cleared and speedily amended.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

31. January.

XIX.

WE conceive Our Power, being to Treat upon the Propositions brought by the Earl of *Denbigh* and others, and those Propositions being sent from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, there need no mention of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms in that place; but that Our power is ample to Treat with your Lordships upon the whole, both by express words, and by other general words in the Commission, which give power to Treat upon those Propositions, or any other; which general words are not observed by your Lordships in your Paper; And Our Power is to Treat with the Lords and others authorized for the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland* by name: yet since you insist upon it, it shall be altered by *Tuesday* next. And in the mean time (if your Lordships please) We desire * the papers promised yesterday, in the paper delivered by the Earl of *Northumberland*, may be delivered unto Us, that there may be as little loss of time as may be.

* The Papers intended, are the Propositions concerned Religion, which were not then delivered.

Their Reply.

31. Jan.

XX.

In answer to your Lordships Paper, concerning your Power to Treat, we are content to proceed in the Treaty with your Lordships, in expectation that the Defects mentioned by us in our Paper, shall be supplied by *Tuesday* next.

On *Monday* the third of *February*, the Kings Commissioners did deliver their Commission renewed, as followeth.

CHARLES R.

XXI.

Whereas certain Propositions were sent unto Us from the Lords and Commons Assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and from the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, which were brought unto Us at *Oxford* in *November* last, by the Earl of *Denbigh*

Denbigh and others, and upon Our Answers, &c. as followeth *verbatim*, in His Majesties former Commission.

Touching the manner of the Treaty.

The KING's Commissioners Paper.

31. January.

WE desire, to the end there may be a greater XXII.
Freedom in debate (which We conceive will
much conduce to the happy conclusion of this Treaty)
that nothing may be understood to be concluded on ei-
ther side, but what is delivered in Writing, according as
your Lordships have begun. And we declare, That what
shall be delivered in writing upon any Proposition, or up-
on any part of a Proposition, is not to be binding or pre-
judicial to either Party, if the Treaty break off upon any
other Proposition, or part of any other Proposition.

Their Answer.

31. January.

WE shall deliver our Demands and Answers in Writing, XXIII.
and desire your Lordships to do the like.

The King's Commissioners Reply,

1. February.

WE desire a full Answer of our Paper, that no- XXIV.
thing shall be taken as agreed upon, but what is
put in writing, and your Concurrence in declaring that
what shall be delivered in writing upon any Proposition,
or upon any part of a Proposition, shall not be binding or
prejudicial to either Party, if the Treaty break off.

Their further Answer.

1. February.

According to our former Paper, we shall deliver our demands XXV.
and answers in writing, and we desire your Lordships to do
the like, and nothing shall be taken as agreed upon, but what is put
in writing. And we shall acquaint the Houses of Parliament, that

you have declared what shall be delivered in Writing upon any Proposition, or upon any part of a Proposition, is not to be binding or prejudicial to either Party, if the Treaty break off.

3. Februa~~y~~

XXVI. **I**N answer to your Lordships Paper formerly delivered, we do declare, that what shall be delivered in Writing upon any Proposition, or upon any part of a Proposition, is not to be binding or prejudicial to either Party, if the Treaty break off upon any other Propositions, or part of any Proposition.

Touching the Seditious Sermon.

The KING's Commissioners Paper,

31. January.

XXVII.
It was on
Thursday be-
ing Market
day, and the
first day of
the Meeting.

WEE have certain Information from divers Persons present in Uxbridge Church yesterday, that there was then a Sermon Preached by one Mr. Love, in which were many passages very Scandalous to His Majesties Person, and derogatory to His Honour, stirring up the people against this Treaty, and incensing them against Us, telling them, *That we come with hearts full of Blood, and that there is as great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell*, or words to that effect; with divers other Seditious passages, both against His Majesty and this Treaty. We know His Majesties hearty desire of a happy and well grounded Peace, such as may be for Gods Honour, and the good of all His Subjects, as well as himself; And we that are entrusted by His Commission, come with clear Intentions to serve Him in it, according to our Consciences, and the best of our Judgments. And this being Preached in your Quarters, where we are now under safe Conduct; We desire your Lordships to consider, how much this may reflect upon our Safety, how much it may prejudice and blast the blessed hopes of this Treaty, and how just offence and distrust it may beget in His Majesty: And therefore We desire Justice against the Man, that he may have exemplary punishment.

Their

Their Answer.

31. January.

TO the Paper delivered in by your Lordships this day, concerning the Information received of several Scandalous passages Preached in a Sermon in Uxbridge Church, by one Mr. Love, We do return this Answer, That the said Mr. Love, is none of our Retinue nor came hither by any privacy of ours; That we conceive it most reasonable, and agreeable to the business we are now upon, that all just occasions of offence on either part be avoyded; And as it hath been our desire, so it shall be our endeavour, to take the best care we can, to prevent all prejudices upon the present Treaty which may blast the blessed hopes thereof, or may beget any just offence and distrust in His Majesty, and shall be as tender of the safety of your Lordships persons, according to the safe Conduct, as of our own. We shall represent your Lordships Paper concerning this business (if your Lordships so desire) unto the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, who will proceed therein, according to Justice. XXVIII.

The King's Commissioners Reply;

1. February.

WE insist upon our former desire concerning the Sermon Preached by Mr. Love, and must refer the way of doing Justice to your Lordships; and if your Lordships are not satisfied that such Words as we have charged him with were spoken by him, we are ready to produce our proof thereof to your Lordships. XXIX.

Their further Answer,

1. February.

WE will represent both your Lordships papers concerning Mr. Love unto the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster, who will proceed therein according to Justice. XXX.

In the next place according to the Order before mentioned, do follow the passages and Papers concerning RELIGION.

Their Paper.

31. Jan.

XXXI. *A*ccording to the * paper delivered by us to your Lordships yesternight, we do now offer these Propositions following which concern Religion.

That the Bill be passed for Abolishing and taking away of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the third Proposition.

That the Ordinances, concerning the Calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for Publick Worship, already passed both Houses of the Parliament of England; And the Propositions concerning Church Government, hereunto annexed and passed both Houses, be enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion, and Uniformity, according to the fifth Proposition.

That His Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant; and that the Covenant be enjoyned to be taken according to the second Proposition.

* The Paper intended, is that before of 30. Jan. n^o. 13. The Propositions here intended, are those before mentioned on their part, sent by the E. of Denbigh, and others to Oxford. And the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy, is in the Appendix. n^o. 3.

To this was annexed the following Paper of the

31. January.

That the Ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

That the Minister, and other Church-officers in each particular Congregation, shall joyn in the Government of the Church, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government.

That the Church be Governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies, shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

The

The King's Commissioners Paper,

1. February.

HAVING considered your Lordships Paper, containing the Propositions concerning *Religion*, with the Paper annexed, and finding the same to contain absolute Alterations in the Government both of Ecclesiastical and Civil State; We desire to know, whether your Lordships have Power to Treat and debate upon the said Propositions, and upon debate to recede from, or consent to any alterations in the said Propositions, if we shall make it appear to be reasonable so to do; or whether your Lordships are bound up, by your Instructions, to insist upon the Propositions without any alteration. XXXII.

Their Answer,

1. Feb.

Our Paper given in to your Lordships, concerning Religion, doth contain no alterations, but such as are usual in a time of Reformation, and by the Wisdome of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms are judged necessary at this time, for settling Religion and Peace. And as by our Commissions and Papers, formerly shewed your Lordships, we have made known our Power to Treat upon them; so are we ready, by debate, to shew how reasonable they are; And that there will be no reason to expect that we should alter or recede from them. But as for your demand of our shewing what farther power we have by our Instructions, It is, that we have no warrant to do, as we have already signified to your Lordships by a former Paper. XXXIII.

The KING's Commissioners Paper.

1. Feb.

Your Lordships first Proposition in the Paper concerning Religion, referring to the third Proposition sent to His Majesty, we find that refers to the Articles of the late Treaty of the date at *Edinburgh*, 29. Nov. 1643. and to the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms. We desire your Lordships we may see those Articles and Declarations, and your Lordships second Proposition in that Paper; XXXIV.

per, referring to the Ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines; We desire to see those Ordinances.

Their Answer.

1. Feb.

XXXV.
* Meaning
the next pre-
sent Paper.
* This joynt
Declaration
is already
printed. But
the Articles
being not
Printed are
in the Appen-
dix n^o 4.

According to your Lordships desire in the * third Paper, We now deliver in the Articles of the late Treaty of the date at Edinburgh 29 of November 1643. and the * joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms; And we shall speedily deliver to your Lordships the Ordinances, concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines.

The KING's Commissioners Paper.

1. Feb.

XXXVI. WE desire to know whether the Propositions, which we have received from your Lordships touching Religion, be all we are to expect from you upon that Subject.

Their Answer.

1. Feb.

XXXVII. There are other things touching Religion to be propounded by us unto your Lordships, upon the Propositions formerly sent unto His Majesty from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; which we shall in due time give in unto your Lordships: But we do first desire your Answer to the Paper touching Religion, given in yesterday, that some good progress may be made therein before the three dayes, assigned to treat upon Religion in the first place, do expire.

The KING's Commissioners Paper.

1. Feb.

XXXVIII. WE desire to know whether the Propositions we formerly received from your Lordships concerning Religion, were all that would be offered concerning that Subject, because we thought it very necessary (since so great alterations are proposed by you) to have a full view

view of the whole alterations that are desired, since in an Argument of the greatest weight and highest importance, we cannot possibly give a present Judgment of any part, till we have a prospect of the whole: But since your Lordships do not yet think it time to let us have a sight of the rest, but first desire our Answer to the * paper delivered yesterday, which contains many particulars, of which we never heard before, We shall apply our selves to understand the things proposed by you, in such manner as we may return your Lordships a speedy answer. And to that purpose must desire your Lordships information in some particulars, which are comprised in your Lordships Paper. And when your Lordships consider that the * Directory for Worship (being so long) was delivered to us but yesterday; That the Covenant, the Articles of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, the Declaration of both Kingdoms (which are comprehended within the first Proposition) were delivered to us but this day; and therefore we could return no Answer concerning the Bill for abolishing Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, (which is proposed to be passed) according to the third Proposition, in which the said Articles and Declarations are comprehended; and that the Ordinances for the Sitting of the Assembly are not yet delivered unto us. We are confident your Lordships will not think us negligent in making as good a progress in the Treaty upon *Religion*, as is in our Power, which we shall endeavour to advance with all diligence, and the best of our understanding.

* See before N^o 31.

* The Directory which was delivered in, is of great length, and the Covenant delivered with it, both now Printed and obvious, are therefore forborn to be inserted here or in the Appendix.

Afterwards, the same first of *February*, the * Ordinances for the Assembly of Divines were delivered in.

* See them in the Appendix n^o 5, and 6.

After some debate touching the nature of the Church Government, intended by the Paper annexed to the first Paper upon the subject of *Religion*, which are here before set down. The Kings Commissioners delivered in this following Paper.

1. *Feb.*

THe information we desire from your Lordships for the present, is, Whether, by the words in the first of those Propositions in your Lordships paper annexed (*the respective bounds of their dwellings*) you intend the several

XXXIX.

Fffff

bounds

bounds of their dwelling houses, or the bounds of Parishes; or whether you intend an alteration of the bounds of Parishes?

In the second Proposition, what other Church-Officers your Lordships intend shall joyn with the Ministers in the Government of the Church, & what jurisdiction they shall exercise in Order to that Government, & from whom they shall derive it, and in what degree be subordinate to the power from whom they derive it; And what you intend by *Presbyterial Government*, in your third Proposition.

In the fourth Proposition, what your Lordships intend by *Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies*.

How Synodical Assemblies, Provincial and National, shall be constituted as to persons and causes; and what shall be the bounds and limits of their jurisdiction; and from whom the several Jurisdictions, above mentioned, shall be derived.

To these particulars we would be glad (if your Lordships think it fit) to receive satisfaction by debate, where Questions may be asked and replies made, before any answer be returned in writing, which may ask much time, and be less satisfactory, but we refer the way to your Lordships.

Their Answer,

1. Feb.

XL. **W**EE cannot but be sensible of the great loss of time, occasioned by your Lordships Questions for information in your last Paper, and shall have small hopes of good success in this Treaty, having these two days made so little progress, unless your Lordships be pleased to give us full answers to our demands concerning Religion; Yet to give all satisfaction, with as little expence of time as may be, we are ready by present conference to clear the Questions in your Paper.

The King's Commissioners Reply in two several Papers, next following.

2. February.

XLI. **W**EE conceive there was no cause your Lordships should apprehend any loss of time occasioned by our Questions, for that your Propositions concerning Religion were not delivered to us till Friday last; And the Directory, then delivered with them, so long, that the reading of

of it spent the residue of that day; and divers other Papers to which the Propositions referred, and without which we could not consider them, were not delivered us before yesterday, and some of them not till after the Paper which imputes a delay to us; and your Lordships, having propounded only general heads of a Presbyterial government, without any particular Model of it, which in several Reformed Churches (as we are informed) is various both in names and Powers, it was necessary to understand the particular expressions in your paper, the alteration desired being so great, and being proposed to be enacted, which will require His Majesties consent, whom we ought to satisfie, having so great a trust reposed in us. And we desire your Lordships to consider, how impossible it hath been for us to give your Lordships, in less than two days, a full answer (which in your last Paper you require) to what you propose, which is in effect to consent to the utter abolishing of that Government, Discipline, and publick Form of the Worship of God, which hath been practised and established by Law here, ever since the Reformation; And which we well understand, and the Alteration of which, in the manner proposed, takes away many things in the Civil-Government, and provides no remedy for the inconveniences which may happen thereby; And to consent to the Alienation of the Lands of the Church, by which (for ought appears) besides infinite other considerations, so many Persons may be put to beg their bread, to oblige His Majesty and all His Subjects to the taking a new Oath or Covenant, and to receive and consent to a new Government: we do not, nor without information cannot understand. And which (in truth) appears to us, by your Lordships Propositions, not to be yet agreed upon in the particulars. And your Lordships having declared to us, that you have other things to propose to us concerning Religion, which you do not yet think it fit time to acquaint us withall: Notwithstanding all which difficulties, we shall proceed with all possible expedition, and desire your Lordships will not object delays to us, till we give you just occasion.

February. 2.

THat we may make a right use of the Information your Lordships were pleased yesterday to afford us in debate upon the Questions proposed by us concerning the Proposi-

XLII.

tions in your Lordships paper annexed, for the future Government of the Church, and so have some understanding of that Government, intended by your Lordships, in place of that you propose to be abolished, we desire to receive your Lordships answer in writing, whether these short Collections upon the Debate yesterday, be the Sum of your Lordships Resolutions or Informations upon the Questions formerly proposed by us.

We conceive that the Information given to us in debate by your Lordships to the Questions we proposed to you in writing was,

1 That the Congregational Assemblies consist of the Ministers and Ruling Elders.

2 That the Classcal Assemblies consist of many Congregational Assemblies.

3 That the Provincial Assemblies are constituted of the several Classcal Assemblies.

4 That all these Congregational, Classcal and Provincial Assemblies, together, constitute a National Assembly.

5 That the Authority and Jurisdiction of the several Assemblies shall be settled by Parliament.

And if your Lordships have any thing else to inform us concerning this Government. We desire to receive the same from your Lordships.

The King's Commissioners paper

3. February.

XLIII.

WE are ready by present Conference to enter upon consideration of your Lordships first Proposition concerning *Religion*, and shall desire to receive or give satisfaction, whereby We may be of one mind in that Argument. And for the better entering into this debate, we desire to know whether in respect of Alteration mentioned in the third Proposition, to be made in the Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy*, you would have this individual Bill pass or not?

Their

Their Answer,

3. Feb.

WE desire the Bill for the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, XLIV.
 which now remains with His Majesty may be passed without prejudice to us, to insist upon the * Alterations mentioned in the * The Alterations intended here, and in the third Proposition; and we are ready to give your Lordships a present conference upon the first Proposition, concerning Religion, according to your desire. are according to the Article.

articles of the Treaty at Edenborough, (which see in the Appendix, n^o. 4.) and the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, which are; That whereas by the Bill, the Bishops Lands are mentioned to be given to the King, and other Church Lands for other uses, by those Articles and Declarations they may be taken away, and employed to payment and recompence of the Scots, and for paying the publick Debts, and repairing of particular losses.

After a Conference, wherein much time was spent in debate, concerning that individual Bill which was presented for abolishing Episcopacy, their Commissioners delivered this paper;

3. Feb.

WE desire your Lordships answer to our demands upon the XLV.
 Propositions for Religion, and in the first place to the Bill for abolishing of Episcopacy, which hath been so much debated, that upon the expiring of the first three dayes, appointed to Treat concerning Religion, we may be able to return such an account to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, as may give them hopes of a happy progress in this Treaty.

The King's Commissioners Answer:

3. Feb.

WE conceive we have offered soweighty doubts and XLVI.
 considerations to your Lordships, in this dayes debate concerning several parts in the Bill for abolishing of Episcopacy, (your Lordships have confined and limited our debate to that individuall Bill, as it is now penn'd, not to the consideration of abolishing Episcopacy in General) that your Lordships cannot expect a positive answer from us now (being after eleven a clock at night) touching that Bill; But we shall be ready by the next day assigned for the Treaty upon this Argument, to deliver our opinions to your Lordships; the which we shall be then the better

ter able to do, when we have found by the progress in our other debates, how far a blessed and a happy Peace is like to be advanced, by our endeavouring to give your Lordships satisfaction in this particular.

This being the last of the three first dayes assigned for the Treaty upon *Religion*, that subject was again taken up the 11, of *Feb.* being the first of the second three days appointed for *Religion*.

And their Commissioners delivered this paper,

11. *Feb.*

XLVII. **H**AVING received no satisfaction in the first three days appointed to Treat upon the Propositions for *Religion*, we do now desire your Lordships clear and full answer to our former demand on this subject, that no farther time may be lost in a matter which doth so much concern the Glory of God, the honour of the King, and the peace and happiness of His Kingdoms.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

11. *Feb.*

XLVIII. **W**E gave your Lordships as much satisfaction in the first three days appointed to Treat upon the Propositions for *Religion*, as in so short a time, and upon so little Information from your Lordships, could reasonably be expected, in a matter of so great and high importance: and as we have given your Lordships already * many reasons concerning the Injustice and Inconveniency which would follow upon passing the Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy*, according to your first Proposition; so we are now ready, by conference, to satisfy your Lordships, why we conceive, that the said Bill is not for the Glory of God, or the honour of the King, and consequently cannot be for the Peace and happiness of His Kingdoms; and if your Lordships reasons shall convince us in those particulars, we shall willingly consent to what you desire: if otherwise, we shall offer to your Lordships our Consent to such other Alterations, as we conceive may better contribute to the Reformation intended, and such as may stand with the Glory of God, and, in truth, be for the honour of

* That was by conference.

of the King, and the Peace and happiness of His Kingdoms.

Their Reply,

11. Feb.

WE have received no satisfaction from your Lordships, XLIX.
concerning the Propositions delivered in by us for Religion, in the name of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, nor have you made appear unto us, any injustice or inconveniency in the passing of the Bill for abolishing of Episcopacy. And as it cannot be denied, but the settling of Religion, is a matter which doth highly concern the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the Peace and happiness of his Kingdoms; So do we desire your Lordships will grant those demands which have been made unto you by us to that end; And we are ready by present Conference, to receive what your Lordships will offer upon any of those Propositions, and to return that which may give your Lordships just satisfaction.

The King's Commissioners Answer.

11. February.

YOUR Lordships having expressed in your Paper of the L.
first of February, that there are other things touching Religion, to be propounded by your Lordships to us, We presume that by this time you may be enabled by your Instructions to propose the same; And therefore we desire to receive them from your Lordships, which we hope your Lordships will think very reasonable, when you consider how incongruous a thing it will appear to most men, to consent to real and substantial alterations in the matter of Religion, without having a view of the whole Alterations intended, when at the same time there is mention of other Alterations.

Their Answer theréunto,

11. February.

WE shall deliver in, very speedily, that which remains with LI.
us touching Religion, to be propounded unto your Lordships; But we do desire, (as before) your Lordships Answers unto our Demands, in the same order that we have proposed them, not conceiving

conceiving it reasonable there should be any time spent in debates, or Answers upon what we shall hereafter offer, till we have received satisfaction in our former Propositions, which we desire may be speedily done, least otherwise the Treaty be retarded, and the Expectation of both Kingdoms altogether frustrated.

Notwithstanding this, they delivered in this further Answer.

11. February.

LII.
See n^o. 59.

IN answer to your Lordships Paper this day delivered to us, we desire, that His Majesty do give His Royal Assent to an Act of Parliament for the due observation of the Lords Day, and to the Bill for suppressing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the Worship of God, &c. And for the better advancement of the Preaching of Gods Holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom; And to the Bill against enjoying of Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual persons, and non-Residency. And we shall in due time give into your Lordships our Demands concerning Papists, contained in the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth Propositions; And for His Majesties Assenting to an Act to be framed and agreed upon in both Houses of Parliament, for the regulating and reforming of both Universities, of the Colledges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eton; and for the Education and Marriage of His Majesties Children, and the Children of His Heirs and Successors in the true Protestant Religion, as is in the 21th Proposition.

Some part of the 11th, and the most part of the 12th of February, was spent in Argument by Divines touching Episcopacy, and the Presbyterial Government. Afterwards their Commissioners gave in this Paper.

12. February.

LIII.

THere having now been several dayes spent in debate upon the Propositions for Religion; and all objections alleadged to the contrary, either from Conscience, Law or Reason, being fully Answered; and the time allotted for that so important a part of the Treaty almost elapsed, we should be wanting to the Trust reposed in us, if we should not press and expect (as we now do) a clear and positive Answer to those Demands concerning Religion, which we
have

have offered unto your Lordships from the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, as most necessary for the setting of a safe and well grounded Peace, in all His Majesties Dominions.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

12. February.

WE deny, that the objections alleadged by us against the passing the Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy*, from Conscience, Law, or Reason, have been fully Answered by your Lordships; Or that, indeed, we have received any satisfaction from your Lordships in these particulars. We have received no Information from your Lordships to satisfie us, That *Episcopacy* is, or hath been, an impediment to a perfect Reformation, to the * growth of Religion; or that it is prejudicial to the Civil State, which we have often desired from your Lordships, without effect, and which are the Grounds upon which your Lordships propose the abolishing *Episcopacy*, and we shall be very willing, and are desirous to receive your Lordships reasons in these particulars. And how short soever the time allotted is for the Treaty (for which we cannot be answerable, being not bound up in point of time by His Majesty as your Lordships say you are by your Instructions; And we should be glad, that the same might be enlarged proportionably to the importance of the things to be Treated on) we should be wanting to the great Trust reposed in us, if we should consent to those Demands, as they are proposed to us by your Lordships, otherwise then as they are agreeable to our Consciences and understandings; And such an Answer your Lordships shall receive from us, to your Demands concerning *Religion*, upon which we hope a safe and well grounded Peace, by the blessing of God, may be established.

LIV.

* These words are in the preamble of the Bill, presented by them, for abolishing *Episcopacy*.

Their Paper.

13. Feb.

WE did assure our selves, That after so many dayes debate concerning Religion, and our removal of what ever objections have been offered by your Lordships, and our making it appear how great a hinderance *Episcopal Government* is, and hath
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been,

LV.

been, to a perfect Reformation, to the growth of Religion, and pre-judicial to the Civil State; That your Lordships would have been ready to have answered our expectation with the Grant of our Demands; but if still your Lordships remain unsatisfied, we conceive it cannot, with any Justice, be imputed unto us, and therefore we again desire your Lordships full and clear Answer to what we have delivered unto you concerning Religion.

Upon this last Paper, and after the several debates between the Commissioners, and Arguments by the Divines, and consideration had of all that had been delivered concerning Religion, His Majesties Commissioners gave in these four Papers following.

13. Feb.

LVI.

WE are not yet satisfied, that the Bill insisted on by your Lordships, which remains in his Majesties hands for the utter abolishing of *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c.* ought to be enacted, believing it not to be agreeable to Conscience and Justice, to alienate the Lands therein mentioned, to Lay-uses; and not understanding that the alienation thereof is necessary at all to the Reformation of Religion: Besides, that there is no certain provision made for any of those who are now legally vested in those possessions, whereby they and their Families shall be in evident danger of want of bread: and it appearing by your Lordships Propositions, which relate to the Articles of the late Treaty, of the date at *Edinburgh 29. of Novemb. 1643,* and the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, to which you require our Assent; as well as to the Bill, that part of the Church-land may be, after the passing this Bill, assign'd to other uses than is exprest in the said Bill. Upon these considerations, and upon your debate which hath passed between us upon this Bill, whereby it hath appeared, that there would be so great an Alteration in the Civil State, by this Bill being enacted, in the failer of Justice at the Common-Law, and otherwise in many several particulars, of great importance to the Subjects of this Kingdom, which for ought appears to us, is not yet provided for. And that by a particular * Clause in the Bill, His Majesties ancient and undoubted Power of the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* is wholly taken away.

See before in the margin to the Paper, n^o. 44.

* See that Clause in the Bill in the Appendix, n^o. 3, at this mark †.

away. Besides, it may be very considerable what inconveniences would ensue by the passing this Bill now, which looks back, and is to begin from *November* was Twelvemonth, whereby all those Acts of Jurisdiction, exercised by Bishops since that time, are already void, which would produce great inconveniences and mischiefs touching the Probates of Wills, and Administrations throughout the Kingdom; not to speak of the doubts which may arise in many conscientious men, who have been Ordained by Bishops since that time; which may seem to be likewise declared void by this Bill: and so at least to discountenance all Acts which have insued by vertue of that Ordination; and thereby many Questions may arise in Law concerning Marriages, Legitimations and Descents of Inheritance, and for many other reasons exprest in our Conference and Debate, we conceive that your Lordships may be satisfied, that this individual Bill ought not to pass.

For the matter then of the said Bill, The extirpation of Episcopacy, we desire your Lordships to consider, That it is evident, and we conceive consented to on all parts, That it hath continued even from the Apostles times by continual Succession in the Church of Christ, till within these few years, without intermission, or interruption; and then how perilous a thing it must be, and prejudicial to the Publique Peace, to remove and destroy a Form of Government, so long exercised in this Kingdom, and under which we have enjoyed as great a measure of happiness (to say no more) as any Nation in Christendom, and which your Lordships have not pretended to be unlawful, before we particularly see the Model of that Government and Jurisdiction which is to be established in the place thereof; That thereby we may be assured that it be such, to which as well those who like, as all those who dislike the present Government, will submit: Otherwise Peace, which is the main end and pretence for Alterations, cannot be established: and therefore we very earnestly beseech your Lordships to consider and weigh, whether without shaking Foundations, it be not much better, and more agreeable to Christian Prudence and Charity, to remove those Particulars from the present Government, make such alterations therein, as may most probably give

satisfaction to all Persons seriously disturbed or afflicted in their Consciences; Then by destroying the whole, to give just Offence and Scandal to very many Pious and Religious Persons.

Under these Considerations, and for the Uniting and Reconciling all Differences between Us in the matter of Religion, and procuring a blessed Peace, We are willing,

That Freedom be left to all Persons, of what Opinions soever, in matters of Ceremony, and that all the Penalties of the Lawes and Customes, which enjoyn those Ceremonies, be suspended.

That the Bishop shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction or Ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergy of each Diocess, out of the Learned'st and Gravest Ministers of that Diocess.

That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocess, except when he shall be required by His Majesty to attend Him on any occasion, and that (if he be not hindered by the Infirmities of Old Age, or Sickness) he Preach every *Sunday* in some Church within his Diocess.

That the Ordination of Ministers shall be alwayes in a Publique and Solemn manner, and very strict Rules observed concerning the Sufficiency, and other Qualifications of those men, who shall be received into Holy Orders; and the Bishop shall not receive any into Holy Orders, without the approbation and consent of the Presbyters, or the Major part of them.

That competent Maintenance and Provision be established by Act of Parliament to such Vicarages as belong to *Bishops, Deans, and Chapters*, out of the *Impropriations*, and according to the value of those *Impropriations*, of the severall Parishes.

That for the time to come, no man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicarages, with Cure of Souls:

That towards the settling of the Publique Peace, One hundred Thousand Pounds shall be raised by Act of Parliament out of the Estates of *Bishops, Deans, and Chapters*, in such manner as shall be thought fit by the King and Two Houses of Parliament, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands.

That the Jurisdiction in Causes Testamentary, Decimal,

mal, Matrimonial, be settled in such manner, as shall seem most convenient by the King and Two Houses of Parliament.

And likewise that one, or more Acts of Parliament be passed for Regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and the abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuses in the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by His Majesty and both Houses of Parliament.

And if your Lordships shall insist upon any other thing, which your Lordships shall think necessary for Reformation, We shall very willingly apply our selves to the consideration thereof.

13. February.

FOR the confirmation of the Ordinances concerning the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines, and the taking the Covenant, We conceive neither of them need be insisted on, if the alterations of Church-Government be agreed upon between Us: And if it be not, it will not be reasonable that We consent to those Ordinances. And for the *Covenant*, We cannot Advise His Majesty to Swear and Sign the same, nor consent that an Act of Parliament should pass for enjoying the taking thereof by His Majesties Subjects.

LVII.

13. February.

WE E. do not yet conceive, that the *Directory* for Publick Worship, delivered to Us by your Lordships, ought to be Enacted, Or that it is so likely to procure and preserve the Peace of this Kingdom, as the *Liturgy* or Common-Prayer-Book already established by Law, against which we have not yet received from your Lordships any Objections; which *Liturgy* (as the same was compiled by many Learned and Reverend Divines, of whom some dyed Martyrs for the Protestant Religion) We conceive to be an Excellent Form for the Worship of God, and hath been generally so held throughout this Kingdom, till within these two, or three Years at the most; And therefore since there are no inconveniences pretended to arise from the Book of Common-Prayer, to
which

LVIII.

which we conceive the Directory is not more liable, and since there is nothing commendable in the Directory, which is not already in the Book of Common-Prayer, we conceive it much better and more conducing to the Peace of this Kingdom, still to observe the said Form, with such Dispensations as we have expressed in our first Paper now presented to your Lordships; and if there shall be any Alterations proposed by your Lordships, of such Particulars in the Book of Common-Prayer, as good men are scrupled at, we shall willingly endeavour to give your Lordships satisfaction in those Particulars, But as yet can make no further, or other Answer, than we have already done; But shall be ready to receive such Objections as your Lordships shall think fit to make against the Book of Common-Prayer, and your Reasons for introducing the Directory. And for the Proposition concerning Church-Government, annexed to your first Paper; We have no Information how that Government shall be constituted in particular, or what Jurisdiction shall be established, or by whom it shall be granted, or upon whom it shall depend. And therein also we desire further Information from your Lordships.

13. February.

LIX.

* No. 52.

WE desire to see the Bills for the observation of the Lords Day, for suppressing of Innovation in Churches and Chappels, and for the better advancement of the Preaching of Gods Holy Word, which are mentioned in your Lordships * Paper of the 11. of Feb. we being very ready to consent to the Subject Matter of those Bills. We have expressed in our Paper delivered to your Lordships, what we conceive fit to be done in the business of Pluralities, which will prevent any inconveniences that way: And when your Lordships shall give us your Demands concerning Papists, and when we shall see the Acts for the Regulating and Reforming of both Universities, of the Colledges of *Westminster*, *Winchester* and *Eton*, and for the Education and Marriage of His Majesties Children, and the Children of His Heirs and Successors, in the true Protestant Religion, We shall give your Lordships such Answers as shall be fit, being very willing to concur with your Lordships in any good means, for the suppressing

suppressing of Popery, and advancement of the Protestant Religion. And we are well assured, that His Majesty hath taken a Pious Care, for the Education of all his Children in the true Protestant Religion; and having already married one of his Children, to the satisfaction (we conceive) of all his good Subjects, we are confident, in due time, His Majesty will so dispose of the rest in Marriage, as shall be most for the advancement of Religion, and the good and welfare of all his Dominions.

Their Answer to the First.

13. February.

WHereas we expected your Lordships Resolutions for His Majesty's Assent unto the Bill for the utter abolishing of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. We find, by your Paper given in this Evening, that your Lordships are not yet satisfied that the Bill should pass, and you are pleased to express several Reasons and Objections against it, which were at large answered and cleared at the Publique debate. But what was then said by us, is now by your Lordships wholly omitted; nor may we in writing represent it again unto your Lordships, it not being agreeable to the usage of Parliaments, to deliver Reasons for, or against a Bill, though we were willing, by Conference in the Treaty, to satisfy all doubts, and remove all scruples which remained with you. And so far were we from consenting that Episcopacy bath continued from the Apostles times, by continual Succession, that the contrary was made evident unto your Lordships, and the unlawfulness of it fully proved. And as for that which your Lordships have propounded, for uniting and reconciling all differences in the matter of Religion, it is a new Proposition, which wholly differs from ours, is no way satisfactory to our desires, nor consisting with that Reformation, to which both Kingdoms are obliged by their Solemn Covenant; therefore we can give no other Answer to it, but must insist, to desire your Lordships, that the Bill may be past, and our other Demands concerning Religion granted. LX.

The KING's Commissioners Reply thereunto.

13. February.

WEE conceive that our Answer to your Lordships, concerning the Bill for the utter abolishing LXI.
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ing of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. was so reasonable, that it clearly appears thereby, that the passing that individual Bill, is not agreeable to Conscience and Justice, and that it would be very prejudicial to the Civil State, and to the Peace of the Kingdom; neither have the Reasons and Objections given by us against it, first in debate, and since in writing, been answered in debate by your Lordships. And therefore we know no reason why your Lordships may not give an Answer to those Objections in writing. For as it is not agreeable to the usage of Parliaments, for the Two Houses to give His Majesty Reasons why He should pass any Bill presented by them; so it is no more agreeable to the same Usage, for His Majesty to give Reasons why he doth not pass Bills so presented. But we desire your Lordships to consider, That we are now in a Treaty, and we conceive the proper business thereof, to be, for your Lordships to give us Reasons, why His Majesty should consent to the Propositions made by you, or for us to give Reasons to your Lordships, why we cannot consent to those Propositions; otherwise it would be only a Demand on your Lordships part, and no Argument of Treaty between us. And we must profess to your Lordships, That (as we conceived in our former Paper) the Succession of *Episcopacy*, by Succession from the Apostles time, was consented to on all parts, so we cannot remember, that the contrary thereof, was so much as alleadged, much less that the unlawfulness thereof was proved, the Question of the lawfulness thereof having never yet come in debate. And we shall be very ready to receive any assertion from your Lordships to that purpose, not doubting but we shall give your Lordships full satisfaction in that Point. And we conceive the Alterations proposed by us to your Lordships, to be a very proper Answer to your Lordships Propositions, and most agreeable to the end, for which those Propositions seem to be made. And that since it appears, that the utter abolishing of *Episcopacy*, in the manner proposed, is visibly inconvenient, and may be mischievous, the Regulating of *Episcopacy*, being most consonant to the Primitive Institution, will produce all these good effects towards Peace and Unity; which Regulated *Episcopacy*, is the summe of our former Paper, we desire your Lord-

ships

ships to consent to the same. And we again offer to your Lordships, That if you shall insist upon any other things necessary for Reformation, we will apply our selves to the consideration thereof.

Their Answer to the Second.

13. February.

WE conceive your Lordships Second Paper, this day delivered to us, is a denial of our Demands, that the Ordinance for Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament; And that his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Covenant be enjoyned to be taken, according to the second Proposition. Wherein if we misconceive your Lordships intention; we desire you would explain the meanings, and accordingly shall make our Reports to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

LXII.

The KING's Commissioners Reply.

13. February.

Concerning the Ordinances for the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines, and the taking the Covenant, we can give no farther Answer than we have done in our second Paper, delivered to your Lordships this day.

LXIII.

Their Answer to the Third.

13. February.

WE do conceive your Lordships third Paper is a Denial of our Demands, concerning the Directory for Publique Worship, and the Proposition for Church-Government, against which your Lordships have made no Objection, and your Queries are already satisfied by Conference. And we shall accordingly make our Reports to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

LXIV.

The King's Commissioners Reply.

13. February.

Our expressions in our Answer to your Lordships Demands, concerning the Directory for Publique Worship, import onely, what we, as yet, conceive concerning that matter, there having hitherto been no debate touching the same, or concerning the Common-Prayer-Book, now Established by Law, and thereby intended to be abolished. And therefore we did in that Pa-

LXV.

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* None were
made.

per, and do still desire to receive your Lordships * Objections against the Book of Common-Prayer, and your Reasons for introducing the *Directory*. Neither can our Answer to the Propositions for Church-Government, annexed to your first Paper, be otherwise taken, than as our desire to receive information, how that Government should be constituted in particular, and what Jurisdiction should be established, by whom granted, and upon whom it should depend; which *Quere's* were not satisfied by any Conference, your Lordships (as we conceive) having declared your selves, that the particular Form or Model of that Government, mentioned in those Propositions onely in general, were not then particularly agreed on; And we have since desired and expect to receive it, and therefore your Lordships cannot conceive, we have denied that which we have not yet seen, nor been informed of.

Their Answer to the Fourth:

13. February.

LVI.

TO your Lordships Fourth Paper, we Answer, The Bill for suppressing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the Worship of God, &c. And for the better advancement of the Preaching of Gods Holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom, and against the enjoying of Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual Persons, and Non-Residency, were heretofore presented to His Majesty, and remain with him; And we herewith deliver to your Lordships, the Ordinance for the due observation of the Lords Day, and we insist on our former Demands concerning them. And when your Lordships have given us your full Answers to our Desires already with you concerning Religion, we then shall deliver unto your Lordships our Demands concerning Papiſts, the regulating the Universities, the Education, and Marriage of His Majesties Children, in the true Protestant Religion, contained in our Paper of the 11th of this instant February.

The KING's Commissioners Réply.

13. February.

LXVII.

WE E have not the Bills here, which we desired of your Lordships, in our Fourth Paper, to see, and which you now say were heretofore presented to His Majestie. But we shall take speedy care to have those Bills, if they remain with His Majesty, and in the mean time

time desire your Lordships to give us Copies of them, and we shall give your Lordships a speedy Answer, as we shall to the Ordinance for the due observation of the Lords Day, which we received from your Lordships this Night, and had never before seen; and we shall be ready to receive your Lordships * Demands concerning *Papists*, the Regulating the *Universities*, the Education and Marriage of His Majesties Children, and shall return our Answers accordingly.

* None at all were delivered in.

This last Paper concluded the Six dayes, appointed for the Treaty upon Religion, according to the Order prescribed for disposing the first 18. dayes of the 20 for the Treaty. In the end of which 18 daies, after some * Papers mutually delivered concerning the manner how the two last daies should be disposed, this Subject of Religion, with the two others, were again resumed, and their Papers following were then delivered in concerning Religion.

* See these Papers after n^o. 170. 192, & 193.

Their Paper.

21. Feb.

Whereas your Lordships in your * last Paper of Feb. 13. were pleased to say, That (as you conceived) the continual Succession of Episcopacy from the Apostles times, was consented to on all parts, and that you cannot remember that the contrary thereof was so much as alledged, much less that the unlawfulness thereof was proved, the Question of the unlawfulness thereof having never yet come into debate; We desire your Lordships to remember, That when a Divine in Commission with you undertook to prove the Jus Divinum of Episcopacy, his Arguments were not only Answered by another Divine then in Commission with us, but that 4 or 5 several Arguments were then brought by him out of the Scriptures, to prove the unlawfulness of it; and afterwards in an extrajudicial debate between several Divines on both sides, by consent of the Commissioners, those Arguments were further made good by the Divines on our side, and the pretended continual succession of Episcopal Government from the Apostles times was (as we conceive) at the same time sufficiently disproved; So that we cannot but wonder that your Lordships should forget that the unlawfulness of it was debated. And whereas in your Lordships * last Paper of Feb. 20. you were pleased to say, that if it might be made appear, that the Government by Bishops is unlawful, or

LXVIII. * The Paper intended, is the King's Commissioners Reply, to their first Answer, 13. Feb. n^o. 61.

* See the Paper, 20. Feb. after N^o. 164. being delivered upon another occasion.

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that

* See the Pa-
per, 20. Feb.
after N.
164. being
delivered
upon another
occasion.

that the Government, which we desire to introduce in the room thereof, is the onely Government that is agreeable to the Word of God, your Lordships would immediately give us full satisfaction in our Proposition. We desire your Lordships to remember besides, what hath bin proved in debate concerning the unlawfulness of Episcopal Government; and notwithstanding the general Experience, That the Government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. hath bin a hinderance to Reformation, and growth of Religion, and prejudicial to the Civil State; and the manifest evidence of the thing it self, that so much of the Government desired by us, as hath bin presented to your Lordships, is agreeable to the Word of God, how we have severall times offered our selves to give your Lordships satisfaction by Conference, if any objections remained with your Lordships to the contrary, which we are still ready to do, and desire your Lordships full Answer to that, and the rest of our Propositions concerning Religion.

The King's Commissioners Answer.

21. February.

LXIX.

WE did conceive that the continual Succession of *Episcopacy* from the Apostles times, had bin so clearly manifested to your Lordships, by our Conference on the 12. of this instant, that your Lordships had bin fully satisfied therein; the which since you are not, we would gladly be informed, when, and where any National Church, since the Apostles times, was without that Government; and since your Lordships are of Opinion that the unlawfulness of *Episcopacy* was made good by those Arguments, which were given by the Divines on your part, which in truth we did not understand to be made to that purpose when they were first urged, and being now again remembred, in our Judgments do not in any degree prove the same, we being very ready to consent to the abolishing thereof if the same can be proved; and your Lordships assuming that you have proved it, and so that you can again prove it, we desire your Lordships by Conference, or in Writing, to satisfie us in that point; which we hope being in your power (as you say) to do, and being a sure way to put an end to this Debate by our yielding, your Lordships will not refuse to do it: But if neither that, nor the other Proposition, that the Government intended to be introduced by your Lordships, is the onely Govern-

Government, that is agreeable to the Word of God, can be evinced; We hope your Lordships will rest satisfied with the Reasons we have given your Lordships in Writing, why we cannot consent to your Propositions concerning Religion, as they are made and insisted on by your Lordships, and that we have offered your Lordships a Remedy against all the Inconveniencies that have bin ever pretended in the Government, as is now established by Law, and which ought not upon less Reasons than we have mentioned to be taken away.

Their Reply.

21. February.

WE do not conceive that the continual Succession of Episcopacy from the Apostles time, hath bin at all manifested to us in Conference by your Lordships, and for what your Lordships mention concerning a National Church, it is a new Question which hath not, as yet, bin any part of the Subject of our Debate. But we desire to bring that to a conclusion which is in issue between us, and not doubting but that your Lordships are fully satisfied, That Episcopacy is not Jure Divino, we are ready by Conference to shew the unlawfulness of that Episcopacy which we desire to take away by our Bill, and that the Government which we propose is agreeable to the Word of God.

LXX.

In pursuance of this Paper, the most part of the next day, being the last of the Treaty, was spent in dispute between the Divines; and after, their Commissioners delivered in this Paper.

22. February.

HAVING the last Night given in a Paper unto your Lordships, wherein we signified that we doubted not, but that you were fully satisfied, that Episcopacy was not Jure Divino, we are the more confirmed in it, because your Lordships have since that time given us nothing in to the contrary, and we hope we have by clear Arguments from Scripture and Reason this day likewise satisfied you, That the Government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. which we desire to be taken away by this Bill, is unlawful; and that the Government, which we desire to be established, is agreeable to the Word of God; and therefore we desire your Lordships

LXXI.

to agree to the passing of this Bill, and to give us your full and clear Answer to this, and the rest of the Propositions concerning Religion.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

22. February.

LXXII.

ACcording to your Lordships Paper of the last Night, we attended your Debate this Day, concerning the unlawfulness of *Episcopacy*; but did neither then, nor do now, acknowledg our Selves convinced by any Arguments offered by you, that *Episcopacy* is not *Jure Divino*, the same having bin the Opinion of very many Learned Men in all Ages, (which we do not censure or determine) but not insisted on by us, as the ground of any Answer we have delivered to your Lordships; and we are so far from being satisfied with the Arguments from Scripture and Reason, this day urged, to prove, That the Government by *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c.* which you desire to be taken away by this Bill, is unlawful, that the weightiest Arguments which were urged (in our Judgments) concluded at most against those inconveniencies which are remedied by the Alteration offered by us to your Lordships, in our * Paper of the 13. of this Moneth; and it seems strange to us, that your Lordships should think that Government (without which no *National Church* hath bin since the Apostles times, till within these few years) to be unlawful: and for the Government desired by you to be established, your Lordships have not offered any such particular Form of Government to us that may inable us to Judge thereof; and we cannot but observe, that the Arguments, produced to that purpose, were only to prove the same not unlawful, without offering to prove it absolute necessary, and therefore we conceive our Answer, formerly given to your Lordships concerning that Bill, and your Propositions concerning *Religion*, is a just and reasonable Answer.

* See before,
n^o. 56.

After

After the first three dayes of the Treaty, spent upon the business of Religion, according to the Order formerly prescribed, the Propositions concerning the Militia were next Treated upon the three dayes following; beginning the fourth of *February*, and the same was after resumed the 14. of *February*, for other three dayes.

Their Propositions touching the Militia.

4. Febr.



WE desire that by Act of Parliament, the Subjects of the Kingdom of England, may be appointed to be Armed, Trayned, and Disciplined, in such manner as both Houses shall think fit. LXXIII.

The like for the Kingdom of Scotland, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

We desire that an Act of Parliament be passed for the setting of the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and for the raising of such moneys for maintenance of the said Forces, and of the Navy, as both Houses of Parliament shall think fit.

The like for the Kingdom of Scotland, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

An Act for the setting of all Forces by Sea and Land in, Commissioners to be nominated by both Houses of Parliament, of Persons of known integrity, and such as both Kingdoms may confide in, for their faithfulness to the Religion and Peace of the Kingdom, of the House of Peers, and of the House of Commons, who shall be removed or altered from time to time, as both Houses shall think fit. And when any shall dye, others to be nominated in their places by the said Houses, which Commissioners shall have power,

First, to suppress any Forces raised without authority of both Houses of Parliament, or in the intervals of Parliaments, without consent of the said Commissioners, to the disturbance of the publick Peace of these Kingdoms, and to suppress any Forraign Forces that shall invade this Kingdom; and that it shall be high Treason in any, who shall levy any Forces without such authority or consent,

consent, to the disturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, any Commission under the Great Seal, or other warrant to the contrary, notwithstanding; and they to be incapable of any Pardon from His Majesty, and their estates to be disposed of as both Houses of Parliament shall think fit.

2. To preserve the Peace now to be settled, and to prevent all disturbances of the publick Peace, that may arise by occasion of the late troubles.

So for the Kingdom of Scotland.

3. To have power to send part of themselves, so as they exceed not a third part, or be not under the number of _____ to reside in the Kingdom of Scotland, to assist and Vote as single persons, with the Commissioners of Scotland, in those matters wherein the Kingdom of Scotland is only concerned.

So for the Kingdom of Scotland.

4. That the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, may meet as a joynt Committee, as they shall see cause, or send part of themselves, as aforesaid, to do as followeth;

1. To preserve the Peace betwixt the Kingdoms, and the King, and every one of them.

2. To prevent the violation of the Articles of Peace, as aforesaid, or any troubles arising in the Kingdoms, by breach of the said Articles, and to hear and determine all differences that may occasion the same, according to the Treaty; and to do further, according as they shall respectively receive instructions from both Houses of Parliament in England, or the Estates of Parliament in Scotland; And in the intervals of Parliaments from the Commissioners for the preservation of the publick Peace.

3. To raise and joyn the Forces of both Kingdoms, to resist all Forraign Invasion, and to suppress any Forces raised within any of the Kingdoms, to the disturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms, by any authority under the Great Seal, or other warrant whatsoever, without consent of both Houses of Parliament in England, and the Estates of the Parliament in Scotland, or the said Commissioners of that Kingdom whereof they are Subjects. And that in those cases of joynt Concernment to both Kingdoms, the Commissioners to be directed to be there all, or such part as aforesaid, to Act and direct as joynt Commissioners of both Kingdoms.

We desire that the Militia of the City of London, may be in the Ordering and government of the Lord Major, Aldermen and Commons in Common-Council assembled, or such as they shall from
time

time to time appoint, whereof the Lord Major and Sheriffs for the time being to be three. And that the Militia of the Parishes without London, and the Liberties within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, may be under the command of the Lord Major, Aldermen and Commons, in Common-Council of the said City, to be ordered in such manner as shall be agreed on, and appointed by both Houses of Parliament.

We desire that the Tower of London, may be in the Government of the City of London, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof from time to time, be nominated and removeable by the Common-Council.

And that the Citizens, or Forces of London, shall not be drawn out of the City into any other parts of the Kingdom, without their own consent. And that the drawing of their Forces into other parts of the Kingdom in these distracted times, may not be drawn into example for the future.

After these Propositions made, the King's Commissioners, for their Information concerning these Propositions, gave in several Papers.

The King's Commissioners Paper.

4. February.

WE conceive the Propositions delivered by your Lordships concerning the Militia, import very great alterations in the main foundation of the Frame of Government of this Kingdome, taking by expresse words, or by necessary consequence, the whole Military and Civil power out of the Crown, without any limitation in time, or reparation proposed. Therefore we desire to know for what term you intend the Militia shall be settled in such manner as may be a reasonable and full security, which we are ready and desirous to give, to preserve the Peace now to be settled, and to prevent all disturbances of the publick Peace that may arise by occasion of the late Troubles. For the better doing whereof, we are ready by conference to satisfie your Lordships in any particulars.

LXXIV.

Their Answer,

4. Feb.

LXXV.

Our Paper given in to your Lordships concerning the Militia, doth not contain the alterations mentioned in your Lordships Answer, but desires that which by the wisdom of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes is judged necessary at this time for the security of His Majesties Kingdomes, and preservation of the Peace now to be settled, and until your Lordships shall declare an assent unto the matter therein expressed, we conceive it will not be seasonable to give any answer concerning the time; And we are ready to confer with your Lordships upon what shall be offered by you to our Paper concerning the Militia formerly delivered.

The KING's Commissioners Reply,

4. February.

LXXVI.

WE are of opinion, that the Propositions in your Lordships Paper contain the Alterations mentioned in the Paper we lately delivered to your Lordships, and take by express words, or necessary consequence, the whole Military and Civil Power out of the Crown, which alterations we are ready to make appear in debate. And the alterations being so great, we have reason to desire to know the limitation of time, the consideration of which makes the Propositions more or less reasonable.

The King's Commissioners second Paper,

4. February.

LXXVII.

WE desire to know who the Commissioners shall be in whose hands the Forces by Sea and Land shall be entrusted; And whether you intend His Majesty shall be obliged to consent to such Persons; or whether He may except against them, and name others in their places of known affection to Religion and Peace.

Their

Their Answer,

4. February.

THe Commissioners in whose hands the Forces by Sea and Land shall be entrusted, are to be nominated for England, by both the Houses of the Parliament of England, and for Scotland, by the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, as is expressed in our Paper formerly delivered to your Lordships concerning the Militia. LXXVIII.

The King's Commissioners Reply,

4. February.

WEE desire a full answer to our Paper concerning the Persons to be entrusted with the Militia, it being very necessary to know the persons, before consent can be given to the matter; and whether His Majesty may except against any such Persons, and nominate others in their rooms, against whom there can be no just exception. LXXIX.

The King's Commissioners 3d Paper,

4. February.

VVE desire to know; whether your Lordships intend, that the Militia of the City of London shall be independent, and not subordinate to those Commissioners in whose hands the Forces by Sea and Land shall be entrusted. LXXX.

Their Answer.

4. Feb.

IT appears by the Propositions concerning the Militia of the City of London, that the same is to be ordered in such manner as shall be agreed on, and appointed by both Houses of Parliament. LXXXI.

The King's Commissioners Reply,

4. *February.*

LXXXII. **W**E desire an answer to our Paper concerning the Militia of the City of *London*, whether the same shall be subordinate to the Commissioners in whose hands the Forces, by Sea and Land, are to be intrusted; your Lordships Answer, that the same is to be ordered in such manner as shall be agreed on, and appointed by both Houses of Parliament (which yet doth not appear by the Propositions) being no answer to the question.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

5. *February.*

LXXXIII. **H**AVING with great diligence perused your Lordships Paper concerning the *Militia*, and being very desirous to come to as speedy a conclusion in that Argument as we can; We will be ready, to morrow, to give your Lordships our full Answer, which we are confident will give your Lordships satisfaction concerning the matter of the *Militia* of this Kingdom.

The King's Commissioners Paper, in Answer to the Propositions concerning the *Militia*,

6. *February.*

LXXXIV. **T**O suppress any Forces that may be raised to the disturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, or that shall invade this Kingdom, and to preserve the Peace now to be settled, and to prevent all disturbances of the publick Peace, that may arise by occasion of the late Troubles; And that His Majesty and all His People may be secured from the Jealousies and apprehensions they may have of danger; We do consent, that all the Forces of the Kingdom, both by Sea and Land, shall be put into the hands of Persons of known faithfulness to the Religion and Peace of the Kingdom, in such manner, and for such time, as is hereafter mentioned.

That the number of those persons be Twenty; or if that be not accepted by your Lordships, such greater or lesser

lesser number, as shall be agreed upon between us; And that His Majesty may name half the persons to be so entrusted, and the two Houses the other half.

That such Forts and Towns, in which Garrisons have been before these Troubles, and such other as shall be agreed upon between us to be necessary for a time to be kept as Garrisons, shall be entrusted likewise to persons to be chosen by the Commissioners, or the major part of them, to be subordinate to the said Commissioners, and to receive orders from them, and no others; And all other places, which have been Fortified since the beginning of these Troubles, shall be left as they were before, and the Fortifications and Works slighted and demolished; And all Forces with all possible expedition to be disbanded, that the Kingdom may be eased of that intolerable burthen.

That an Act of Parliament shall be passed for the raising of such Moneys, for the maintenance of the Navy and Sea-Forces, as His Majesty and both Houses shall think fit.

That when any of the said Commissioners shall dye, who was nominated by His Majesty, His Majesty shall name another; And when any shall dye of those named by the two Houses, another shall be chosen by them, and in the intervals of Parliament by the major part of the said Commissioners named by the two Houses, and neither the one or the other to be removed; but by the joynt consent of His Majesty and both Houses, except it shall be desired by your Lordships, that His Majesty and the two Houses respectively may remove the respective persons named by them, as often as they shall see occasion, to which (if it shall be insisted on) we shall consent.

These Commissioners, or the major part of them, or such other number of them as shall be agreed upon, shall have power by Act of Parliament, to suppress any Forces raised sitting a Parliament, without the joynt consent of His Majesty and both Houses of Parliament; or in the intervals of Parliament without consent of the said Commissioners, or the major part of them, to the disturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, and to suppress any Forces that shall invade the Kingdom. And it shall be High Treason in any who shall leavy any Forces, without such

such authority or consent, to the disturbance of the publick Peace.

That they shall have like power to preserve the Peace now to be settled, and to prevent all disturbances of the publick Peace, that may arise by occasion of the late Troubles; And if any Forces shall be brought into the Kingdom, without the joynt consent of the King and the two Houses of Parliament, it shall be lawful for any four of the said Commissioners to leavy Forces for the suppressing, resisting and destroying of the said Forces so brought in.

We are content that this power to such Persons shall continue for the space of three years, which we doubt not, but by the blessing of God, will be abundantly sufficient to secure all persons from their doubts and Fears, and in which time such a mutual confidence may be begot betwixt His Majesty and all His People, that the peace will be firm and lasting.

That the Commissioners, before their entrance upon the said Trust, shall take an Oath for the due execution of the said Commission, and that after the expiration of the said term of three years, from the time of the issuing the said Commission, they shall not presume to continue any execution of the said authority, and it shall be high Treason in any of them to execute the said authority after the expiration of the said three years. And all the Commanders in chief of the Garrisons, Forts, and His Majesties Ships, shall likewise take an Oath for the due execution of their Trust.

That the Commissioners shall have power to prevent the violation of the Articles of Peace, or any troubles arising in the Kingdom by breach of the said Articles, and to hear and determine all differences that may occasion the same.

We shall be willing that any just Priviledges and Immunities be granted by His Majesty to the City of *London*, as being the chief City of this Kingdom, and the place His Majesty desires to Honour with his most usual and most constant Residence: But we conceive it too envious a thing, and may prove very prejudicial to the happiness of that great City, to distinguish it in a matter of so high importance as the business of the *Militia*, from the
 Authority

Authority that the whole Kingdome is to submit to.

If your Lordships shall not consent to the election of persons, in that manner as we have proposed, half by His Majesty, and the other half by the two Houses, we do then propose to your Lordships, that the said persons who shall have the said powers in manner and form above mentioned, may be named by mutual consent upon debate between us; in which consideration may be taken of the fitness or unfitness of those who shall be named; And in case that any of them who shall be thus agreed upon shall dye within the said term of three years, he survivors, or the major part of them, shall nominate and chuse another in his place who shall be deceased. This way we should most have desired, but in regard the consideration of persons may take up a long time in debate, which neither the time allotted for the Treaty, nor the present distractions will permit, we do propose the former as the most expedite and certain way, but leave the election to your Lordships.

And whatsoever shall be found deficient in the setting this according to the present agreement, or shall be thought fit to be added to it upon any inconveniencies or defects that shall be hereafter discovered, the same shall be mended or supplied in such manner as shall be thought reasonable by the joynt consent of His Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament.

After which the King's Commissioners delivered in this Paper.

6. February.

WE shall be ready against the time that the *Militia* LXXXV. is again in order to be Treated upon, to give your Lordships an answer to your demands, concerning the *Militia* of the Kingdom of Scotland; the which for the present we have not had time to do, having wholly spent these three days in the perfecting the paper delivered to your Lordships this day, and the debates in preparation thereof.

And

And at the same time their Commissioners delivered in this Paper.

6. Feb.

LXXXVI.

Your Lordships Paper which we have received so late at the end of the third day, appointed to Treat upon the Militia, on which we expected a satisfactory answer to our demands concerning it is very far differing from what we have proposed, and unsatisfactory to our just and necessary desires, for securing the Peace of the Kingdoms, and wherein we cannot but observe, that the Kingdom of Scotland is wholly omitted. We do therefore insist upon our Paper formerly delivered concerning the Militia, and desire your Lordships full and clear answer, being ready by conference to remove all objections, which may be made to the contrary.

The King's Commissioners Answer thereupon.

6. February.

LXXXVII.

WE conceive the Paper delivered by us to your Lordships, may justly satisfy your Lordships for the securing the Peace of this Kingdom against all Forces that may any ways endanger it at home, or from abroad, and for securing the performance of all things that shall be agreed in this Treaty; and we are ready by Conference to make the reasonableness thereof appear, and to receive any reasons from your Lordships to the contrary. And as touching Scotland, we hope your Lordships will be satisfied by the last Paper we delivered to you.

Their Paper.

6. Feb.

LXXXVIII.

In our last Paper we insisted upon our former demands for the Militia, and offered by Conference to satisfy your Lordships of the reasonableness of them, if any doubts remained with you to the contrary, which we are still ready to do, they being the proper subject of this part of the Treaty. And whereas your Lordships have in your Paper, referred what concerns the Kingdom of Scotland unto another time, and seems to intend it a several answer; both Kingdoms being united in the same cause, and under the same danger, and mutually providing for the joynt safety, and security

security of both, and each other, our Propositions are joyntly made by both, and are inconsistent with a divided answer.

The KING's Commissioners Answer.

6. Feb.

W Hereas your Lordships have offered in your last Paper to satisfie us, by Conference, of the reasonableness of your demands, if any doubts remain with us to the contrary: We desire to receive satisfaction by Conference, that it is reasonable for us to grant the nomination of the persons by the two Houses only, and that the time ought not to be limited. LXXXIX.

Their Paper.

6. Feb.

A S we have given to your Lordships our Propositions, for the Militia of both Kingdoms in writing, so do we again desire your Lordships full and clear answer to them both, in writing, and we are ready to answer any doubts you shall make upon them in order as we delivered them, and as they do relate to both Kingdoms, but we cannot Treat upon your Lordships answer which divides them. XC.

The three first dayes, allotted for the Treaty upon the Militia, being spent, and that subject resumed upon Fryday the 14, Saturday the 15, and Monday the 17 of February. In those dayes divers Papers were delivered, and some debates had touching the nomination of the Persons, who were to be entrusted with the Militia, whether they should all be nominated by the two Houses only; and touching the time, how long they should have it, and whether the same should be unlimited, as it was in the Propositions, or be limited to a certain time; as likewise concerning the Powers of the English, and Scottish Commissioners for the Militia, which are so intermingled in the Propositions, that it was not well understood upon the Propositions, how far the Commissioners of one Kingdom, and their power might extend unto, and have influence upon the other, and the one upon the Government of the other, and concerning some other passages having relation to the Militia;

Kkkkk

which

Treaty for Peace at Uxbridge, 1644.

which would be intricate, if they should be set down in the order of time as they were delivered; and because sometimes divers Papers were delivered together, therefore they are here placed according to their distinct matters. And first touching the nomination of Persons, and limitation of the time.

The King's Commissioners delivered in this Paper.

14. Feb.

XCI.
* See n^o. 84.

* See n^o. 86.
& 88.

IF your Lordships are not satisfied, with the * Papers delivered to your Lordships by us on the 6. of *February*, concerning the *Militia*, as far as the same concerns this Kingdome, we desire according to your Lordships offer in your * first, and * second Paper delivered to us the sixth of *February*, that your Lordships will satisfie us of the reasonableness of your demands, and that the nominating of the Persons ought to be by the two Houses only, and that the time ought not to be limited.

Their Answer.

14. Feb.

XCII.

BY your Lordships Paper received this day, we apprehend your desire to proceed in the Treaty, upon the Propositions for the *Militia*, as far as the same concerns this Kingdom, without any mention of the Kingdom of Scotland. In answer whereunto, we refer your Lordships, to a former Paper of the 6. of *February* instant, whereby we desired your full and clear answer to our Propositions for the *Militia* of both Kingdoms, in order as we have delivered them, and as they do relate to both Kingdoms, and that we could not Treat upon your Lordships answer which divides them. We still insist on that Paper, and when your Lordships shall be pleased, to give an answer thereunto, we shall be ready to clear any doubts which may remain with your Lordships.

The King's Commissioners Reply.

14. February.

XCIII.

WE do desire to proceed in the Treaty, upon the Proposition for the *Militia*, as the same concerns both Kingdoms joyntly, as well as either of them severally, neither is the contrary expressed

fed (as we conceive) in the Paper delivered by us to your Lordships this day; But we cannot reasonably Answer to them as they concern one or both Kingdoms, before we receive satisfaction from your Lordships of the reasonableness of your demands, which your Lordships were pleased to promise us by two of your Papers of the sixth of February, and which we again desire of your Lordships concerning the Persons and the time, conceiving it unreasonable, that all the Persons shall be nominated only by the Houses, and that the time should be unlimited.

Their Answer.

15. Feb.

WEE have formerly desired your Lordships answer to the Propositions for the Militia, in order as we delivered them, and as they do relate to both Kingdoms, and not to give any Answer which shall divide them. Yet we observe in the matter of your Lordships * third Paper yesterday received, that you desire satisfaction in the Particulars there mentioned, as the same concern the Kingdom of England, only in pursuance of a former Paper given in by your Lordships the 6 of February. We therefore again desire as formerly, that such answer as your Lordships shall think fit to make to our Propositions concerning the Militia, may be applied to both Kingdoms joyntly, and then we shall be ready by conference to clear any Objections, which your Lordships shall make against the reasonableness of our demands.

XCIV.

* See the paper intended N^o. 105.

The KING's Commissioners Paper.

15. Feb.

WEE desire that your Lordships will satisfie us of the reasonableness of your demands concerning the settling the Militia of both Kingdoms, and that the nominating of the Persons ought to be by the two Houses of Parliament, and the like for the Kingdom of Scotland, and that the time ought not to be limited.

XCV.

Their Paper,

15. Feb.

XCVI.
* The preced-
ent Paper.

Your Lordships demand in your * 4th Paper being made concerning the Militia of both Kingdoms, we are ready upon conference, to give satisfaction to what your Lordships shall object against the nominating of the Commissioners by the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively, or against the time for which the Militia is demanded in the Propositions.

After some time spent in conference, for limiting the time, wherein the debate was, touching the unreasonableness of the demand, for taking from the King the Power of the Militia, and setting it in Commissioners, to be nominated by the two Houses, not limited to any time, The Kings Commissioners gave in this Paper.

15. Feb.

XCVII.

WE desire to know, whether your Lordships can, by your instructions, consent to a limitation of time, in the setting the Militia, or whether you must insist, that the time be unlimited.

Their Answer.

17. Feb.

XCVIII.
* The next
precedent
paper.

IN Answer to your * sixth Paper of the 15. of this instant, concerning the limitation of time, in the setting of the Militia, We do insist that the time be unlimited, according to our former demands.

The King's Commissioners Reply.

17. Febr.

XCIX.

After so long debate between us, concerning the limitation of time, in the setting of the Militia, (in which we conceive your Lordships had been satisfied, that as it is no way necessary, for the security of the observation and performance of the present agreement, that the time should be unlimited, so in respect of other considerations, it may be very mischievous, that it should be

be unlimited) we had great reason to desire to know, whether your Lordships had any power by your Instructions, to consent to a limitation of time, and are sorry that your Lordships will not give us an answer to that question, that thereupon we might have endeavoured to have given your Lordships other satisfaction, than by not knowing your power therein, we are enabled to do.

Their Paper.

17. Feb.

WE conceive that after so long a debate between us, your Lordships would have been satisfied, that it was most fit concerning the settling the Militia, for the time to be unlimited, as we have formerly desired, and which by our Instructions we are to insist upon. C.

They also delivered in this Paper.

17. Febr.

WE desire a full and clear answer to what we have delivered to your Lordships concerning the Militia, and to know whether your Lordships be limited by any Instructions or Directions, what to grant or deny in the same, and that we may have a sight of such Instructions or Directions. CII.

The Answer.

17. Febr.

WE do * herewith deliver to your Lordships, such a full and clear answer to your Propositions concerning the Militia, as we hope will give your Lordships satisfaction, being such, as upon the conference and information we have received from your Lordships, seems to us to be most reasonable. CII.

* The Paper after n^o 128. was delivered with this

It appeareth by our Commission, whereof your Lordships have a Copy, that it hath not any reference to any Instructions. It is true, that as we have (according to our duty) from time to time acquainted His Majesty with our proceedings, so in some particular cases, we have desired to be assisted with His Majesties opinion, but what answers we have therein received from His Majesty, we conceive

conceive it not proper for us to communicate to your Lordships, nor have we any warrant so to do.

Their Reply.

17. Febr.

CIII.

WE again desire of your Lordships, to know, whether you be limited by any Instructions, or Directions, what to grant or deny unto us, concerning the Militia, and that we may have a sight of such instructions or directions, and which we conceive your Lordships in Justice and reason cannot deny, seeing by your Papers and debates, you insisted, that it was just and reasonable for us to let you know, whether we had any power by our Instructions, to consent to a limitation of time, which we did accordingly. And your Lordships 7th Paper this day delivered gives no answer or satisfaction to our former demand herein.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

17. Febr.

CIV.

WE conceive it was just and reasonable, for us to demand of your Lordships, whether you had power by your instructions to consent to a limitation of time concerning the Militia, because the time is left indefinite, and not expressed in the Propositions. And your Lordships Commission, which gives you power to Treat, relating to instructions, they are thereby part of your power, and yet your Lordships to that our demand, have given no other answer, than, That by your instructions, you were to insist, to have the time unlimited; but have not answered, whether you had power to consent to a limitation of time. And we desire your Lordships to remember, that formerly upon our desire to see your instructions, that thereby we might see what power was granted to you, by your * Paper of the last of January, your Lordships did answer, it was that for which you had no warrant; and it appearing to your Lordships, that our Commission hath no reference to instructions, we conceive that your Lordships cannot expect any other answer, than we have already given to your Lordships demand, touching any instructions or directions to us, what to deny, or consent to grant in the Militia, assuring your Lordships, that

we

* See before
N^o. 16.

we shall not deny, but willingly consent, to grant whatsoever shall be therein requisite for a full security, for observing the Articles of the Treaty, or otherwise agreeable to Justice or reason.

Touching the Power which should be given to the Commissioners for the *Militia*.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

14. February.

WE desire to know, what authority the Commissioners, nominated by the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, are to have in the *Militia* of this Kingdom; and what influence, the Orders and advice, from the Estates of the Parliament there, shall have upon this Kingdom; and how far the same is to be consented, or submitted to here.

CV.

Their Answer,

14. Febr.

Your Lordships desire, expressed in your second Paper this day, may be fully satisfied by the Propositions concerning the *Militia*, where the authority of the Commissioners to be nominated, is clearly expressed, both in cases of several, and of joynt concernment, of the Kingdoms; And if upon perusal thereof any doubts shall occur to your Lordships, we are ready by conference to clear the same.

CVI.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

15. February.

WE do not conceive that the authority of the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, and in both Kingdoms, is clearly expressed in your Lordships Propositions, and therefore we desire to be informed, whether your Lordships intend that the Commissioners of *Scotland* shall have any power in the setting of all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what authority they shall have:

CVII.

Their

Their Paper.

15. Febr.

CVIII.

WE do conceive, that the authority of the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, and in both Kingdoms, is clearly expressed in our Propositions: By which it doth appear how they are to act as severall or as joynt Commissioners. And if your Lordships shall propound any objections against our Propositions concerning the Militia of both Kingdoms, we are ready upon conference to give your Lordships satisfaction.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

15. February.

CIX.

WE desire to know, whether in that part of the Proposition, wherein the Commissioners of both Kingdoms are appointed to meet as a joynt Committee, and to receive Instructions in the intervals of Parliament from the Commissioners for the preservation of the publick Peace; your Lordships mean the Commissioners to be nominated according to these Propositions, or the * Commissioners intended by the Act of Pacification, or what other Commissioners; And what Jurisdiction you intend the said Commissioners of both Kingdoms shall have, by the power given them to hear and determine all differences that may occasion the breach of the Articles of the Peace, according to the Treaty, and by what Law they shall proceed to hear and determine the same.

* See the Printed Act.

Their Answer.

15. Feb.

CX.

WE intend that the Commissioners are to be nominated according to the Propositions; and are to proceed in such manner as is therein expressed; and if your Lordships shall make any objections hereupon, we are ready by Conference to give you satisfaction.

Their

Their further Answer,

15. Febr.

FOr further answer to your Lordships second Paper, we conceive that the matter of the Jurisdiction to be exercised by the Commissioners is expressed in the Proposition, and for the manner of exercising that Jurisdiction, and by what Law they shall proceed to hear and determine the same are to be settled by the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively. CXI.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

15. Febr.

WE desire to receive a perfect and full answer from your Lordships to our * first and * second Papers, delivered by us this morning to your Lordships, and whether your Lordships intend, that the Commissioners of Scotland shall have any power and authority in the settling of all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what authority they shall have ; and whether the advice or orders of the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, shall have any influence upon the affairs of this Kingdom, or the Commissioners to be named according to these Propositions, otherwise then as the said advice or orders shall be approved, and confirmed by the two Houses of Parliament of England ; and what Jurisdiction you intend the Commissioners shall have who are to determine all differences, that may occasion the breach of the Articles of Peace ; and by what Law or rule they shall proceed, try , and Judge, in the hearing and determining the same ; And it is most necessary for us to desire satisfaction from your Lordships to these particulars in writing, since the answer we shall give to your Lordships upon so much of your Propositions, will very much depend upon our clear understanding your Lordships in these particulars, it being agreed between us, that nothing shall be binding, or taken as agreed upon, but what shall be in writing on either part. CXII.

*Seen^o. 107,
& 109, & n^o.
105.

Their Answer.

17. Febr.

CXIII.
* See the
Papers in-
tended, n^o.
92, & 106.

* N^o. 111.

WE conceive there is a full answer already given by us in * several papers of the 14 of this instant, to the former parts of your Paper, delivered in on the 15 day, and to the latter part, what Jurisdiction the Commissioners shall have, who may determine all differences, that shall be by breach of the Articles of Peace, and by what Law and rule they shall proceed to hear and determine, the same is clearly set down in our * further answer of the 15 of this instant, to your second Paper delivered in to us the day before.

The King's Commissioners Answer thereunto.

17. February.

CXIV.

WE had great reason to desire a perfect and full answer from your Lordships, to our first and second Papers delivered by us to your Lordships on the 15 of Feb. and we desire your Lordships to consider how difficult a thing it is for us, to give your Lordships a satisfactory answer to your propositions; as they relate to either, or both Kingdoms, or to the power of the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, as they are to be a joynt Committee to hear and determine all differences, according to instructions from both Houses of Parliament of *England*, or the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, before your Lordships are pleased to inform us, whether you intend, the Commissioners of *Scotland* shall have any power or authority in the setting all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what authority they shall have; and whether the advice, instructions, or orders of the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, shall have any influence upon the affairs of this Kingdom, or the Commissioners to be named according to those Propositions, otherwise then as the said advice, instructions, or orders shall be approved and confirmed by the two Houses of Parliament of *England*; and what Jurisdiction you intend the Commissioners shall have, who are to determine all differences that may occasion the breach of the Articles of the Peace; and by what Law or rule they shall proceed, try, and Judge,
in

in the hearing and determining the same. In all which particulars we are very sorry that we can receive no answers from your Lordships, for want whereof we may fail in giving your Lordships so satisfactory answers to your Propositions, as otherwise we might be enabled to do.

Their Reply.

17. Feb.

IT is clearly expressed in our Propositions delivered to your Lordships, that all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, are to be settled by the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and in the Kingdom of Scotland, by the Estates of the Parliament there; and we conceive that the advice, instructions, or orders of either Kingdome, are to have no influence upon the affairs of the other, but such as is and shall be mutually agreed upon by the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland; And for the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners, and by what Law or rule they shall proceed, we have given your Lordships a full and clear answer thereunto, in our 5th * Paper of the 15 of February.

CXV.

* See before;
N^o. III.

The King's Commissioners Paper.

17. February.

IN the 12th Proposition your Lordships desire an Act to be passed for confirmation of the late Treaty, for the settling of the Garrison of Berwick of the 29 of November. 1643. which relating to the business of the Militia, we hold it necessary to see before we can make our full answer upon the whole, and desire it accordingly of your Lordships.

CXVI.

Their Answer.

17. Feb.

AS for what concerns the Act for Confirmation of the late Treaty, and for settling the Garrison of Berwick, It is not now to be Treated upon, but is reserved to its proper time.

CXVII.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

17. February.

CXVIII. **W**E desire to know, whether by the joynt power mentioned in your Lordships Propositions, to be given to the Commissioners for both Kingdoms, to preserve the Peace between the Kingdoms, and the King and every one of them, your Lordships do intend any other then Military power for suppressing Forces onely, which is expressed after in a distinct clause by it self; And if your Lordships do intend any further power, that your Lordships would declare the same in certainty and particular.

Their Answer,

17. Febr.

CXIX. **W**E conceive the power of the Commissioners, mentioned in the 17th Proposition, is there fully expressed to preserve the Peace betwixt the Kingdoms, to prevent the violation of it, or any troubles arising in the Kingdoms by breach of the Articles, and to bear and determine all differences which may occasion the same, according to the Treaty, and to raise Forces to resist Forreign Invasion, and suppress intestine Insurrections, as is more at large set down in the Proposition, to which we refer your Lordships.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

17. February.

CXX. **W**E desire to know, whether the Commissioners of both Kingdoms meeting as a joynt Committee, The Commissioners of each Kingdom shall have a Negative voice, so as nothing can be done without their joynt consent in matters of joynt concernment: And how, and by whom it shall be decided, what are cases of joynt concernment to both Kingdoms.

Their

Their Answer.

17. Feb.

IN all matters of joynt concernment, the Commissioners of both Kingdomes are to Act joyntly. And when they shall meet as a joynt Committee upon such matters of joynt concernment, the Commissioners of each Kingdom are to have a Negative voice; And in doubtful cases, not expressed in the 17th Proposition, to be of joynt concernment, where the Commissioners cannot agree, whether or no they be of joynt concernment, they are to represent them to the two Houses of Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively, to be by them determined if they be sitting, and in the intervals of Parliament, if the cases be such as cannot without prejudice to both, or either Kingdom, admit of delay, we conceive the Commissioners of each Kingdom are to Act severally, and to be aecomptable for it to the two Houses of Parliament of England, and the Estate's of the Parliament of Scotland respectively, at their next sitting.

CXXI.

The KING's Commissioners Paper,

17. February.

WE desire to know, whether by the Propositions for settling the Forces in Commissioners to be nominated by both Houses of Parliament, such as both Kingdoms may confide in, your Lordships do intend, That the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland shall approve or except against the Commissioners to be nominated for the Kingdom of England, both at present, and from time to time, as the Commissioners shall dye, or be removed, or altered.

CXXII.

Their Answer.

17. Febr.

WE conceive it to be plain by the Proposition it self, that the Commissioners of both Kingdoms are respectively to be nominated by the Parliaments of either Kingdom, and neither Parliament hath power to except against, or approve the persons chosen by the other, and we are confident there will be no

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cause

cause of exception, but who are chosen by either, will be such as both may confide in.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

14. February.

CXXIV.
The Admiralty is an office of Inheritance in Scotland, and settled by Act of Parliament.

WE desire to know, whether your Lordships intend by your Proposition concerning the settling of the Admiralty of Scotland by Act of Parliament, to alter the inheritance of any person, which is already settled by the Laws of that Kingdom.

Their Answer therunto,

15. Feb.

CXXV.

TO your Lordships fourth Paper of the 14 of Feb. it is answered, that by our Propositions for settling the Admiralty of Scotland by Act of Parliament, it is intended that the Admiralty, and Forces at Sea &c. shall be settled in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fittest, for the safety and security of that Kingdom, And as touching the inheritance of any person which is already settled, by the Laws of that Kingdom, the Estates of Parliament will do that which is agreeable to Justice.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

15. February.

CXXVI.

WE desire to know, whether the Papers delivered to us touching the Militia, contain all your Lordships Propositions touching the Militia of England and Scotland: and if they do not, that your Lordships will deliver the rest, that we may make our answers upon the whole.

Their Answer,

14. Febr.

CXXVII.

WHatsoever is contained in the Propositions concerning the Militia of England and Scotland, is delivered in to your Lordships except the 23 Proposition, and the last Article in the 26 Proposition, which are reserved for their proper place.

After

After all these passages, the King's Commissioners delivered in this Paper, in further answer to their Propositions concerning the *Militia*.

17. Febr.

WE had no purpose in our * answer delivered CXXVIII.
 by us to your Lordships on the 6th day of n^o. 84.
February, to divide our answers concerning
 the *Militia* of the two Kingdoms, otherwise then in point
 of time, and till we might receive satisfaction from your
 Lordships, concerning the powers to be given to the Com-
 missioners of both Kingdoms, and the other particulars
 mentioned in our Papers, since delivered to your Lord-
 ships, wherein we are not as yet satisfied by any Papers
 delivered by your Lordships to us. Our further answer to
 those Propositions concerning the *Militia* is, that we are
 willing and do agree, That the like course shall be taken
 and observed touching the *Militia* of the Kingdom of *Scot-*
land, as is offered in our said Paper of the 6th of *February*,
 and as shall be hereafter agreed on for the Kingdom of
England, which we conceive to be a full security for the
 performance and observation of all Articles, which shall
 be agreed upon between us in order to a blessed Peace;
 which we are so desirous may be punctually and exactly
 observed, That we are willing that His Majesty be desired
 to take a most solemn strict Oath, for the full observati-
 on thereof; And likewise that all persons of any imme-
 diate trust, by office or attendance on His Majesty, and a-
 ny other whom you shall think fit, shall take such Oath,
 for the due observance of the same, with such reasonable
 penalties as shall be proposed by your Lordships, and a-
 greed to by us; in which we believe we shall not differ
 with your Lordships, being willing that whosoever shall
 in the least degree infringe the agreement which shall
 be made between us, may be looked upon and accounted,
 as most pernicious enemies to King and Kingdoms; And
 if it shall be thought necessary to make any additional set-
 tlement of the *Militia*, with a general reference to the
 good of the Kingdoms respectively, we desire the same
 may be done after the Peace established, by the joynt
 consent of His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament

in *England*, and His Majesty and the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland* respectively, And as we shall desire and endeavour to remove all occasions that may interrupt the Peace and Tranquillity of that Kingdom, and a perfect amity with them, and shall not desire any change off, or to intermeddle in their Laws or Government, or give them cause to apprehend any disturbance or violation of them from this Kingdom, so are we obliged with all tenderness to preserve the Honour, Dignity, and Constitution of this Realm. And therefore as we are yet satisfied, we cannot consent that any persons authorized by the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, or any advice from thence, shall have any influence upon the *Militia* of this Kingdom, or further interpose in the affairs of this Kingdom, then is already provided by the Act of Pacification. And we offer to your Lordships considerations, whether unless there could be an union of the Laws of both Kingdoms, such a mixture of power, as is now proposed, and the influence thereof, both upon Martial, and Civil affairs, may not prove very inconvenient and prejudicial to both Kingdoms, and give cause of Jealousies to each other, to the disturbance of that mutual Amity so much desired; But if this intermingling of power in both Kingdoms, shall be further insisted on by your Lordships, we propound that the same may be settled, as (after a Peace established) shall be agreed by the joynt consent of His Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament of *England*, and of His Majesty, and the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and if your Lordships shall insist on any thing further for necessary security, we shall apply our selves to the consideration thereof, if we shall have further time so to do, according to our desires grounded upon His Majesties Letter.

Their Paper.

17. Feb.

CXXIX.

WE do concei-ve that we ha-ve in our former Papers punctually satisfied your Lordships in all you desired to know, concerning the Powers of the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, and the other particulars mentioned by your Lordships; and what your Lordships now offer concerning the *Militia* of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that the like course shall be taken in it, as is expressed

pressed in your Lordships Paper of the 6th of Feb. to be observed for the Militia of this Kingdom; your Lordships may remember that in our answer to that paper, we told your Lordships it was differing from what we had proposed, and unsatisfactory to our just and necessary desires for securing the Peace of the Kingdoms, and it cannot be expected that what was so then for the Kingdom of England, should now be thought other for the Kingdom of Scotland. And though both Kingdoms be now united in the same cause, and labouring under the same dangers, and therefore necessitated to a mutual and reciprocal assistance of each other, had proposed a joynt remedy, and security by that Commission desired in our 17th Proposition, we find your Lordships say, that (as yet you are satisfied) you cannot consent unto it; to which we answer, that we believed we had given your Lordships such convincing reasons as might have satisfied you, and we doubt not but they may, if you will recollect your memories concerning them, and rightly weigh them. This being the last day we are to Treat upon this subject, it cannot be expected, and as we conceive, it is altogether needless to use any more Arguments; we do therefore desire your Lordships will be pleased now at the last, to give us your full and positive answer to our demands as we have often already pressed your Lordships. And whereas your Lordships do propound, that if we shall further insist upon the uniting of the powers of both Kingdoms, it may be done after the Peace established, we desire your Lordships to consider that it is demanded by us in order to a Peace, and a chief and most necessary means for the attaining and establishment of it. And we further observe that your Lordships have given us no answer at all to our 15 Proposition; which we do likewise insist upon, and desire your answer.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

17. Febr.

IF your Lordships had punctually, or in any degree satisfied us in what we desire to know concerning the powers of the Commissioners of both Kingdoms; and the other particulars mentioned by us, we had not troubled your Lordships with so many questions, to most of which we could receive no other Answers, then the referring us to the Propositions themselves, upon which we grounded our questions. And we conceive that your Lordships Propositions upon the Militia, upon which you

M i n n m m

still

CXXX.

still insift, have in truth appeared upon debate to be most unreasonable in many particulars ; as that the persons to be entrusted with the *Militia*, should be nominated onely by the two Houses, and that His Majesty who is equally to be secured, that the Peace should not be broken, should name none; That the Power given to the Commissioners; shall be framed and altered as occasion serves by the two Houses, only ; And that His Majesty, who is so much concerned therein, shall have no Negative Voice, as to such powers, but is absolutely excluded, and that the time should be unlimited : So that His Majesty for himself and his Posterity should for ever part with their peculiar Regal power of being able to resist their Enemies, or protect their good Subjects, and with that undoubted and never denied Right of the Crown, to make War and Peace ; And in no time to come, His Majesty or His Posterity should have power to assist their Allies with any supplies of Men, though Volunteers, or ever more to have any Jurisdiction over their own Navy or Fleet at Sea, and so consequently must loose all estimation and confidence with Forraign Princes. And many other expressions in the said Propositions, do either signifie what we find your Lordships do not expect, or intend, or at least are so doubtful, that the clear sense thereof is not evident to all understandings; As by the literal sence of your Propositions, neither the Sheriffs of Counties, or Justices of Peace, and other legal Ministers, may raise Forces by the *Posse Comitatus*, or otherwise to suppress Riots, and remove forcible Entries, or to perform the other necessary duties of their places, without being liable to the interpretation of the Commissioners for the *Militia*, that such Forces are raised, or Actions done, for the disturbance of the publick Peace ; As likewise all Civil Actions and differences may be comprehended within those Propositions to be tryed before the said Commissioners ; neither of which we believe your Lordships intend should be.

And therefore we have in our Answers proposed, what we thought would be agreeable to the matter and end of those Propositions, that is, a reasonable and full security, for the observation of the Articles of the Treaty, which according to what we have offered, cannot be broken on either part, without evident prejudice and danger, to that
part

part, which shall endeavour the breaking thereof. And that the memory of these unhappy distractions may be forgotten as soon as may be, that the time of this settlement may be limited to three years, which, by the blessing of God, will be sufficient to beget a good understanding between His Majesty and all His People. And that the fifteenth Proposition, and all the other parts of your Lordships Propositions, being not at all necessary to the present Union and Reconciliation, may be deferred till after the Peace established, to be settled by His Majesty, and the Two Houses of Parliament in *England*, and His Majesty, and the Estates of the Parliament in *Scotland* respectively. But if your Lordships shall not think this way of nomination of Persons to be Commissioners, or the other proposed likewise by us, in our Paper of the 6th of *February*, for the agreement of the Commissioners between your Lordships and us, to be equal; We shall gladly receive any more equal way from your Lordships, since it is apparant, that that already proposed by your Lordships, and which you insist upon *in Terminis*, is not fit to be consented to for the quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, presuming that you will think the security ought to be mutual, as the Fears and Jealousies are mutual. And we are most confident, that His Majesty so much desires to give all reasonable and fit security on his part, that the Agreement and Peace to be now made, shall be inviolably observed; That as he will name no man for this great Trust, against whom there can be just exception, (if the persons are named equally between him and you) so if the whole nomination were left to Him, He would pitch only upon such as both Kingdoms might have great cause to confide in, and we believe might give full satisfaction to your Lordships. And therefore we hope your Lordships will believe, that the reason we consent not to your Propositions, is, because we conceive them destructive to the end for which they are proposed, Justice, Peace, and Unity; and not that we deny, to consent to any reasonable security, for observance of the agreement to be made, of which we will always be most tender, with regard to all persons concerned.

This was the last Paper, delivered in the last of the six days touching the *Militia*, but that being taken up again;

in some part of the two last days of the Treaty, as those of *Religion* and *Ireland* also were, their Commissioners upon their breaking up of the Treaty, about two of the clock in the morning after the 22th of *February*, gave in a Paper intended for an Answer to this Paper, which nevertheless relates to the Paper here next following, delivered by them the 21 of *February* mentioning a limitation of time for seven years, and for that cause is herein set down after that Paper, and as their last of that subject; and the Papers upon that Subject, delivered in the mean time, in the two last days, are these following.

Their Paper,

21. Feb.

CXXXI.

WHereas your Lordships have in several Papers much insisted, that the Commissioners mentioned in the 17th Proposition, should be for a limited time, that your Lordships might better give a full Answer to our desire concerning the Militia, though we conceive the Reasons we have given, might have satisfied your Lordships for the time to be unlimited, yet to manifest our earnest desires of Peace, we propose to your Lordships, the time for the said Commissioners, to be for seven years, from the time of the passing the Act for the Militia. And that after the expiration of such terme, the Militia of the Kingdom, to be settled and exercised in such manner, as shall be agreed upon by His Majesty, and the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and by His Majesty and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively, and not otherwise.

At the same time the Scotch Commissioners, from themselves a part, delivered in this Paper, signed by their own Secretary only, all the other Papers being signed by two Secretaries, for the English and Scotch Commissioners.

21. Febr.

CXXXII.

WE the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, do declare, that our consent to the Paper given in this day concerning the limitation of the power of the Militia, in Commissioners according to the 17th. Proposition, to continue for seven years, from the time of the passing of the Act for the Militia; and
after

after the expiration of that term, to be settled in such manner as shall be agreed upon by His Majesty, and the two Houses of the Parliament of England, And by His Majesty, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively, and not otherwise, is to be understood as followeth; That we will represent the same to the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, or their Committees, to which we are confident they will assent, as that which is conceived to conduce to a happy agreement, and settling of a firm and blessed Peace.

The KING's Commissioners Answer.

22. February.

WE have hitherto conceived, that this Treaty hath been betwixt us that are appointed Commissioners by His Majesty, and your Lordships, the Commissioners from the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and your Lordships the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland jointly and not severally: But finding that your Lordships, the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, have delivered to us a distinct Paper, signed only by your Secretary, of the 20th of Febr. concerning the Militia, and that not concurring with the other joint Paper, delivered and subscribed by both your Secretaries upon that Subject that day; We desire to know, whether the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland have a negative voice, or have not power to conclude, without farther power to be granted, from the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland; and expect in this Treaty to be severally Treated with; and after your Lordships Answer to this Paper, we shall be able to give your Lordships a farther Answer to your joint Paper of the 20th of February. CXXXIII.

Their Paper.

22. Febr.

THe Treaty is betwixt us that are the Commissioners of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms jointly, and not severally; And your Lordships the Commissioners from His Majesty, And the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland did joyn with the Committees of the two Houses of the Parliament of England, in giving in the other joynt Paper concerning the Militia, delivered yesterday CXXXIV.

yeſterday, ſubſcribed by the Secretaries, but ſeeing it containes an alteration, limiting the time to ſeven years, which in the former Propoſitions agreed to by both Parliaments is indefinite; They did declare, that they are confident, the Parliament of Scotland will aſſent thereto, and they have ſhewed your Lordſhips ſufficient power to conclude any thing by them agreed unto.

The King's Commiſſioners Paper,

22. February.

CXXXV.

WE cannot reſt ſatisfied with your Lordſhips answer to our Paper delivered to you this day, concerning your Lordſhips the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of Scotland; it being indeed but a repetition of your Lordſhips Paper, and no answer to ours thereupon; and it being very neceſſary for us to know, whether the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of Scotland have a negative voice, and whether they have not power to conclude, without farther powers to be granted from the Eſtates of the Parliament of Scotland; upon the answer to which, we muſt the rather inſiſt, becauſe your Lordſhips laſt Paper, gives the reaſon of the diſtinct Paper delivered to us; from the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of Scotland to be, becauſe the limitation of time now offered, differs from the Propoſitions agreed on by both Parliaments, in which the time is indefinite, which ſeems to uſt intimate, that your Lordſhips, who are the Commiſſioners from the Parliament of Scotland, have not power to conſent to any alteration from the ſaid Propoſition, without firſt acquainting the Parliament of Scotland, although the other joynt Paper, delivered upon that Subject, be ſigned by both your Secretaries; and thereby it is evident, that it much concerns us to know, whether the ſaid Commiſſioners have a negative voice in this Treaty. For the matter of your Lordſhips Paper concerning the limitation of time for the *Militia* to ſeven years, it is not poſſible, by reaſon of this ſhortneſs of time for the Treaty (it being ten of the clock this night when your Paper was delivered) to give your Lordſhips a full answer, it being neceſſary for us to receive ſatisfaction from your Lordſhips in writing, or by conference, whether by the words, *And not o- therwiſe*, your Lordſhips intend, that after the expiration
of

of the time limited, His Majesty shall not exercise the legal power, which he now hath over the *Militia*, before the same be agreed upon, by His Majesty and the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, and by His Majesty, and the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland* respectively, for which resolution and debate, we heartily wish the time were sufficient, being very willing to give your Lordships all reasonable satisfaction. And therefore we doe propose to your Lordships, that if the Treaty may not now continue, it may be adjourned for such time as you shall think fit, and not totally dissolved, but again resumed, which we propose as the best expedient now left us for the procuring of a blessed Peace, and by it, the preservation of this now miserable Kingdome from utter ruin and desolation.

After this, about two of the clock the next morning; they gave this Paper following, which is here mentioned, to be delivered upon their breaking up the Treaty, and intended for an Answer to the Paper of the 17th of *February*, n^o 129.

Their Paper.

22. Feb.

WEE conceive, if your Lordships would weigh our Demands concerning the power of the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, you will be satisfied with our Answers to your several Questions; where any doubts were of the expressions we did explain them, and where the Propositions were so cleare, as they could bear no doubtful sence, we did refer your Lordships to the Propositions themselves. And we conceive our Demands concerning the *Militia*, to be most reasonable, and all objections made against them to be by us removed; And why your Lordships should insist the Commissioners should not be nominated by the two Houses only, and His Majesty, who is to be equally secured, should name none, we much marvaile at, when you may well consider this power was not to be exercised by the Commissioners, until a Peace had been concluded upon this Treaty, and then his Majesty had been fully secured by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by the duties and affections of his Subjects, neither could the Commissioners do any thing in violation of the Peace, to the prejudice of His Majesty;

CXXXVI.

Majesty, contrary to the Trust reposed in them, they having a rule prescribed which they were not to transgress, and being removable by both Houses of the Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively, and being liable for any miscarriage to severe punishment. And as for their security who have been with His Majesty in this War, an Act of Oblivion is desired to be passed, whereby all His Majesties Subjects in both Kingdoms would have been put in one and the same condition, and under the same protection, with some exceptions mentioned in those Propositions; And if the Commissioners had been severally chosen, the memory of these unnatural Divisions must needs have been continued, and probably being severally named, would have acted dividedly according to several interests, and the War thereby might be more easily re-vived: whereas the scope of the Propositions we have tendered, was to take away occasions of future differences, to prevent the raising of Arms, and to settle a firm and durable Peace. And to your Lordships objections; that the Commissioners were to continue without any limitation of time, although the reasonableness thereof hath been sufficiently manifested to your Lordships, yet out of most earnest desires of Peace, we have proposed to your Lordships a time of seven years, as is expressed in our Paper delivered to your Lordships the 21th of this instant.

And for the peculiar Royal Power which your Lordships mention to reside in His Majesty, concerning the Militia, and to make Peace and Warr, we cannot admit thereof, or that it is otherwise exercised than by authority from His Majesty and both Houses of Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively; Neither are the Commissioners to have power to make Peace or Warr, but that is referred to the 23d Proposition to be treated upon in due time.

And for the Navy and Fleet at Sea, the principal means to maintain them, is, to be raised by the free gift of the Subjects out of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Payments upon Merchandise, and the Navy and Fleet being a Principal means of our security, the reasons are the same for them as for the Militia by Land.

And for what your Lordships alledge concerning Sheriffs, and Justices of Peace, and other legal Ministers, not to raise the Posse Comitatus, or Forces to suppress Riots, without being liable to the interpretation of the Commissioners; we say this is no part of the Militia to be exercised by the Commissioners, but in executing of Justice and legal Process, nor can be intended to be any disturbance,

sturbance, but for the preservation of the Peace; Nor can their power of bearing and determining Civil Actions and differences be extended further than preservation of the Articles of the Peace to be made, and as is clearly and plainly exprest in the 27th Proposition.

And whereas we seek the Militia to be settled in the 15th Proposition, and the other parts of our Propositions in order to, and for procuring of a Peace, and which are necessary to a present Union, your Lordships defer them until the Peace shall be established, which delay we hope, upon second thoughts, your Lordships will not judge to be reasonable.

And when your Lordships do take into serious consideration, the great Calamities, and how occasioned, (to say no more) you cannot think, but that we ought to be most careful of preventing the like for the future.

And seeing all we desire for these so important ends, is limited to a few years, we ought to insist upon such a remedy as may be a fitting cure, and in so doing, we hope we shall be justified before God and Man.

Wherefore we again most earnestly desire your Lordships, as you tender the deplorable Estates of these bleeding Kingdoms, the settling of Religion, the Honour of His Majesty, and the composing these miserable Distractions, that your Lordships will give your full and clear Answer to our Demands concerning the Militia.

This last Paper was delivered about two of the clock, when the Treaty was at that instant breaking up, and at the same time the King's Commissioners had (upon the like occasion of two Papers of theirs, given in a little before, concerning Ireland hereafter mentioned) delivered in a Paper, N^o 179. that they might give answer thereto the next day, dated as of that day, as had been formerly used, which was not granted; so that in Answer to this Paper so earnestly requiring an Answer in the Close thereof; It was impossible to give in any Paper at the present, neither would any be received, but at present.

The Papers touching Ireland.

After the first six dayes of the Treaty, spent upon Religion, and the Militia, according to the same order formerly proposed, the Propositions concerning Ireland, were next Treated upon, the three days following, beginning the 7th of February; and the same was also taken up again the 18th of February, for other three dayes.

Their Propositions touching Ireland.

7. February.

CXXXVI.

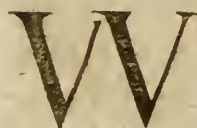


*W*E desire that an Act of Parliament be passed to make void the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebels without consent of both Houses of Parliament, and to settle the prosecution of the War of Ireland, in both Houses of the Parliament of England, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majesty to assist, and to do no Act to discountenance, or molest them therein.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

7. February.

CXXXVII.



*W*E desire to know, whether the Paper we have received from your Lordships, contain in it all the demands your Lordships are required by your Instructions to insist upon concerning Ireland, which if it doth, we are ready to enter upon that debate, but if it do not, we then desire to receive all the Propositions your Lordships intend to make concerning Ireland together, being confident that upon a whole view of the business, we shall give you full satisfaction in that Argument.

Their

Their Paper.

7. Feb.

WWE are to insist upon other things concerning Ireland, CXXXVIII.
 which being part of other Propositions, we conceive
 not so proper to give your Lordships, till we have received your
 answer, to our Paper formerly delivered, and are ready by present
 conference, to satisfy any doubts that remain with your Lordships
 concerning that Paper.

Notwithstanding they delivered in these further Papers, and Propositions following.

Their Paper.

7. Febr.

WWE desire, that an Act be passed in the Parliament of both CXXXIX.
 Kingdoms respectively, to confirm the Treaty concerning
 Ireland of the 6th of August 1642. (which Treaty we herewith
 deliver) and that all Persons who have had any hand in plotting,
 designing, or assisting the Rebellion of Ireland, may expect no pardon,
 and their estates to pay publick debts and damages. And that
 the Commissioners to be nominated as is appointed in the 17 Proposition,
 may order the War of Ireland, according to the Ordinance of the 11th
 of April, 1644. (which we herewith deliver) and to order the Militia,
 and to conserve the Peace of the Kingdom of Ireland.

And that by Act of Parliament, the Deputy, or chief Governour,
 or other Governours of Ireland, be nominated by both Houses of the
 Parliament of England, or in the intervals of Parliament by the said
 Commissioners, to continue during the pleasure of the said Houses;
 or in the intervals of Parliament during the pleasure of the said
 Commissioners to be approved, or disallowed by both Houses at their
 next Sitting; And that the Judges of both Benches, and of the Exchequer
 in Ireland, be nominated by both Houses of Parliament, to continue
 Quam diu se bene se gesserint; and in the intervals of Parliament,
 by the aforesaid Commissioners to be approved, or disallowed by
 both Houses at their next sitting.

Together with these last Propositions, they delivered

the Treaty of the sixth of *August* 1644, and the Ordinance of the 11th of *April* therein mentioned, together with another of the 9th of *March*; which see in the Appendix, n^o 7. and 8.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

9. *February.*

CXL.
* N^o. 136.

WE desire to know what your Lordships intend, or expect, by those words in your * first Paper concerning *Ireland*, (*and His Majesty to assist*) since you propose to have the prosecution of the War of *Ireland*, to be settled in both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joint advice of both Kingdoms.

Their Answer.

9. *Febr.*

CXLI.

B*Y the words in our Paper concerning Ireland [and His Majesty to assist] we conceive is to be understood, the giving of His Royal Assent to such Acts of Parliament, as shall be presented unto Him by both Houses, for raising of monyes from the Subject, and for other things necessary to the prosecution of the War in Ireland, and to be further ayding by His Power and countenance, in whatsoever shall be requisite for the better carrying on of that War.*

The King's Commissioners Paper,

10. *February.*

CXLII.

WE conceive that His Majesty had, and hath power, to make a Cessation in *Ireland*, and having upon just grounds, and for the good and safety of His Protestant Subjects there, and for the preservation of that whole Kingdom, consented to such a Cessation, we desire to be informed by your Lordships, how that Cessation can be declared void, without a breach of Faith and honour in His Majesty? and we are ready by conference particularly to inform your Lordships, of the motives which induced His Majesty to consent to that Cessation.

Their

Their Answer.

10. Feb.

WE conceive that His Majesty had not power to make the Cessation in Ireland, nor had any just grounds to do the same, and therefore we insist, as in our former Paper, That an Act of Parliament be passed to make void the Cessation of Ireland; and conceive that His Majesty is bound in honour and in justice to consent unto the same, and we are ready to confer with your Lordships as is desired, and to receive your Lordships full answer to this, and the other particulars, expressed in our Paper concerning Ireland. CXLIII.

After long debates in conference, which spent the greatest part of the day, touching the motives of that Cessation, and the King's power to make it, His Majesties Commissioners delivered in this Paper.

14. Feb.

WE have received no satisfaction, or information in your Lordships debate, to alter our opinions of His Majesties power, to make the Cessation in Ireland; and having carefully perused and considered the Statute alledged by your Lordships, we cannot find any particular clause in that Statute, neither have your Lordships mentioned any, (though often desired by us so to do) whereby His Majesties power to make a Cessation there is taken away; and therefore we are still of opinion, that His Majesty had full power to make and consent to that Cessation; and we conceive that we have given your Lordships an account of very just grounds to induce His Majesty to do the same, it appearing to His Majesty by the Letters and advice from the Lords Justices, and Council of that Kingdom, and of the Officers of His Majesties Army there (which we have read to your Lordships, and of which Letters and advices we now give * Copies to your Lordships) that His Majesties good Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom, were in imminent danger to be Over-run by the Rebels, and His Army to be disbanded for want of necessary supplies, and that there was no such probable way for their preservation, as by making CLXIV.

* Copies of the Letters and advices, were accordingly delivered.

making a Cessation ; neither have your Lordships given us any satisfying reasons against the making the said Cessation, or made it appear to us, that that Kingdom could have been preserved without a Cessation, and therefore we cannot apprehend how His Majesty can, with Justice and honour, declare the same to be void.

We shall be ready, against the next time assigned for the Treaty touching *Ireland*, to give your Lordships a further answer to your Propositions concerning that Argument, the Treaty concerning *Ireland* of the 6th of *August*, 1642. and the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, 1644. (which we did never see till your Lordships delivered us Copies of them) making so great an alteration in the Government there, that we cannot be prepared for the present to make a full answer to those Propositions.

Their Answer,

10. Febr.

CXLV. **I**T is very contrary to our expectation to find your Lordships unsatisfied, after those Arguments and Reasons alledged by us, that His Majesty had not power to make the Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and that upon the perusal of the Statute, it appears not to you, that His Majesty had no power to make that Cessation ; it is strange to us your Lordships should forget all the other Arguments used by us from the Common Law, from other proceedings in Parliament, and circumstances as this case stands, on which we still insist, and do affirm, that His Majesty had no power to make or consent to that Cessation ; we do not see any just grounds in the Copies of the Letters, given us by your Lordships, for His Majesties assenting to the Cessation, nor do we know by whom those Letters were written ; we are therefore still clearly of Opinion, notwithstanding all your Lordships have alledged, that it was unfit for His Majesty to agree unto that Cessation, being destructive to His good Subjects, and to the Protestant Religion there, and only for the advantage of the Popish Rebels, to the high dishonour of God, the Disservice of His Majesty, and evident prejudice of His three Kingdoms. We therefore again desire your Lordships full answer to what we have delivered to you concerning *Ireland*.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

10. February.

WE have given your Lordships our reasons, why we are not satisfied with your Arguments, that His Majesty had not power to make the Cessation; and as upon the perusal of the Statute, we can find no ground for that Opinion, so your Lordships in your whole debate, have not insisted or mentioned one Clause in that Statute (though often desired) which makes it good, neither have your Lordships given us any Argument from the Common-Law, other, than by telling us, *That it is against the Common-Law, because the private Interest of the Subscribers for Money was concerned in it*; to which we give this Answer, That their Interest was Conditional, upon payment of their Moneys for the maintenance of the War, which was not performed; And that if they had paid their Moneys, yet this Cessation was rather for the advance of that Interest, there being (as it appears by the * Papers) no other visible means of preservation of the Army in *Ireland*, and that the Statute which gave that private Interest, doth not take away the Kings Power of making a Cessation; and we conceive that Argument of Interest was waved: But if your Lordships shall insist upon it, we again desire, as we did formerly, That a Case may be made of it, and that the debate may be again resumed. Neither do we know that any Argument was used by your Lordships from the proceedings in Parliament; And if you shall give any, we shall be ready to Answer it: And we conceive, that the advice given to His Majesty, from the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, and the Testimony of the Officers of the Army, expressing the miserable condition of that Kingdom, and inability to bear the War, should appear to your Lordships to be just grounds, for His Majesties assenting to the Cessation. One of the Letters delivered by us to your Lordships, bearing date the fourth of *April*, 1643. was sent by the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, in which was inclosed their Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, of which your Lordships have likewise an Extract, and a Remonstrance of the Officers of the Army to the

CXLVI.

See the late Statute concerning the Adventurers for *Irish* Lands.

* See the Letters and advices in the Appendix, n^o. 9.

Lords

Lords Justices and Council there; and the other Letter of the fifth of *May* 1643. to His Majesty, was from the Lords Justices and Council of that Kingdom: All which (if your Lordships please) shall be examined by you with the Originals; And we are therefore of opinion, that our Answer formerly delivered, is a good Answer to the point of Cessation in question. And that it was not unfit for His Majesty to agree to that Cessation, nor destructive to the Protestant Religion, nor for the advantage of the Popish Rebels: but much for the advantage of the Protestant Subjects there, who were in apparent hazard of destruction by Force and Famine, occasioned by the want of Supplies, which had been promised to them, as we have formerly said. And we shall give your Lordships a further Answer to your other Propositions concerning *Ireland*, when the time comes again for that Debate.

Here ended the first three dayes of the Treaty concerning *Ireland*, and the night before the return of the next three dayes, their Commissioners delivered this Paper.

17. February.

CXLVII.

WE conceived that the Arguments used by us, that His Majesty neither had, or hath power to make the Cessation with the Rebels of *Ireland*, might have fully satisfied your Lordships, and if any doubts yet remain, we are ready by Conference to clear them. Your Lordships may well call to mind the several Clauses we insisted upon in the Statute, and the Arguments we have given from the Common-Law, and other proceedings in Parliament; And we do affirm that several great Sums of Money were paid by particular Persons, and by Corporations, who according to the true intent of the Statute, ought to have the benefit of the same, according to divers other Acts of Parliament in pursuance thereof; and upon failure of payment by any particular Persons, the forfeiture was to accrew to the Common benefit of the rest, not failing; And we do deny that the Argument of Interest was at all waived by us. And we conceive those wants alledged by your Lordships (if any such were) in justifying the Cessation, were supplied from time to time by the Houses of Parliament, until His Majesties Forces were so Quartered in and about the common Roads to *Ireland*, that Provisions going thither were intercepted, and neither

ther Money, Clothes, Victuals, or other things could pass by Land, with safety to be transported. And when that both Houses of Parliament were desirous further to supply those Wants, and for that purpose did tender a Bill to His Majesty, It was refused. And we still alledge that we have no reason to be satisfied concerning the Cessation by any Arguments used by your Lordships, or by any thing contained in the Extracts of the Letters and Papers delivered to us by your Lordships, as from the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, and the Officers of the Army, nor (though desired by us) have your Lordships afforded us Liberty to compare those Extracts with the Originals, whereby we might have the names of the Persons by whom they were written, which we now again desire. We are therefore still clearly of Opinion as is expressed in our former Paper of the 10th of February, concerning the Cessation, and do desire your Lordships full Answer to our Demands concerning Ireland.

The KING's Commissioners Answer.

18. February.

WE did not conceive that your Lordships had believed that any Arguments used by you could satisfy us against His Majesties Power to make a Cessation with the Rebels in Ireland, which appears to have been made by Him, by the Advice of his Council there, and for the preservation of His Majesties Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom, who in all probability would have perished by Famine and the Sword, if that Cessation had not been made; And we shall be very ready to receive farther Information from your Lordships by Conference, or otherwise, in that particular, either concerning any Clauses in the Statute, or Arguments at Common-Law, or proceedings of Parliament (your Lordships having never mentioned the one, or made any Case upon the other) upon which you intend to insist. And for the several great Sums of Money that were paid by particular Persons and Corporations, upon that Statute mentioned by your Lordships, we are sorry that we are compelled by your Lordships insisting thereon, to inform your Lordships, that His Majesty had clear information, that not only much of the money raised by the Act for the 400 thousand pound, which was passed, for the better suppressing that most
CXLVIII.

wicked and execrable Rebellion in *Ireland*, and for the payment of the debts of this Kingdom, but also of the Money raised by the Statute (on which your Lordships insist) for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels of *Ireland*, &c. and other moneys raised by Contribution and Loan, for the relief of His Majesties distressed Subjects of that Kingdom, were expended, contrary to the intent of the Acts by which the same were levied, and of the Persons who lent and contributed the same, towards the maintenance of the Forces in this Kingdom, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*; And that many Regiments of Horse and Foot, levied for the War of *Ireland*, under the command of the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Kerry*, Sir *Faithful Fortescue*, and others, were likewise employed in that Army under the Earl of *Essex* at *Edge-Hill*, and therefore his Majesty refused to consent to the Bill, presented to His Majesty after this, for the Levying more Money for *Ireland*, justly fearing, that the same might be used, as the former had been; And for the few cloathes (for there were no Moneys) intercepted by His Majesties Souldiers, in His Majesties Quarters, which are said to be intended for *Ireland*, the same were intercepted near *Coventrey*, and going thither, after that City had refused to receive His Majesty, though at the Gates. But His Majesty never refused to give any safe Pass through His Quarters, for any Goods or Provisions which were intended or prepared for *Ireland*, neither was the same ever desired. For the extracts and Copies of the Letters delivered by us to your Lordships, from the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, and the Officers of the Army, We have been, and are willing that your Lordships should compare them with the Originals; But for your having the names of the Persons who writ the same (since there can be no doubt of the truth of our Assertions) we conceive it not reasonable to desire the same, not knowing what inconvenience any of them (since you seem not to like that advice) might incur, if at any time they should be found within your Quarters. And having now satisfied your Lordships in the Matter of the Cessation, we shall gladly proceed in the Treaty with your Lordships, upon any thing that may be apparently good for His Majesties Protestant Subjects there, and the resetting of that Kingdom in His Majesties Obedience.

Their

Their Reply.

18. Feb.

CXLIX.

WE do conceive, that the Arguments used by us, might have fully satisfied your Lordships, against His Majesties power to make a Cessation with the Rebels in Ireland, having answered whatsoever your Lordships have hitherto alledged to the contrary; and Offered, if any other doubts yet remain, by conference to clear them, which still we are ready to do; And we have heard nothing just, or reasonable for that Cessation. It will be made evident, that the necessities, which by your Lordships were made excuses for the Cessation, were created on purpose to colour the same, and we are compelled by your Lordships Paper to let you know, that the Committees of Parliament sent into Ireland, to endeavour to supply their necessities, were discountenanced by the principal instruments for that Cessation, and when they had taken up 2000 l. upon their personal security for the Army there, they were presently after commanded from the Council, by a Letter brought thither from His Majesty, by the Lord Ormonds Secretary; And when the Officers of the Army were contented to subscribe for Land, in satisfaction of their Arrears, it was declared from His Majesty, that He disapproved of such subscriptions, whereby that course was diverted. And we do affirm, that what ever sums of money raised for Ireland, were made use of by both Houses of Parliament, were fully satisfied with advantage, and as we are informed, before the Bill mentioned in our former Paper was refused by His Majesty; And for the Regiments of Horse and Foot mentioned by your Lordships, to be raised for Ireland, and imployed otherwise by the Houses of Parliament: It is true that Forces were so designed; and when the Money, Arms and other Provisions were all ready, and nothing wanting but a Commission from His Majesty for the Lord Wharton who was to Command them, the same could not be obtained, which was the cause those Forces did not go thither, and when twelve Ships, and six Pinaces were prepared with 1000, or more land Forces, for the service of Ireland, and nothing desired but a Commission from His Majesty, the Ships lying ready and staying for the same, were three weeks together at 300 l a day charge, yet the same was denied, though often desired. And where your Lordships seem to imply, that the provisions seised by His Majesties Forces, were going for Coventry, it was made known to His Majesty, that the same

were for Ireland. And your Lordships must needs conceive (that the Papers you delivered to us, being but Extracts, and for that you deny us, so to compare them with the Originals, as to have the names of the Persons, by whom they were Written) it is altogether unreasonable for us to give any credit to them, it being manifest by this, and our former Papers and debates, that the Cessation with the Rebels in Ireland is both unjust and unlawful: We therefore insist on our demands concerning Ireland, as apparently good for His Majesties Subjects there, and for reducing that Kingdom to His Majesties Obedience.

Before His Majesties Commissioners gave answer to this last Paper, they being also to answer the rest of the demands concerning Ireland, for their necessary information, touching some doubts that did arise upon those demands, and the Articles of the Treaty, of the 6th of August concerning Ireland, and Ordinances delivered with them, the Kings Commissioners gave in these several Papers.

The King's Commissioners first Paper,

19. February.

CL.

IN the eight Article of the Treaty, for the coming of the Scots Army into England, dated 29. Nov. 1643. at Edenburgh, delivered to us by your Lordships, among the Papers for Ireland, and desired by the 12th Proposition, to be confirmed by Act of Parliament; It is agreed that no Cessation, nor any Pacification or agreement for Peace whatsoever, shall be made by either Kingdom, without the mutual advice and consent of both Kingdoms, or the Committees in that behalf appointed, who are to have full power for the same, in case the Houses of the Parliament of England, or the Parliament, or Convention of Estates of Scotland, shall not sit. We desire to know whether that Article extend to any Cessation, Pacification, or Agreement in Ireland.

The

The Answer,

19. Feb.

WE did, in answer to your Lordships Paper of the first of February, upon the Propositions concerning Religion, deliver the Treaty of the 29th of November 1643. mentioned by your Lordships, and not among the Papers for Ireland, to which it hath no relation. CLI.

The King's Commissioners Reply.

20. February.

YOUR Lordships did deliver the Treaty of the 29th of November, 1642. to us, with the Papers concerning Ireland, and on the 7th day of this instant February, and not upon the first of February, upon the Propositions concerning Religion. CLII.

Their Answer.

02. Febr.

WHEN your Lordships peruse your Papers, you will rest satisfied, with our Answer of the 19th of this instant, to your first Paper that day given to us, for it will appear by your Lordships 3^a Paper of the first of February, and our Paper given to your Lordships in answer of it, that the Treaty of the date at Edenborough 29 Novemb. 1643. Was delivered to your Lordships on the first of February, upon the Proposition of Religion, and not upon the 3^d of February, with the Papers concerning Ireland. CLIII.

The Article of the Treaty, of the 29. of November 1643. which occasioned these Papers, being by their Papers thus acknowledged not to concern Ireland, and so not pertinent to that subject, the Kings Commissioners insisted no farther.

The

The King's Commissioners second Paper,

19. February.

CLIV.

BY the 13th Proposition it is demanded, that an Act be passed to settle the prosecution of the War of Ireland in both Houses of Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joint advices of both Kingdoms. We desire to know, Whether if the two Kingdoms shall not agree in their advice touching that War, each have a Negative voice, or whether the Scots Commander in chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, may manage that War in such case, according to his own discretion.

Their Answer.

19. Feb.

CLV.

IN answer to your Lordships second Paper, the prosecution of the War of Ireland, is to be settled in the two Houses of the Parliament of England; but is to be managed by a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein the Committee of each Kingdom hath a Negative voice; but in case of disagreement, the Houses of Parliament of England, may prosecute the War as they shall think fit, observing the Treaty of the sixth of August 1642. between the two Houses, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, and the Ordinance of the 11th of April, 1644. delivered to your Lordships formerly.

The King's Commissioners third Paper,

19. February.

CLVI.

BY the 20th Proposition, in the intervals of Parliament, the Commissioners for the *Militia*, have power to nominate the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and other Officers and Judges there. We desire to know, whether that power be limited to the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, or only to the Commissioners for *England*, and whether in such cases the Commissioners of *Scotland*, shall vote as single persons?

Their

Their Answer.

19. Febr.

THe power of the Commissioners, in the Intervals of Parliament, to nominate the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and other officers and Judges there, mentioned in the 20th Proposition, being no matters of joynt concernments, is to be limited to the Commissioners for the Parliament of England, wherein the Commissioners of Scotland are to Vote as single persons.

CLVII.

The King's Commissioners fourth Paper.

19. February.

THe Articles of the Treaty of the sixth of August, giving power to the Lieutenant of Ireland (when the Scottish Army shall be joyned with his Army) to give Instructions to the Scottish Commander in chief, and the Orders of the two Houses of the 9th of March 1644. and the 11th of April, 1644. appointing the General of the Scottish Forces in Ireland, to command in chief, over all the Forces, as well British as Scots, and both being desired to be enacted. We desire to know, whether the Lieutenant of Ireland shall command the Scots Forces, or whether the Scottish General, shall command all Forces, both British and Scots?

CLVIII.

See all these
in the Appen-
dix.

Their Answer,

19. Febr.

IN Answer to your Lordships 4th Paper, we say, That the Ordinances of the 9th of March, and 11th of April 1644. were made when there was no Lieutenant of Ireland, and when a Lieutenant shall be made, with the approbation of both Houses, according to our former Demands in the 17th and 20th Propositions, it will be a fitting time to give further Answer to your Lordships.

CLIX.

The

The King's Commissioners Reply.

20. Febr.

CLX. **W**E desire a full answer from your Lordships, to our fourth Paper, delivered to your Lordships yesterday, concerning the Power of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the General of *Scots* Forces, your Lordships having proposed to us that the Articles of the Treaty, and the Ordinance of the 11 of *April*, be enacted by His Majesty; by one of which the General of the *Scotch* Forces is to receive instructions for the managing the War there from the Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and by the other (which is the latter) the General of the *Scots* Forces is to command in chief, both the *British* and *Scots* Forces, by which it seems the Lieutenant of that Kingdom is to have no power in the prosecution of that War.

Their Answer,

20. Feb.

CLXI. **V**VE do insist upon our former Papers, that the prosecution of the War in *Ireland*, is to be settled in both Houses of Parliament, and is to be managed by the joint advice of both Kingdoms, as in those Papers is set down; and when a Lieutenant of *Ireland* shall be appointed, as is expressed in the Propositions, and it shall be necessary for the good of the service, that he and the Commander in chief of the *Scottish* Army join; The Commander of the *Scottish* Army shall receive Instructions from the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy, or other who shall have the chief Government of that Kingdom for the time, according to the Orders which shall be given by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms.

The King's Commissioners fifth Paper,

19. February.

CLXII. **T**HE last part of the 17th Proposition gives power to the Commissioners for the *Militia* of both Kingdoms, as a joint Committee to order the War of *Ireland*, according to the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, and to order the *Militia*, and conserve the Peace of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and by that of the 11th of *April*, the Earl of *Le-*

ren being appointed Commander in chief over all the Forces, as well *British* as *Scots*: We desire to know, whether he shall be subordinate to those Commissioners for the *Militia*, and be obliged to observe such orders as he shall receive from them.

Their Answer.

19. Feb.

THe Commissioners of the *Militia* desired by the 17th Proposition, are to order the *War of Ireland*, according to the Ordinance of the 11th of April, and the *Earl of Leven* being by that Ordinance Commander in chief of the Forces there, is obliged to observe such Orders, as he shall receive from those Commissioners.

CLXIII.

Their Commissioners likewise the same 19 of Feb. delivered in some Papers of Demands on their part.

Their Answer.

19. Feb.

WE desire that no Cessation of Arms, or Peace in Ireland may be Treated upon, or concluded, without consent of both Houses of Parliament of England.

CLXIV.

Another, 19. Feb.

WE desire to know, whether any Peace or Cessation of Arms in Ireland, be consented unto by His Majesty, and for what time, and whether any Commission be now on foot, or other authority given by His Majesty for that purpose.

CLXV.

The Kings Commissioners Answer to both,

20. February.

TO your Lordships * sixth and seventh Papers delivered to us yesterday concerning any Peace or Cessation of Arms in Ireland, your Lordships well know that long after the War begun in this Kingdom, and the want of a supply from hence, that a Cessation hath been made with His Majesties consent, and we conceive that the same expires in *March* next, and we

CLXVI.
*which were the two next precedent Papers.

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are

are confident there is no Peace made there : But for the making a Peace, or a farther Cessation, we can give no farther answer till we may know, whether there may be a blessed Peace made in *England*, since if the miserable Civil Wars shall continue in this Kingdom, we cannot conceive it possible for His Majesty by Force to reduce the Kingdom of *Ireland*, or to preserve His Protestant Subjects there, without a Peace or Cessation.

Their Reply,

20. Feb.

CLXVII.

WE conceive your Lordships have given no answer to us, whether any Commission be now on foot, or other authority given by His Majesty for any Peace, or Cessation of Arms in *Ireland*, other than that which determines in *March* next, nor to our desire that no Cessation of Arms, or Peace in *Ireland*, may be Treated upon, or concluded, without consent of both Houses of the Parliament of *England*; nor do we understand why your Lordships should delay your answer herein till the Peace in *England* be concluded, since it hath been so clearly manifested to your Lordships, by the true meaning of the Act passed by His Majesty this Parliament, that His Majesty can make no Peace nor Cessation without the consent of the two Houses, and that your Lordships satisfactory answer to this, and our other Demands concerning *Ireland*, will much conduce to the settling the Peace of this Kingdom, we therefore again desire your Lordships full and clear answer to the particulars expressed in our sixth and seventh Papers, yesterday delivered to your Lordships.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

20. Febr.

CLXVIII.

WE do not hold our selves any ways obliged to answer your Lordships demand, whether any Commission be on foot, or other authority from His Majesty, for a Peace or Cessation of Arms in *Ireland*, (that question not arising upon any Propositions on His Majesties part) yet for your Lordships satisfaction, we do again assure you, we do not know there is any Peace or Cessation made there, other than that which determines in *March* next. But what Commission the Marquess of *Ormond*,

mond, as Lieutenant of Ireland, or General of the Forces there, hath to that purpose, we do not know, and therefore cannot inform your Lordships. And as to the other particulars in that Paper, we do * refer our selves to the answers formerly given in to your Lordships demands, touching that subject, with this, that we do conceive it to be most clear, that His Majesty is in no wise restrained by express words, or by the meaning of any Act made this Parliament, from making a Peace, or a Cessation in Ireland, without the consent of the two Houses.

* The two Papers following, n^o. 171, & 172. were delivered in before this Paper, and the reference is to them, and others, formerly delivered on that subject.

Their Paper,

19. Feb.

THere being but 3 days left to Treat upon the Propositions for Religion, the Militia, and for Ireland, and for that your Lordships have given no satisfactory answers to our demands concerning them, we therefore now desire to confer with your Lordships, how to dispose of the 3 days yet remaining, that we may receive your Lordships full and clear answers thereunto? CLXIX.

The King's Commissioners Answer,

19. February.

WE see no cause why your Lordships should think our Answers upon the Propositions for Religion, and the Militia were not satisfactory. And for that of Ireland, we have received many Papers from your Lordships concerning that business, besides the Propositions themselves, to all which, we doubt not to give a full and clear Answer to your Lordships to morrow, being the time assigned, and the last day of the Treaty upon that subject. * After we shall be ready to confer with your Lordships of disposing the remainder of the time. CLXX.

* See the Paper, 20. Febr. n^o. 192. touching His Majesties return to Westminster.

Accordingly after the before mentioned Demands, and Answer thereunto of the 19th of February, the Kings Commissioners in Answer to theirs of the 18th of February, N^o. 149. delivered in this Paper:

20. February.

CLXXI.

WE have already told your Lordships, how far we are from being satisfied by what you have alleged against His Majesties Power to make a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, neither have your Lordships in any degree answered the important reasons which induced His Majesty so to do, it being very evident, that by the Cessation there, His Majesties Protestant Subjects have been preserved and subsisted, which without it they could not have done, the two Houses forbearing to send any relief or supply to them, and His Majesty not being able. And we desire your Lordships to consider how impossible it was, whilst the War continued in *England* with such fierceness and animosity, by Arms, to reduce the Kingdom of *Ireland* to His Majesties Obedience; and therefore His Majesty had great reason to preserve that by a Cessation, which He could not reduce by a War. And we are most confident, that the necessities (which are not offered as excuses for, but were the real grounds of the Cessation) were very visible to all those in that Kingdom, whose advices His Majesty ought in reason to follow, and whose interests were most concerned, and would not have given such advice, if any other way could have been found out to preserve them. And we have been credibly informed, that the Committee sent into *Ireland* (which His Majesty never understood to be sent thither to supply the necessities, but to observe the Actions of His Majesties Ministers there, having, in their Journey thither, signed Warrants in their own names, to apprehend the Persons of Peers of this Realm, and Persons of His Majesties Privy Council) were never discountenanced there for His Majesties directions; that Persons who were not of His Privy Council there, should not be present at those Councils, cannot be interpreted a discountenance to them in any thing they ought to do. And we are most assured, that His Majesty sent no Message or Letter to divert the course of the Officers Subscribing for Land in satisfaction of their Arrears, but the Soldiers were meerly discouraged from the same, by discerning that for want of Supplies, they should not be able to go on with that War. And we do

do assure your Lordships, that His Majesty doth not believe, that the Sums of Money raised for *Ireland* (which your Lordships do admit to have been made use of by both Houses of Parliament, otherwise then was appointed) are yet satisfied in any proportion, the greatest part of the Moneys raised upon the Bill for 400000 l, and of the Moneys raised upon the charitable Collections, as well as the Adventurers Moneys being imployed upon the War here; And if the same were since satisfied, it doth no ways excuse the diverting of them, when in the mean time that Kingdom suffered by that diversion; And that the fear that other moneys so raised, might likewise be misimployed, was a great reason (amongst others) that made His Majesty not consent to that Bill mentioned by your Lordships. And for the Regiments of Horse and Foot, which your Lordships, in your Paper of the 18th of this Month, say were designed for *Ireland*, though they were imployed otherwise, because a Commission could not be obtained for the Lord *Wharton*, who was to Command those Forces; It is well known, that those Forces were raised before His Majesties Commission was so much as desired, and then the Commission that was desired, should have been independent upon His Majesties Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and therefore His Majesty had great reason not to consent to such a Commission; and so the damages of keeping those six Pinnaces, and the 1000 Land Forces (if any such were) proceeded not from any default of His Majesty. And for the Provisions seized by His Majesties Forces, it is notorious that they were seized in the way to and near *Coventrey*, and that it was not made known to His Majesty, that the same were for *Ireland*, till after the seizure thereof, when it was impossible to recover the same from the Souldiers, who had taken them. Whereas if a safe Conduct had been desired by His Majesty, as it ought to have been, the same being to pass through his Quarters, there would have been no Violence or Interruption offered. For the giving the Names of the Persons, who subscribed the Letters delivered to your Lordships (the Originals of which have been shewed to you by us) We have given your Lordships a full and reasonable Answer; and if your Lordships will assure us, that the giving their names to you, shall be no prejudice to the

Persons

Persons who did subscribe, if at any time any of them shall be found within your Quarters, we will forthwith deliver their names to you; otherwise we conceive your Lordships cannot, but give credit to that We have said; and shewed to you; all which, we hope hath clearly satisfied your Lordships, that the Cessation with the Rebels was neither unjust or unlawful, and that you will proceed to satisfy us by what means the War may be managed in *Ireland*, with probable hope of the preservation of His Majesties Protestant Subjects there, we being very willing to concur with your Lordships in any just and honourable way, for the good and settlement of that miserable Kingdom.

And together with this last, the King's Commissioners delivered in this other Paper.

20. *February.*

CLXXII. **H**AVING given your Lordships clear Reasons, why the Cessation which hath been made in *Ireland*, is not in reason or Justice to be made void, and that the making void thereof (if the same might be done) is not or cannot be for the benefit or advantage of His Majesties Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom, so long as the unhappy Wars in this Kingdom continue; To the other part of your Lordships first Paper concerning *Ireland* for the prosecution of the War there, to be settled in both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majesty to assist, we say, That it appears by the other Papers delivered to us by your Lordships, as the Articles of the Treaty of the sixth of *August*, and the Ordinances of the eleventh of *April*, and ninth of *March*, and otherwise, That the intent is, that that War shall be managed by a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, and that the Committee of each Kingdom, shall have a Negative voice, and consequently it is very probable that upon difference of Opinion between them, that War may stand still, or to the utter ruine of His Majesties good Subjects there be absolutely dissolv'd; For whereas your Lordships say, That in case of such disagreement, the Houses of the Parliament of *England* may prosecute

ecute the War as they shall think fit, observing the Treaty of the sixth of *August*, 1642. and the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, your Lordships well know, that by that Treaty and that Ordinance, the two Houses of the Parliament of *England* alone, cannot prosecute that War, that Ordinance of the 11 of *April*, expressly making the Earl of *Leven* the Scots General, Commander in chief of all Forces in that Kingdom, both *British* and *Scottish*, without any reference unto His Majesty, or His Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and directing that the War shall be managed by the Committee of both Kingdoms, without any other reference to the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*; and therefore we cannot consent that such an Act of Parliament be passed for the confirmation of that Treaty, or the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, as your Lordships propose, by reason that thereby all His Majesties authority would be wholly taken away in that Kingdom; And in truth that whole Kingdom be thereby delivered into the hands of His Majesties Subjects of *Scotland*, which we conceive is neither just, prudent, or honourable to be done; And we are of opinion, that it is not agreeable to His Majesties honour, or the justice and protection which He owes to His Subjects of His Kingdom of *Ireland*, to put the nomination of His Lieutenant, and Judges of that Kingdom, out of Him self, and to commit the whole power of that Kingdom to others, and to bind Himself to pass all such Acts of Parliament, as any time hereafter shall be presented to Him, for raising of Moneys, and other things necessary for the prosecution of the War in that Kingdom, which your Lordships say in your Paper the 9th of this instant, you intend by those words (*His Majesty to assist*,) in your first Paper; And we conceive it cannot be expected that His Majesty should consent to an Act of Parliament for prosecution of the War in *Ireland*, to be managed by the advice of the Houses of Parliament here, and the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, so long as the War in this Kingdom shall continue.

For these and many other reasons, we conceive it doth appear to your Lordships, that the Propositions, as they are delivered to us by your Lordships, are by no means fit to be consented to; and therefore we desire your Lordships to make other Propositions to us, which may
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be for the preservation and relief of His Majesties Protestant Subjects there, and for the settlement of that Kingdom, in which we shall very readily concur, and we shall be very willing that the business of that Kingdom shall, after a Peace settled in this, be taken into consideration, and ordered as His Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament here shall think fit.

Their Answers to these two Papers,

Their Paper.

20. Febr.

CLXXIII.

WE expected that your Lordships would have been fully satisfied by what we have alledged against His Majesties power, to make the Cessation with the Rebels in Ireland, and we cannot find those important reasons, which your Lordships mentioned to have induced His Majesty so to do, or that thereby His Majesties Protestant Subjects there have been preserved, or subsisted; but we have made it evident, that this Cessation tended to the utter destruction of the Protestants in that Kingdom, as we conceived was designed by those who advised His Majesty thereunto, and we observe your Lordships urge that this Cessation was the only means for the subsistence of the Protestants there, when it cannot be denied, but that very many of the Protestants in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, have yet subsisted, although they have refused to submit to the Cessation, and opposed the same, as the means intended for their ruin; and we do affirm unto your Lordships, that the two Houses of Parliament have been so far from failing to supply His Majesties good Subjects in that Kingdom, that although His Majesties Forces have as much, as lay in their power, endeavoured to prevent the same, and have taken to themselves that which was provided for those whom your Lordships mention to have been in so great want and extremity, yet the two Houses not discouraged thereby, have constantly sent great proportions of all necessary supplies unto the Protestants there, whereby they have subsisted, and have very lately sent thither, and have already provided to be speedily sent after in Money, Victuals, Clothes, Ammunition and other necessaries, to the value of sevenscore thousand pounds: And they have not desired any other provision from His Majesty, but what he was well able to afford herein, only His Assistance and consent in joyning
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with His two Houses of Parliament, for the better enabling them in the prosecution of that War; and we are so far from apprehending any impossibility of reducing that Kingdom, during the unhappy Distractions here, that although many of the Forces provided by the two Houses for that end, were diverted and imployed against the Parliament, to the increasing of our distractions, yet the Protestants in Ireland have subsisted, and do still subsist, and we have just cause to believe, that if this Cessation had not been obtained by the Rebels (and that in the time of their greatest wants) and that these Forces had not been withdrawn, they might in probability have subdued those bloody Rebels, and finished the War in that Kingdom: For the pretended necessities offered, as grounds of this Cessation, we have already given your Lordships, (We hope) clear information; For the persons whose advice His Majesty followed therein, your Lordships have not thought fit to make them known unto us, and we cannot conceive their interest in that Kingdom to be of such consideration as is by your Lordships supposed; But we know very well, that many persons of all sorts have forsaken that Kingdom, rather than they would submit unto this Cessation, and great numbers of considerable persons and other Protestants yet remaining there, have opposed, and still do oppose that Cessation, as the visible means of their destruction. The two Houses sent their Committees into Ireland, for the better supplying and encouraging of the Armies there, and to take an account of the State of the War to be represented hither, that what should be found defective might be supplied. What Warrants they issued we are ignorant of, but are well assured that what they did was in pursuance of their duty; and for advancement of the publick service, and suppressing of that horrid Rebellion; and we cannot but still affirm they were discountenanced and commanded from the Council there, where the prosecution of that War was to be managed, and that it was Declared from His Majesty, that he disapproved of the subscriptions of the Officers of the Army, by means whereof that course was diverted.

Concerning the moneys raised for Ireland, we have in our former Papers given your Lordships a full and just answer, and we are sorry the same cannot receive credit; those moneys raised upon charitable collections, we do positively affirm were only imployed to those ends for which they were given, and we cannot but wonder the contrary should be suggested; we are confident the Commission desired by the two Houses for the Lord Wharton (and which your Lordships acknowledge was denied) was only such as they concei-

ved most necessary for advancement of that service, and the denial thereof proved very prejudicial therunto; And we must again inform your Lordships, that it was well known at the time when the goods were seized by His Majesties Forces (as your Lordships alledge near Coventry) that the same were then carrying for the supply of the Protestants in Ireland, and some other provisions, made and sent for the same purpose, were likewise seized and taken away by some of His Majesties Forces, as we have been credibly informed, not without His Majesties own knowledge and direction; your Lordships may believe that those who signed the Letters, mentioned in your Papers, have done nothing, but what they may well justifie, and if the same be well done, they need not fear to give an Accompt thereof, nor your Lordships to suppose that if they come within our Quarters they shall be otherwise dealt withall than shall be agreeable to Justice. Upon the whole matter, notwithstanding the allegations, pretences, and Excuses, offered by your Lordships, for the Cessation made with the Rebels in Ireland, we are clearly satisfied, that the same was altogether unjust, unlawful, and destructive to His Majesties good Subjects, and of advantage to none but the Popish bloody Rebels in that Kingdom; And therefore we still earnestly insist, as we conceive our selves in Conscience and duty obliged upon our former demands concerning Ireland, which we conceive most just and honourable for His Majesty to consent unto. We know no other wayes to propound more probable for the reducing of the Rebels there, but these being granted, we shall chearfully proceed in the managing of that War, and doubt not, by Gods blessing, we shall speedily settle that Kingdom in their due Obedience to His Majesty.

Their other Paper.

20. Feb.

CLXXIV.

WE cannot understand how out of any of the Papers, Articles, and Ordmances, delivered by us unto your Lordships, there should be a ground for your opinion, that upon any differences between the Committees or Commanders, imployed about the War of Ireland, the War should stand still or be dissolved; nor do we find that the Ordinance of the 11th of April can produce any such inconvenience as your Lordships do imagine; Nor doth the making of the Earl of Leven Commander in chief of the Scottish and British Forces, and the setting of the prosecution of the War of Ireland, in the two Houses of the Parliament of England, to
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be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, take away the relation to His Majesties authority, or of the two Houses of Parliament, or of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; For in the first place, His Majesties consent is humbly desired, and the whole power is derived from him, only the execution of it is put into such a way, and the General is to carry on the War, according to the Orders he shall receive from the Committee of both Kingdoms, and in case of disagreement in the Committee, the two Houses of Parliament are to prosecute that War as is expressed in our Answer to your Lordships second Paper of the 19. of February. And when there shall be a Lieutenant of Ireland, and that he shall joyn with the Commander in chief of the Scottissh Army, the said Commander is to receive Instructions from him, according to the Orders of the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, as we have said in our answer to your Lordships second Paper of this day; nor doth the naming of the Earl of Leven to be General, any more take away the power of the two Houses, than if he were a Native of this Kingdom, or is there any part of the Kingdom of Ireland, delivered over into the hands of His Majesties Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, who do only joyn with their Councils and Forces, for carrying on the War, and reducing that Kingdom to His Majesties obedience; And we conceive it most conducing for the good of His Majesties service, and of that Kingdom, that the Lieutenant and Judges there, should be nominated by the two Houses of Parliament, as is expressed in the 20. Proposition, who will recommend none to be employed by His Majesty, in places of so great trust, but such, whose known ability and integrity shall make them worthy of them, which must needs be best known to a Parliament; Nor are they to have any greater power conferred upon them, by the granting this Proposition, than they have had, who did formerly execute those places; And we know no reason, why your Lordships should make difficulty of His Majesties consenting to such Acts, as shall be presented unto Him, for raising moneys, and other necessaries from the Subject, which is without any charge to Himself, for no other end, but the settling of the true Protestant Religion in that Kingdom, and reducing it to His Majesties Obedience, for which we hold nothing too dear, that can be employed by us. And we cannot but wonder that your Lordships should make the prosecution of the War of Ireland, which is but to execute Justice upon those bloody Rebels, who have broken all Laws of God and Man, their Faith, their Allegiance, all bonds of Charity, all rules of Humanity, and Humane society, who have Butchered so many thousands of Innocent Christians;

Men, Women, and Children, whose blood cries up to Heaven for Vengeance, so many of His Majesties Subjects, whose lives He is bound to require at their hands that spilt them, and to do Justice upon them, to put away innocent blood from Himself, His posterity, the whole Land, these execrable antichristian Rebels, who have made a covenant with Hell, to destroy the Gospel of Christ, and have taken up Arms to destroy the Protestant Religion, to set up Popery, to rend away one of His Majesties Kingdoms, and deliver it up into the hands of strangers, for which they have negotiations with Spain and other States; a War which must prevent so much mischief, do so much good, offer up such an acceptable sacrifice to the great and just God of Heaven, who groans under so much wickedness to lye so long unpunished; A War which must reduce that Kingdom unto His Majesties obedience, the most glorious work that this Kingdom can undertake. That the prosecution of such a War, your Lordships should make to depend upon any other condition; That the distractions of these Kingdoms, should be laid as an impediment unto it, and that there should be any thought, any thing which should give these Rebels hope of impunity, if our miseries continue; whereas according to Christian reason, and the ordinary course of Gods providence, nothing can be more probable to continue our miseries, than the least connivance in this kind; what can be said or imagined should be any inducement to it, we hope not to make use of their help and assistance, to strengthen any party here, to bring over such Actors of barbarous cruelties, to exercise the same in these Kingdoms; we desire your Lordships to consider these things, and that nothing may remain with you, which may hinder His Majesty from giving His consent to all good means for the reducing of Ireland, according to what is desired by us in our Propositions.

The King's Commissioners Reply to the two last Papers.

The KING's Commissioners Paper,

20. February.

CLXXV.

WE are very sorry, that our answers formerly given to your Lordships, in the business of the Cessation, which was so necessary to be made, and being made to be kept, hath not given your Lordships satisfaction; and that your Lordships, have not rather thought fit to make

make the reasonableness of your Proposition concerning *Ireland* appear to us, or to make such as might be reasonable in the stead, than by charging His Majesty, with many particulars, which highly reflect upon His Honour, to compel us to mention many things, in answer to your Lordships Allegations, which otherwise in a time of Treaty, when we would rather endeavour to prevent future inconveniences, than to insist on past mistakes, we desired to have omitted; And we can no ways admit, that when the Cessation was made in *Ireland*, His Majesties Protestant Subjects there, could have subsisted without that Cessation, nor that the War can be maintained and prosecuted to the subduing the Rebels there, so long as the War continues in this Kingdom, which are the chief grounds laid for the assertions in your Lordships first Paper delivered this day, concerning the business of *Ireland*; neither can we conceive, that your Lordships have alledged any thing, that could in the least degree satisfy us, that His Majesty had no power to make that Cessation, or had no reason so to do, considering (as we have formerly said, and do again insist upon it) that by that Cessation, (which was not made till long after this Kingdom was embroyled in a miserable War) the poor Protestants there, (who for want of supplies from hence were ready to famish and be destroyed) were preserved, and that Kingdom kept from utter ruine, (so far was it from being a design for their destruction, or for the advantage of the Popish bloody Rebels, as is insinuated;) for it appears by the Letters of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlase*, and of the Council there, of the 4th of *April*, 1643. before that Cessation made, directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, a Copy whereof we delivered to your Lordships, though we presume you may have the Original; That His Majesties Army and good Subjects there, were in danger to be devoured for want of needful supplies forth of England; and that His Majesties Forces were of necessity sent abroad, to try what might be done, for sustaining them in the Country, to keep them alive until supplies should get to them, but that design failing, those their hopes were converted into astonishment, to behold the miseries of the Officers and Souldiers for want of all things, and all those wants made unsupportable in the want of food; and divers Commanders and Officers declaring they

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had little hope to be supplied by the Parliament, pressed with so great importunity, to be permitted to depart the Kingdom, as that it would be extream difficult to keep them there. And in another part of that Letter (for we shall not grieve you with mention of all their complaints) they expressed, That they were expelling thence all strangers, and must instantly send away for England thousands of poor despoyled English, whose very eating was then unsupportable to that place; that their confusions would not admit the writing of many more Letters, if any, (for they had written divers others, expressing their great necessities.) And to the end His Majesty and the English Nation, might not irrecoverably, and unavoydably suffer, they did desire that then (though it were almost at the point to be too late) supplies of victuals and Ammunition in present, might be hastned thither to keep life, until the rest might follow, there being no victual in the store, nor a hundred Barrels of Powder (a small proportion to defend a Kingdom) left in the store, when the out-Garrisons (as they were to be instantly) were supplied, and that remainder, according to the usual necessary expence, besides extraordinary accidents, would not last above a Month. And in that Letter they sent a Paper, signed by sundry Officers of the Army, delivered to them as they were ready to sign that dispatch, and by them apprehended to threaten imminent danger, which mentioned, That they were brought to that great exigence, that they were ready to rob and spoyle one another, that their wants began to make them desperate; That if the Lords Justices, and Council there, did not find a speedy way for their preservation, they did desire that they might have leave to go away; That if that were not granted, they must have recourse to the Law of Nature, which teacheth all men to preserve themselves.

And by a letter of the 11th of May following (a Copie whereof we have also delivered to your Lordships) the Lords Justices and Council there did advertise His Majesty, that they had no victual, cloathes, or other provisions, (no money to provide them of any thing they want) no Arms, not above 40 Barrels of Powder, no strength of serviceable Horse, no visible means by Sea or Land, of being able to preserve that Kingdom; and that though the Winds had in many days, and often formerly stood very fair for accessions of supplies forth of England, (the two Houses having then, and ever since the full Command of those Seas) yet to their unexpressible grief, after full six months waiting; and much longer patience, and long suffering, they found their expecta-
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tions answered in an inconsiderable quantity of provisions, viz. 75 Barrells of Butter, and 14 Tun of Cheese, being but the 4th part of a small Vessels-loading, which was sent from London, and arrived there on the 5th of May, which was not above 7, or 8 days provisions for that part of the Army, in and about Dublin; No money or victuals (other than that inconsiderable proportion of victuals) having arrived there as sent from the Parliament of England, or from any other part of England, for the use of the Army since the beginning of Novem. before. And besides these whereof we have Copies to your Lordships, it was represented to his Majesty by Petition from the Kingdom; That all means by which comfort and life should be conveyed to that Gasping Kingdom seemed to be totally obstructed, and that unless timely relief were afforded, His Loyal Subjects there must yield their fortunes for a Prey, their lives for a Sacrifice, and their Religion for a scorn, to the mercylese Rebels. Upon all which deplorable passages, represented by persons principally interess'd in the managing of the Affairs of that Kingdom, and the War there, in which number were Sr William Parsons, Sr John Temple, Sr Adam Loftus, and Sr Robert Merideth, Persons of great estimation with your Lordships; to which we could add many other advices, and letters from several men of repute and quality, but that we will not trouble your Lordships with repetition of private advices, we cannot think but your Lordships are now satisfied that the necessities of that Kingdom, which were the ground of the Cessation there, were real, and not pretended, and therefore for excuses we leave them, to them who stand in need of them; and we desire your Lordships, to consider as the distracted condition of this Kingdom was, what other way could be imagined for the preservation of that Kingdom, than by giving way to that Cessation; and though it is insisted on in your Lordships Paper, that some Protestants in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, (who have refused to submit to that Cessation) have yet subsisted, yet your Lordships well know, these were generally of the Scottish Nation, who had strong Garrisons provided, and appointed to them, and were in these parts of Ireland, near the Kingdom of Scotland, whence more ready supplies of Victuals might be had, than the English could have from England, and for whose supply (as His Majesty hath been credibly informed, and we believe that your Lordships know

know it to be true) special care was taken, when the *English* Forces, and other *English* Protestant Subjects there, were neglected, whereby they were exposed to apparent destruction, by Sword and Famine; and we cannot but wonder at the assertion, that His Majesties Forces have as much as lay in them, endeavoured to prevent those supplies for *Ireland*, and at the mention of the intercepting those provisions near *Coventry*, with His Majesties own knowledge and direction, whereas, as we have formerly acquainted your Lordships, it was not known to His Majesty that those provisions, which were taken near *Coventry* going thither, when His Majesties Forces were before it, were intended for *Ireland*, till after the seizure thereof, when it was impossible to recover them from the Soldiers, which might have been prevented, if a safe Conduct had been desired through His Majesties Quarters, which we are assured He would have readily granted for those or any other supplies for that Kingdom, but was never asked of Him; and as there is no particular instance of any other provisions for *Ireland* intercepted by His Majesties Forces, but those near *Coventry*, which were considerable, so we can assure your Lordships, that when His Majesty was in the greatest wants of all provisions; and might have readily made use of some provided for *Ireland*, lying in Magazines within His Quarters, yet he gave express order for the sending them away, which was done accordingly, and would have supplied them further out of His own store, if he had been able; and no man can be unsatisfied of His Majesties tender sence, of the Miseries of His Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, when they shall remember how readily he gave His Royal assent to any Proposition or Acts for raising of Men, Moneys, and Arms for them, that he offered to pass over in Person for their relief, (which His Majesties Subjects of *Scotland* approved, and declared it to be an argument of care in His Majesty, and if that had proceeded, it might in possibility have quenched the flames of that unhappy Rebellion, as long before it might probably have been prevented, if the Army of *Irish* Natives there had been suffered to have been transported out of that Kingdom, as was directed by His Majesty.

What Provisions are lately sent, or are now sending to *Ireland* from the two Houses, we know not; But His Majesty

jeſty hath been informed, that even thoſe provisions are deſigned in purſuance of the late Treaty concerning *Ireland*, made with His Subjects of *Scotland* without His Majeſties Conſent, and only for ſuch, who have declared themſelves againſt His Majeſties Miniſters, and in oppoſition to that Ceſſation to which many of them had formerly conſented, though they have ſince upon private Intereſt, and the incouragement and ſolicitations of others oppoſed the ſame; and therefore His Majeſty cannot look upon thoſe Supplies, as a ſupport for the War againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, or as a repayment of thoſe moneys which being raiſed by Acts of Parliament for that War, have been formerly diverted to other uſes, of which Money 100000 l at one time was iſſued out for the payment of the Forces under the Earl of *Effex*.

And as to diverting the Forces provided, for the reducing of *Ireland*, though we conceiv'd it ought not to be objected to His Majeſty, conſidering the Forces under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*, raiſed for *Ireland* had been formerly diverted and imployed againſt him, in the War here in *England*, yet it is evident they were not brought over, till after the Ceſſation, when they could no longer ſubſiſt there; And that there was no preſent uſe for them, and before thoſe Forces brought over, there was an attempt to bring the *Scotiſh* Forces in *Ireland*, as likewise divers of the *English* Officers there into this Kingdom, and ſince the Earl of *Leven* their General, and divers *Scotch* Forces were actually brought over.

To the Allegations that many Perſons of all ſorts have forſaken the Kingdom, rather than they would ſubmit to that Ceſſation, we know of none; But it is manifeſt, that divers who had left that Kingdom, becauſe they would have been famiſhed if they had continued there, ſince that Ceſſation, have returned.

Touching the Committee ſent into *Ireland*, we have already answered, they were not diſcountenanced by His Majeſty, in what they lawfully might do, although they went without his Privy, but conceive your Lordſhips will not inſiſt, that they ſhould ſit with the Privy Council there and aſſume to themſelves to adviſe and interpoſe as Privy Councillors; And we again deny the Subſcriptions of the Officers of the Army was diverted by His

Majesty, and it is well known, that some Officers apprehending upon some Speeches, that the drift in requiring Subscriptions was to engage the Army against His Majesty, in detestation thereof upon those Speeches, rent the book of Subscription in pieces.

For the diversion of the moneys raised for that War, if they had been since repayed, (the contrary whereof is credibly informed to His Majesty,) yet that present diversion might be, and we believe was a great means of the future wants of that Kingdom which induced the Cessation. As to the Lord *Wharton's* Commission we conceive we have already fully satisfied your Lordships the just reasons thereof.

For the Letters, whereof your Lordships had Copies, we conceive that you being thereby satisfied of the Contents, and that they came from the Lord Justices and Council there, your Lordships need not doubt of the truth of the matter; And for the names of the single persons subscribing we cannot conceive it is desired for any other purpose, then to be made use of against such of them as should come into your Quarters, you having not granted, though desired, that it shall not turn to their prejudice, if we should give in their Names.

Upon what hath been said, it appears, That His Majesties *English* Protestant Subjects in *Ireland* could not subsist without a Cessation; And that the War there cannot be maintained or prosecuted to the subduing of the Rebels there, during the continuance of this unnatural War here, it is evident to any man, that shall consider, that this Kingdom labouring in a War which imployes all the Force and wealth at home, cannot, nor will spare considerable Supplies to send abroad; or if it could, yet whiles there are mutual Jealousies, that there cannot be that concurrence in joynt advices betwixt the King and the two Houses, as will be necessary, if that War be prosecuted; And that His Majesty cannot condescend, or your Lordships in reason expect His Majesty should, by his Consent to Acts of Parliament for the managing of that War, and raising moneys to that purpose, put so great a power into their hands, who, during these Troubles, may if they will turn that power against Him; And it is apparent, that the continuance of the War here must inevitably cause the
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continuance of the miseries there, and endanger the rendering of that Kingdom from this Crown.

The King's Commissioners other Paper.

10. February.

WE do very much wonder that it doth not clearly appear to your Lordships, that upon any difference between the Committees of both Kingdoms, in the managing the War of *Ireland*, (in the manner proposed by your Lordships) the War there must stand still, or be dissolved, for if the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, be by His Majesties Royal assent made an Act of Parliament, (as your Lordships desire) all the Forces of that Kingdom both *Brittish* and *Scottish*, are put under the absolute Command of the Earle of *Leven* the *Scottish* General, and the managing the War committed wholly to the Committee of both Kingdoms, without any reference to the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*; by themselves, so that whatsoever your Lordships say of your intentions, the two Houses of Parliament there, shall upon such difference mannage the War, (which yet you say must be observing the Treaty, of the 6th of *August*, and the said Ordinance of the 11th of *April*.) it is very evident if that Ordinance should be made a Law, the War must stand still, or be dissolved upon difference of opinion between the Committee of both Kingdoms, or else the Earl of *Leven* must carry on that War according to his discretion. For he is in no degree bound to observe the Orders or directions of the Houses of Parliament in *England* by themselves, neither doth the asking His Majesties consent at all, alter the case from what we stated it to your Lordships, in our paper of the 20 of this instant, for we said then, and we say still, that if His Majesty should consent to what you propose, He would devest himself of all his Royal Power in that Kingdom, and reserve no Power or authority in Himself over that War, which is most necessary for His Kingly Office to do; for your Lordships expression, *when there shall be a Lieutenant of Ireland*, we presume your Lordships cannot but be informed, that His Majesty hath made, and we doubt not but you acknowledge He hath power, to make the Lord Marquess of *Ormond* His Lieutenant of

CLXXVI.

that Kingdom, and who is very well able to manage and carry on that War, in such manner as shall be thought necessary for the good of that Kingdom, and there is no question, but that the naming the Earl of *Leven* to be General to receive Orders only from the joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, doth more take away the power of the two Houses here, then if he were a Native of this Kingdom, and to obey the Orders of the two Houses. And we conceive it evident, that the giving the absolute Command of all Forces, both *British* and *Scotish*, to the Earl of *Leven*, General of the *Scotish* Forces, who is to manage the War according to the Directions of the joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, doth not amount to less, then to deliver the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* over into the hands of His Majesties Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and therefore we must ask your Lordships pardon, to believe our selves obliged in prudence, honour, and Conscience, very much to insist on that Consideration, and very earnestly to recommend the same to your Lordships; And we conceive it most conducing to the good of His Majesties Service, and of that Kingdom, that the Lieutenant and Judges there be nominated (as they have always been) by His Majesty, who will be sure to imploy none in places of so great Trust, but such whose known ability and integrity shall make them worthy, and if at any time he shall find himself deceived by those he shall choose, can best make them examples of His Justice, as they have been of His Grace and Favour; and we beseech your Lordships to consider how impossible it is for His Majesty, to receive that measure of duty, reverence, and application, which is due to Him, and His Royal Progenitors have always enjoyed, if it be not in His own immediate power to reward those, whom he shall by experience discern worthy of publick trust and imployment. We have made no difficulty to your Lordships, of His Majesties consenting to Acts for the raising of moneys, and other necessaries for the settling of the true Protestant Religion in that Kingdom, only we think it unreasonable, that His Majesty should engage Himself, (as is proposed) to pass all such Acts as shall be presented to Him, before He know whether such Acts are reasonable or no, and whether those (*other necessaries*) may not comprehend, what

what in truth is not only unnecessary, but very inconvenient; neither will the Argument, that the moneys are to be raised from His Subjects, without any charge to Himself, seem reasonable to His Majesty, His Majesty considering His own charge much less then the damage and pressures which may thereby befall His good Subjects, the preserving them from which is His Majesties most sollicitous and earnest desire; and we cannot but wonder, that your Lordships should conceive any expressions made by us, concerning the prosecution of that War of *Ireland*, to be unagreeable to the zeal of persons abundantly sensible of the Blood and horror of that Rebellion; we agree with you, they have broken the Laws of God and man, their Faith, their Allegiance, the bonds of Charity, rules of Humanity, and humane Society, and we heartily wish that it were in His Majesties power to do Justice upon, and make up those breaches of all those rules and bonds; and to that purpose we have desired to be satisfied by your Lordships, what probable course may be taken, for the remedying those mischiefs, and preserving the remainder of His Majesties good Protestant Subjects; but without doubt the Prosecution of that War so much depends upon the condition and distractions of His Majesties other Kingdoms, that the information your Lordships gives us, of the Negotiation with *Spain*, and other States, for delivering up that Kingdom from His Majesties obedience, into the hands of Strangers, deserves the most strict consideration, how His Majesties two other Kingdoms can be applied to the releif of the third, whilst these distractions are their own Bowels, and the continuance of the miseries in the two, must render those in the third remediless, if it be not preserved by some other means, then the prosecution of the War; neither can it be foreseen or determined, what help or Assistance either party may make use of, where it finds it self oppressed, and over-powred by the other, especially when it calls in any help, and leaves no means unattempted to destroy the other. And we beseech your Lordships, in the Bowels of Christian Charity and compassion, and in the name of him, who is the Prince of Peace, and who will make an inquisition for blood, to consider, whether all our endeavours, ought not to be, to stop these bloody issues in all His Majesties

Domini^a

Dominions; and whether the just God of Heaven, who for our sins, hath made the several Nations, under His Majesties Government, to be Scourges of one another, and of His Majesty himself, under whose Obedience they should all live, can be delighted with the sacrifice of blood, and the blood of Christians; and whether it would not be more agreeable to our Christian profession, to endeavour the binding up of those Wounds, which interests, passion, and animosity have made. We desire your Lordships to consider these things, and to make such Propositions to us concerning *Ireland* (since it is apparent, that those already made by you, are by no means fit to be consented to) as may be for the growth and propogation of the true Protestant Religion, the Peace and happiness of that Kingdom, and the Welfare of all His Majesties Dominions.

The last of the six daies concerning *Ireland* being now spent, being the last of the 18, appointed to treat upon *Religion, Militia, and Ireland*, by three daies a piece, *Alternis Vicibus*; according to the order formerly proposed, the two remaining daies were imployed for the most part concerning *Religion*, but towards the end of these two dayes, being the last of the Treaty (about 12. of the clock at night) they delivered in these two following Papers concerning *Ireland*, in Answer to the two last Papers.

Their Paper.

22. Feb.

CLXXVII.

WWE are very sorry, that your Lordships should continue in that opinion, That it was necessary to make the Cessation in *Ireland*, when by undeniable proofs, and consideration of all circumstances, it is most clear, that the necessities alleadged for grounds of that Cessation, were made by design of the Popish and Prelatical party in *England* and *Ireland*, who so wickedly contrived the same, that the provisions sent thither by the Parliament, for relief of His Majesties good Subjects in *Ireland* were disposed of, and afforded to the Rebels there in their greatest wants, and then when your Lordships affirm the Protestants to be in so great extremity, and even at that time also, when the Officers

fficers of our Army and Garisons pressing for leave to March into the Enemies Country, to live upon them, and save their own stores, some who were driven forth, had great quantities of provisions out with them, yet were not permitted to March into the Enemies Country, but kept near Dublin, until their Provisions were spent, and then commanded back again; others could not obtain leave to go forth, but were commanded to stay at home, that their own provisions might be the sooner consumed, and thereby the necessity made greater. Notwithstanding by the care of both Houses of Parliament here for their supply they were able to subsist, and did subsist at the time of that Cessation, although the making thereof reduced them to far greater necessities, then otherwise they could have suffered, besides the Notorious advantage thereby to the Rebels, when their wants and extremities were most pressing. And we should not again have troubled your Lordships with these answers, had they not been caused by your own repetition of the Letters, of part whereof you have given us Copies, though not the knowledge of the Persons from whom they came, only you are pleased to mention, the Lords Justices, and Council there, yet we are assured, even by some who were of the Council at that time when the Letters were written, that the same was done only to press for supplies from hence, without the least intention in them, of inducing a Cessation, neither do the Copies contain any thing tending to a Cessation, or the least mention thereof; And we have cause to grieve, not onely at what your Lordships express concerning the complaints from Ireland, and their great extremities, but that the same being procured and increased by the Popish party, yet we should find such earnest endeavours to lay the blame and neglect therein upon the two Houses of Parliament here, who have been so zealous for their relief, and whose only care (under the blessing of God) hath been their preservation, and that in the heat of our own miserable Distractions have continued their Supplies, and from our own great want, have not spared to afford our Brethren there the means of their subsistence.

The Protestants in Munster, Connaught and Ulster, who opposed the Cessation, were many of them English, and both they and the Scots suffering under as great wants and failer of Supplies, as the Protestants in other places, and in no better posture of their own defence; Notwithstanding in a true sense of their own duty and Conscience, they have opposed and still do oppose the same neither were the English there neglected, as your Lordships have been misinformed, by such who labour to destroy both Nations, and as a means thereto to divide them.

Besides

Besides the goods seized near Coventry, we have mentioned other particulars asserted to be seized, not without his Majesties own knowledge and direction, as we are informed, and are most unwilling to believe; Neither do we understand it to be an excuse for seizing some goods, to say that His Majesty did forbear to seize others in his Power, but when His Majesty shall rightly ponder the horridness of that Rebellion, we hope those wicked Instruments who contrived, and do support the same, will have no power to alter His Majesties tender sense of the miseries of His Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom, not at all to lessen His Piety and gracious Care for quenching the flames of that unhappy Rebellion.

We do again affirm unto your Lordships the truth of what we said before concerning the Supplies of Ireland by the two Houses, and it seems strange, that what hath been lately sent, should not be looked upon, as a support of the War against the Rebels, by which only the Protestants were enabled to defend themselves, and to infest their Enemies; Nor can we imagine any other means as a support of that just War, being most assured, that if this had not been done, the Rebels must certainly have prevailed, and the remnant of His Majesties good Subjects of that Kingdom have perished.

Your Lordships are pleased to remember some monies by us employed, particularly one hundred Thousand Pounds, which was raised for Ireland, and all which have been resatisfied with advantage; And we must as often as you are pleased to repeat it, refer your Lordships, to our former just and clear Answers concerning the same, and the like for the Forces under the Command of the Lord Wharton; And we believe what your Lordships express, concerning the Forces brought hither to His Majesty out of Ireland, after the Cessation, it being one end for which the Cessation was made, that those Forces might be employed against the two Houses of Parliament here; And those Scottish Forces which came over, were not sent for.

We know of no Persons who have returned into Ireland since the Cessation, except such as were Agents for the procuring thereof, and divers principal Rebels who presumed to address themselves unto His Majesty at Oxford, and were there countenanced.

It is probable, that some might endeavour to alienate the hearts of the Officers of the Army there from the two Houses, whereby their service against the Rebels might be interrupted.

To that particular of the Subscriptions of the Officers, and of the Committee sent into Ireland, and of the diversions of Monies
alleged

alledged and of the Copies of Letters given us by your Lordships without the names of those who subscribed them; We have already given your Lordships a full and clear answer, but have not received satisfaction concerning the denial of the Lord Whartons Commission, whereby the service of that Kingdom was much prejudiced.

It is so far from being made appear, That His Majesties English Protestant Subjects in Ireland, could not subsist without a Cessation, that the contrary is undeniable, and that His Majesties Protestant Subjects there, both English and Scottish, who have opposed that Cessation, have subsisted and do still subsist, And we are sorry to find any inclination to continue that Cessation, which whensoever made, will be esteemed by all good Protestants a countenancing of that bloody Rebellion.

We do insist upon our former Demands concerning Ireland, and doubt not but those being granted, notwithstanding our present miserable Distractions here, we shall (by the blessing of God) bring those bloody Rebels to a speedy and just punishment, and settle that unhappy Kingdom in their due Obedience to His Majesty, and the Crown of England.

Their other Paper.

22. Febr.

IT is not possible for us to give a more clear Answer, than we CLXXVIII.
have done, to shew that there can no such inconvenience follow, upon confirming the Ordinance of the 11th of April, by Act of Parliament, as your Lordships do imagine; It being desired that the Treaty of the sixt of August, be in like manner confirmed; By which the Commanders of the Scottish Forces in Ireland, are to be answerable to His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament of England, for their whole deportment and proceeding there; and it being desired by the 13 Proposition, that the prosecutions of the War of Ireland, should be settled in both Houses of Parliament; all which taken together, it cannot follow, that upon any disagreement between the Committees there, the Earl of Leven may carry on the War according to his own discretion; as for our expression (when there shall be a Lieutenant in Ireland) which was used in answer to your Lordships second paper of the 20 of February, it was to satisfie your Lordships, that there could be no interfering between the Powers of the Lord Lieutenant, and of the Earl of Leven, and still we say when there
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shall

shall be a Lord Lieutenant chosen as is expressed in our 20th Proposition, (for we do not admit the Marquess of Ormond to be so) the Commander in chief of the Scottish Army, is to receive Instructions from him in such manner as we have laid it down, in that answer of ours to your Lordships paper above mentioned, which will, we hope, satisfie your Lordships other objection, that this is not to deliver over the whole Kingdom of Ireland into the hands of His Majesties Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, seeing such of that Nation as are there imployed, are to be subordinate to the Committee of both Kingdoms, and in case of disagreement, an appeal lies to the two Houses of the Parliament of England, in whom the power of prosecuting the War is to be settled. And we must insist to desire that the Lord Lieutenant, and the Judges in that Kingdome, may be nominated by the two Houses of Parliament, who have by sad experience (to the greatest cost of this Kingdom, expense of so much Treasure and Blood, the loss of many thousand lives there, and almost of that whole Kingdom from His Majesties obedience, and an inestimable prejudice to the true Protestant Religion,) found the ill consequence of a bad choyce of persons for those great places of trust. Therefore for His Majesties honour, the good of His service, the great advantage it will be to the rest of His Majesties Dominions, the great comfort to all good Christians, and even an acceptable service to God himself, for the attaining of so much good, and the prevention of so much evil, they desire to have the nomination of those great Officers, that by a prudent and careful Election, they may by providing for the good of that now miserable Kingdom discharge their duty to God, the King, and their Country. And certainly if it be necessary to reduce that Kingdom, and that the Parliament of England be a faithful Council to His Majesty, and fit to be trusted with the prosecution of that War, (which His Majesty was once pleased to put into their hands, and they faithfully discharged their parts in it, notwithstanding many practices to obstruct their proceedings, as is set forth in several Declarations of Parliament) then we say your Lordships need not think it unreasonable that His Majesty should engage himself to pass such Acts as shall be presented to him, for raising Moneys and other necessaries for that War, for if the War be necessarie (as never War was more) that which is necessary for the maintaining of it must be had, and the Parliament that doth undertake and manage it, must needs know what will be necessary, and the People of England, who have trusted them with their Purse, will never begrudge, what they make them lay out

upon that occasion ; Nor need His Majesty fear the Parliament will press more upon the Subjects then is fit in proportion to the occasion ; It is true, that heretofore Persons about His Majesty have endeavoured and prevailed too much, in possessing him against the Parliament for not giving away the money of the Subject, when his Majesty had desired it. But never yet did His Majesty restrain them from it, and we hope it will not be thought that this is a fit occasion to begin ; We are very glad to find that your Lordships are so sensible in your expressions of the Blood and Horror of that Rebellion, and it is without all question, in His Majesties Power to do Justice upon it, if your Lordships be willing that the Cessation and all Treaties with those Bloody and unnatural Rebels be made void, and that the prosecution of the War be settled in the two Houses of the Parliament of England, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and the King to assist, and to do no Act to discountenance or molest them therein : This we dare affirm to be more then a probable course for the remedying those mischiefs, and preserving the remainder of His Majesties good Subjects there. We cannot believe your Lordships will think it fit, there can be, any Agreement of Peace, any respite from hostility with such Creatures as are not fit to live no more then with Wolves or Tygers, or ravenous Beasts, destroyers of mankind. And we beseech you do not think it must depend upon the condition of His Majesties other Kingdoms to revenge or not revenge Gods quarrel upon such perfidious Enemies to the Gospel of Christ, who have imbrued their hands in so much Protestant Blood, but consider the Cessation that is made with them, is for their advantage ; and rather a Protection then a Cessation of Acts of hostility, as if it had been all of their own contriving : Arms, Ammunition, and all manner of Commodities may be brought unto them ; and they may furnish themselves, during this Cessation, and be assisted and protected in so doing, that afterwards they may the better destroy the small remainder of His Majesties Protestant Subjects. We beseech your Lordships in the bowels of Christian charity, and compassion to so many poor Souls ; who must perish, if the strength of that raging Adversary be not broken, and in the Name of him who is the Prince of Peace, who hates to be at Peace with such shedders of Blood, give not your consents to the continuation of this Cessation of War in Ireland, and less to the making of any Peace there, till Justice have been fully executed upon the Actors of that accursed Rebellion. Let not the Judgment of War within this Kingdom, which God hath layed upon us for our sins be increased by so great a sin, as any Peace or friendship with them

whatsoever becomes of us, if we must perish, yet let us go to our Graves with that comfort, that we have not made Peace with the Enemies of Christ, yea even Enemies of mankind, declared and unreconciled Enemies to our Religion and Nation; Let not our War be a hindrance to that War, for we are sure that Peace will be a hindrance to our Peace; We desire War there, as much as we do Peace here, for both we are willing to lay out our Estates, our Lives, and all that is dear unto us in this Word; and we have made Propositions unto your Lordships for both, if you were pleased to agree unto them; We can but look up to God Almighty, beseech him to encline your hearts, and casting our selves on him, wait his good time for the return of our Prayers in settling a safe and happy Peace here, and giving success to our Endeavours in the Prosecution of the War of Ireland.

It hath been used by the Commissioners, during the Treaty, that when Papers were delivered in of such length, and so late at night that present particular answers could not be given, by agreement between themselves, to accept the answers the next day, dated as of the day before although they were Treating of another Subject; And these two last Papers concerning Ireland being of such great length, and delivered about twelve of the clock at night, when the Treaty in time was expiring, so as no answer could be given without such consent and agreement, Therefore the King's Commissioners delivered in this Paper;

22. February.

CLXXIX. **Y**Our Lordships cannot expect a particular answer from us this night, to the two long Papers concerning Ireland, delivered to us by your Lordships, about twelve of the clock this night; but since there are many particulars in those Papers, to which, if they had been before mentioned, we could have given your Lordships full satisfaction. And for that we presume your Lordships are very willing to be satisfied in those particulars, which so highly reflect upon His Majesty, we desire your Lordships to receive the Answers, which we shall prepare to those Papers, in the evening to Morrow, dated as of this

this night, and we doubt not to give your Lordships clear satisfaction therein.

This desire was not granted, nor any Paper delivered in answer to it, but soon after the Treaty broke off.

During the 20. days Treaty, upon Religion, Militia, and Ireland, the particular passages whereof are before expressed, some other passages did occur, concerning His Majesties Propositions, and particularly for a * Cessation, and touching His Majesties return to Westminster after disbanding of Armies, and further time for continuing or renewing the Treaty, which do here follow. And first touching His Majesties Propositions, the Kings Commissioners delivered in this Paper the second day of the Treaty.

* It is the sixth of His Majesties Propositions.

1. February.

WE desire to know; whether your Lordships have any Instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions, for settling a safe and well grounded Peace; And if you have any touching the same, we desire to have a sight of them.

CLXXX. See His Majesties Propositions n^o. 8. And the Letter from the Earl of Essex n^o. 9. That their Commissioners should have Instructions to Treat upon them.

Their Answer.

1. Feb.

WE have have yet received Instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions, and shall therefore acquaint the Lords and Commons Assembled in the Parliament of England, with the desires expressed in that Paper, who having taken those Instructions into their consideration, before our coming from them, will send them to us in time convenient.

CLXXXI.

After

After upon the third of *February*, His Majesties Commissioners delivered this Paper, concerning His Majesties sixth Proposition, for a Cessation of Arms.

3. *February.*

CLXXXII.

WE desire to know, whether your Lordships have received any Instructions concerning that Proposition of His Majesties for a Cessation; and if your Lordships have nor received any, that you will endeavour to procure Authority to Treat thereupon, which we have power to do, and conceive it very necessary, that during the time we are endeavouring to establish a blessed and happy Peace, the issues of blood may be stopped in this miserable Kingdom, and His Majesties oppressed and Languishing Subjects, have some earnest and prospect of the Peace we are endeavouring, by Gods blessing, to procure for them.

To this no particular Answer was given.

The KING's Commissioners Paper,

10. *February.*

CLXXXIII.

HAVING now spent three days severally, upon each of your Lordships three Propositions, concerning *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, we desire to know, whether your Lordships have received any instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions, that we may prepare our selves to Treat upon them, when your Lordships shall think fit.

Their Answer.

11. *Febr.*

CLXXXV.

WE have received Instructions, concerning His Majesties Propositions; and when the Houses of Parliament shall be satisfied, in the good Progress of the Treaty upon their Propositions concerning, *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*; they will give time for the Treaty upon those Propositions sent by His Majesty.

But

But there was not any time given to Treat upon His Majesties Propositions.

Touching further time for continuing, or reviving the Treaty; and His Majesties Return to *Westminster*, after Disbanding, these Papers were delivered.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

14. Feb.

WE have this day received directions from His Majesty, to move your Lordships, that you will endeavour to procure an addition of time for this Treaty, after the expiration of the days limited for the same, upon the reasons mentioned in His Majesties Letter, which Letter we herewith deliver to your Lordships. CLXXXV.

The Letter mentioned in the last Paper, from His Majesty to His Commissioners, is this.

Right, Trusty, &c. Having received from you a particular accompt of your proceedings in the Treaty, and observing thereby how impossible it is, within the days limited, to give such full Answers to the three Propositions you are now upon, as you might, if upon Consideration had of the rest of the Propositions, you could clearly see, what fruit such Answers will produce in order to a blessed Peace, for the present and the future good and happiness of this Kingdom; We have thought it fit to advise you, That you propose and desire of the Commissioners with whom you Treat, that they will procure such farther time to be allowed, after the expiration of the Twenty days, as may be sufficient for you, upon a full understanding one of another upon the whole, to make such a Conclusion, that all Our Subjects may reap the Benefit good men pray for, Deliverance from these bloody distractions, and be united in Peace and Charity; And if you think fit, you may communicate this Our Letter to them, CLXXXVI.

them. And so we bid you heartily farewel. *Given at our Court at Oxford 13. Feb. 1644.*

By His MAJESTIES Command,
GEORGE DIGBY.

To Our Right Trusty &c.
the Lords and others Our
Commissioners for the
Treaty at *Uxbridge*.

Their Answer.

14. Feb.

CLXXXVII. **C**oncerning the Paper delivered by your Lordships for addition of time for the Treaty, We can give no other answer, then that we will send Copies of His Majesties Letter, and of the paper unto the Houses of Parliament, and after signification of their pleasure, we will give further answer.

Afterwards on the 18th of Feb. they delivered this Paper.

18. February.

CLXXXVIII. **Y**our Lordships may please to take notice, that in the 20 dayes appointed to Treat upon the Propositions concerning Religion, Militia, and Ireland, the first Thursday, and three Sundayes, are not to be included.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

20. Febr.

CLXXXIX. **B**Y our Paper delivered to your Lordships the 14th of this month, we moved your Lordships to endeavour an addition of time for this Treaty, after the expiration of the days limited for the same, upon the reasons mentioned in His Majesties Letter, which letter, we then delivered to your Lordships; whereunto your Lordships then returned answer, that you would send Copies of His Majesties Letter, and of our Paper to the Houses of Parliament, and after signification of their pleasure, you would give farther Answer; we now desire to know, whether there may be an addition of time for this Treaty, after the expiration of the days limited for the same, upon the reasons mentioned in His Majesties said Letter, and what time may be added.

Their

Their Answer;

20. Feb.

Y Our Lordships Paper of the 14th of this month, for an addition of time for this Treaty, together with His Majesties Letter concerning the same, were sent by us to the Houses of Parliament, who (* as we have already acquainted your Lordships) have declared, That if they shall be satisfied in the good progress of the Treaty upon the Propositions, concerning Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, will give time for the Treaty upon the Propositions by His Majesty; but farther then this, have not, as yet, signioed their pleasure unto us.

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* See their Paper, before 11. Feb. n^o. 184.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

20. February.

H Aving now spent 18. days with your Lordships, in the Treaty upon Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, and besides the present satisfaction we have given your Lordships in those particulars, we having offered that further consideration, and order be taken therein by His Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament; and your Lordships having proposed many important things in the said several particulars to be framed, settled, and disposed by the two Houses, before a full Agreement can be established, we propose to your Lordships, whether the two days remaining may not be best spent, towards the satisfying your Lordships in those 3 Propositions, and the procuring a speedy blessed Peace, upon finding out some expedient for His Majesties repair to Westminster, that so all differences may be composed, and this poor Kingdom be restored to its Ancient happiness and security; and to that purpose if your Lordships shall think fit, we are willing to Treat with your Lordships concerning the best means whereby (all Armies being first disbanded) His Majesty may with honour, freedom, and safety, be present with his two Houses of Parliament at Westminster; To which two particulars, that is, first concerning the Disbanding all Armies, and then for His Majesties speedy reapiir and residing at Westminster, with Honour, Freedom, and safety; We shall (if your Lordships think fit) apply

CXCI.

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our selves, and accordingly to morrow, will be ready to deliver to your Lordships some Propositions upon that subject; And if your Lordships shall concur with us herein, we hope it will be a good inducement to procure an addition of time to this Treaty, according to His Majesties Proposition in his late Letter to Us, which we delivered to your Lordships.

Their Paper.

20. Feb.

CXCII.

WE shall according to mutual agreement between His Majesty and the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and the Commissioners for the Parliament of Scotland, Treat these two remaining days upon the three Propositions for Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, and shall be glad to receive satisfaction in them from your Lordships, as the best expedient for procuring a speedy and blessed Peace, that the Armies may be disbanded, and the happiness of His Majesties presence may again be enjoyed by those, who have nothing more in their prayers and endeavours, then by His Majesties conjunction with his Parliament to see all these sad differences composed, and these distracted Kingdoms restored to their Ancient happiness and security: Accordingly we shall be ready to begin again to morrow upon the Propositions for Religion, and receive what your Lordships will propose, and being satisfied upon that and the other two Propositions, we are confident we shall have further time given us to Treat upon such other particulars, as shall be necessary for the attaining of those ends we all desire.

There was no other Answer given concerning His Majesties Commissioners desire to Treat touching His return to Westminster, and Disbanding Armies, whereupon His Majesties Commissioners delivered this Paper;

20. February.

CXCIII.

WE conceive that the reasons why your Lordships do not give us any Answer to our Paper, concerning the Treating for the disbanding all Armies, and for His Majesties coming to Westminster, may be, because you have no authority by your Instructions so to do, though we proposed the same to
your

your Lordships, and do still conceive it most conducing to the conclusion of the Propositions, upon *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, upon which we have Treated. And we therefore desire your Lordships, that you will endeavour to have your Instructions so enlarged, that we may Treat upon so important and necessary an expedient for the publick Peace. In the mean time we shall be ready to receive whatsoever your Lordships please to propose in the business of *Religion*, presuming, that if your Lordships are not satisfied with our Answer therein, in which we have applied remedies to whatsoever hath ever been complained of as a grievance in the present Government of the Church, that your Lordships will make it appear * that the Government by Bishops is unlawful; or that the Government you intend to introduce in the room thereof, is the only Government that is agreeable to the Word of God; either of which being made evident to us, we shall immediately give your Lordships full satisfaction in that you propose.

* See their Paper.n^o.68. referring to this.

The King's Commissioners Paper,

22. February.

BY our Paper delivered to your Lordships 1. February, we did desire to know, whether your Lordships have any Instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions for settling a safe and well grounded Peace; And by our Paper of the third of Feb. we did desire to know, whether your Lordships had received any Instructions concerning that Proposition of His Majesty for a Cessation: and if your Lordships had not received any, that you would endeavour to procure authority to Treat thereupon; And by our Paper of the 10th of Feb. we did desire to know, whether your Lordships had received any Instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions, That we might prepare our selves to Treat upon them, when your Lordships should think fit; And by our Paper delivered to your Lordships, 14th Feb. we moved your Lordships upon directions received from His Majesty, that you would endeavour to procure an addition of time for this Treaty, after the expiration of the days limited for the same, upon the reasons mentioned in His Majesties Letter; which

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Letter we then delivered to your Lordships; And by our Paper delivered to your Lordships the 20th of this month, we moved your Lordships to endeavour an addition of time for this Treaty, after the expiration of the days limited for the same, upon the reasons mentioned in His Majesties said Letter, to which we have not yet received full Answer; Not have we yet had any notice from your Lordships, whether the two Houses of Parliament have given any further time for this Treaty; And having hitherto according to the order prescribed us Treated onely upon the three first heads of Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, and the twenty days expiring this day, we again desire to know, whether there is any addition of time granted for this Treaty, our safe Conduct being but for two days longer.

Their Answer.

22. Febr.

CXCV. **Y**our Lordships Papers of the first, third, and tenth of Feb. whether we had any Instructions concerning His Majesties Propositions and power to Treat for a Cessation, as also your Papers of the 14 and 20th of Feb. concerning His Majesties Letter for an addition of time to this Treaty, with your Lordships desire thereupon, have been by us sent up to both Houses of Parliament from time to time, as we received them, together with our Answer given to them; and in our Answers we have from time to time declared to your Lordships, that when the Houses shall be satisfied in the good progress of the Treaty upon their Propositions concerning Religion, Militia, and Ireland, they will give an addition of time for the Treaty; And we do conceive, that if your Lordships Answers to our Demands concerning Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, had been such, as to have given satisfaction in the good progress of this Treaty, mutually consented for twenty days upon the said Propositions, we should have before this been enabled with power to continue the Treaty, as well upon his Majesties as the rest of the Propositions. But your Lordships having not given full and satisfactory Answers concerning Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, you cannot, for the reasons above mentioned, expect an addition of time; neither have we received any Instructions to continue this Treaty longer then the twenty days, of which this is the last: And as for your Lordships safe Conduct, we conceive the three
Sundays

Sundays last past being not accounted any days of the Treaty, so this next Sunday is not to be esteemed one of the two days allowed after the Treaty in your Lordships safe Conduct, but your Lordships are to have two dayes besides this next Lords day.

The King's Commissioners Reply.

22. February.

WE cannot express the great sadness of our hearts, that all our earnest endeavours to give your Lordships satisfaction in all particulars of this Treaty, have produced no better effects towards a blessed Peace, which His Majesty, and we who are trusted by him, do so heartily pray for, and that so many and great offers made by us to your Lordships in the particulars we have treated upon, should not be thought a good progress on our part in the said Treaty, as we find by your Lordships last Paper (to our great grief) they are not; and therefore that this must be the last day of the Treaty, we desire your Lordships to consider, that we being intrusted by His Majesty to Treat with your Lordships for a safe and well grounded Peace, have upon the matter of your Lordships Propositions, consented to so many particulars and alterations of very great importance, and that your Lordships, who were to Treat with us, have not abated one title of the most severe and rigorous of your Propositions, saving what you were pleased the last night to propose in the point of time concerning the *Militia*, which though it seems to be limited to seven years, in truth leaves it as unlimited as it was before in your Propositions, for at the end of seven years, it must not be exercised otherwise then shall be settled by His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament: so that all the legal power now in His Majesty is taken away, and not restored after the seven years expired. Neither is there a full consent to that limitation offered by your Lordships the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*. Nor have your Lordships offered to us any prospect towards Peace, other then by submitting totally to those Propositions, the which if we should do, we should consent to such alterations, as by constructions and consequences may dissolve the whole frame of the present Government, both Ecclesiastical and
Civil,

CXCVI.

Civil, in this Kingdom. And though the particulars proposed by your Lordships, have by debate appeared, not only evidently unreasonable, but literally considered, to comprehend things, to be extended, to powers not intended by your selves, yet your Lordships have not been pleased, either to restrain or interpret any particular in any other manner, then is set forth in the said Propositions.

In the matter of *Religion*, we have offered all such alterations, as we conceive may give satisfaction to any objections that have been, or can be made against that Government, and have given your Lordships reasons, not only why we cannot consent to your Lordships Propositions, but that even those Propositions, if consented to, could not be in order to a Reformation, or to the procuring the publick Peace: And we must desire your Lordships to remember, that though you do not only in your Covenant (which you require may be taken by His Majesty, and enjoyned to be taken by all His Subjects) undertake the Reformation in point of Government, but even in point of Doctrine too, thereby laying an imputation upon the Religion it self, so long professed in this Kingdom with the general approbation of all reformed Churches; yet your Lordships have not given us the least argument, nor so much as intimated in your debate, the least Prejudice to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, against which we presume you cannot make any colourable objection; nor have you given us the view in particular, of the Government you desire should be submitted to, in the place of that your propose to be abolished; and therefore we propose to your Lordships, if the alterations proposed by us, do not give your Lordships satisfaction, that so great an alteration as the total abolition of a Government established by Law, may for the importance of it, and any reformation in Doctrine, for the scandal of it, be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies, His Majesty may be present with the two Houses of Parliament, and calling a National Synod, may receive such advice both from the one and the other, as in a matter of so high concernment is necessary; And we are most confident that His Majesty will then follow the advice which shall be given him. And as any Reformation thus regularly

larly and calmly made, must needs prove for the singular benefit and Honour of the Kingdom; so we must appeal to your Lordships, whether the contrary, that is an alteration even to things though in themselves good, can, by the principles of Christian Religion, be enforced upon the King or Kingdom?

In the business of the *Militia*, though your Lordships do not deny that the Jealousies and apprehensions of danger are mutual, and that the chief end of depositing the *Militia* in the hands of certain Persons, is for security against those Jealousies and possible dangers, yet your Lordships insist, That all those Persons to be entrusted, shall be nominated by the two Houses of Parliament of *England*, and the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that the time for that great General, and unheard of Trust, shall be in such manner, that though it seem to be limited to seven years, yet in truth by declaring, That after those seven years, it shall not be otherwise exercised then His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament shall agree, and His Majesty may thereby be totally, and for ever divested of the power of the Sword, without which He can neither defend himself against Forreign Invasions, or Domestick Insurrections, or execute His Kingly Office in the behalf of His Subjects, to whom He is Sworn to give Protection: And to both these your Lordships add the introducing a Neighbour Nation, governed by distinct and different Laws (though united under one Sovereign) to a great share in the Government of this Kingdom. In stead of consenting to these Changes, we have offered and proposed to your Lordships, That the Persons to be Trusted with the *Militia* of the Kingdom, may be nominated between us; or if that were refused, That an equal number shall be named by you, and the other number by His Majesty, and that half the Forts and places of strength within the Kingdom, shall be in the custody of those whom you think fit to be trusted therewith, and the other half, in such hands as His Majesty please to commit the same to. And all persons, as well those nominated by your Lordships, as by His Majesty, to take an Oath for the due discharge of the said Trust, which being considered as the security is mutual, so neither part can be supposed to violate the agreement, without very evident inconvenience

nience and danger to that part who shall so violate it, the whole Kingdom being likely, and indeed obliged to look upon, whosoever shall in the least degree violate this agreement, as the authors of all the miseries which the Kingdom shall thereby suffer. And as it is most reasonable, that for this security, His Majesty should part with so much of his own power, as may make him even unable to break the agreement, which should be now made by him and on his part, so it is most necessary, that all apprehension and danger of such breach being over, that sovereign power of the *Militia* should revert into the proper Channel, and be, as it hath alwaies been, in His Majesties proper and peculiar charge: And therefore we have proposed that the time limited for that trust, should be for three years, which by the blessing of God, will produce a perfect understanding between His Majesty and all His people; and if there should be any thing else necessary to be done in this argument, either for power or time, that the same be considered after the settlement of Peace in Parliament; but whatever is now, or hereafter shall be thought necessary to be done, we desire may be so settled, that this Kingdom may depend upon it self, and not be subject to the Laws or advice of *Scotland*, as we think fit that *Scotland* should not receive rules or advice from this, having offered the like for *Scotland* as for *England*.

In the business of *Ireland* your Lordships propose not only, that His Majesty disclaim and make void the Cession, made by His Royal Authority, and at the desires of the Lords Justices, and Council of that Kingdom, and for the preservation of the remainder of His poor Protestant Subjects there, who were in evident danger of destruction, both by Famine and the Sword, but also to put the whole managery of that War and disposal of the Forces within that Kingdom, and consequently the Government of that Kingdom, into the hands of the *Scots* General, to be managed by the advice of a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein each should have a Negative Voice; In Answer to which, we have acquainted your Lordships, with the just grounds of His Majesties proceedings in the business of *Ireland*, which we are confident, being weighed without prejudice, may satisfie all men of His Majesties Piety and Justice therein; And we are very ready and desirous,

desirous, to joyn with your Lordships in any course which may probably preserve and restore that miserable Kingdom.

Having put your Lordships in mind of these particulars, as they have a general reference to the publick good of the Kingdoms, we beseech your Lordships to consider, that we have this great Trust reposed in us by His Majesty, and to remember how far these Propositions trench upon His peculiar Kingly Rights, without any, or any considerable recompence or compensation.

In the business of *Religion*, your Lordships propose the taking away the His whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, His Donations, and Temporalties of Bishopsricks, His first Fruits, and Tenths of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, instead whereof your Lordships do not offer to constitute the least dependance of the Clergy upon His Majesty; and for that so considerable a part of His Revenue, you propose only the Bishops Lands to be setled on His Majesty, (reserving a power to dispose even those Lands as you shall think fit) whereas all the Lands both of Bishops, Deans and Chapters (if those Corporations must be dissolved) do undoubtedly belong to His Majesty in His own Right.

In the business of the *Militia*; as it is proposed, His Majesty is so totally divested of the Regal Power of the Sword, that He shall be no more able, either to assist any of His Allies with aid, though men were willing to engage themselves voluntarily in that service, or to defend His own Dominions from Rebellion or invasion, and consequently the whole power of Peace and War (the acknowledged and undoubted Right of the Crown) is taken from Him.

In the business of *Ireland*, the power of nominating His Lieutenant, or Deputy, and other Officers there, of managing, directing, or in the least manner of meddling in that War, or of making a Peace, is proposed to be taken from Him; and to add to all these attempts upon His Kingly Rights, it is proposed to bereave Him of the Power of a Father, in the Education and Marriage of His own Children, and of a Master, in the rewarding His own Servants; And therefore we refer it to your Lordships, whether it be possible for us, with a good Conscience and discharge of the Trust reposed in us, to Consent to the Pro-

positions made to us by your Lordships? Lastly, we must observe to your Lordships, That after a War of near four years, for which the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Priviledges of Parliament were made the cause and grounds, in a Treaty of Twenty days, nor indeed in the whole Propositions upon which the Treaty should be, there hath been nothing offered to be Treated, concerning the breach of any Law, or of the Liberty or Property of the Subject, or Priviledge of Parliament: but only Propositions for the altering a Government Established by Law, and for the making new Laws, by which almost all the old are, or may be cancelled; and there hath been nothing insisted on of our part which was not Law, or denied by us, that you have demanded, as due by Law.

* See their last paper.

All these things being considered, and being much afflicted that our great hope and expectation of a Peace, is for the present frustrated by your Lordships* Declaration, that no more time will be allowed for this Treaty, we are earnest Suitors to your Lordships, that you will interpose with the two Houses, to whom we believe you have transmitted the Answers delivered by us to your Lordships upon *Religion, the Militia, and Ireland*, That this Treaty, though for the present discontinued may be revived, and the whole matter of their Propositions, and those sent to them by His Majesty, which have not yet been Treated on, may be considered; and that depending that Treaty, to the end we may not Treat in Blood, there may be a Cessatiou of Armes, and that the poor People of this Kingdom, now exposed to Plundrings and Spoyles, and other direful effects of War, may have some earnest of a blessed Peace. And because this Treaty is now expiring, if your Lordships cannot give a present Resolution, we desire when you have represented this to the two Houses, His Majesty may speedily receive their Answer.

Their Answer.

22. Febr.

CXCVII.

WE conceive your Lordships cannot in reason expect an answer to the long paper delivered to us very late this night at the close of the Treaty a thing of many days labour, which we apprehend

apprehend to be rather a declaration upon the Treaty, then any part thereof, and we could not imagine would be offered, but we cannot forbear, upon the reading thereof, to mention thus much; That it seems by many particulars in that Declaration, it was resolved the Treaty should end with the 20 days, the means to continue it, being well known to be a good progress in the Propositions for Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, and by what we have received, we cannot find any satisfaction in these was intended to be agreed unto.

To that, whereby your Lordships ascribe so much to your own Concessions, we shall only say, That for Religion you have granted very little or nothing, but what we are already in possession of by the Laws of this Kingdom. For the business of the Militia, your Lordships have not thought fit, to consent to any one of our demands, but in that, as in Religion, have made some new Propositions of your own, which are not in any degree sufficient for settling and securing the peace of the Kingdoms; As for the Propositions for Ireland, your Lordships have bin so far from affording a consent thereto, that you have justified the destructive Cessation there, and strongly implyed an intention to renew the same, and have not yielded to any part of our Propositions concerning that Kingdom; we shall represent your Lordships papers to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, who upon due consideration thereof, will do what is farther necessary for the good and Peace of His Majesties Dominions.

Besides these several desires above mentioned from time to time for addition, and enlargement of time, for continuing and prolonging the Treaty, or if discontinued, that it might be revived, and after a representation to the Houses, their answer might be sent to His Majesty. In another Paper before N^o. 135. upon the head of the Militia, His Majesties Commissioners did propose, That if the Treaty might not then continue, it might be Adjourned for such time as they should think fit, and not totally dissolve, but be again resumed; which Paper is not here inserted, to avoid repetition, being before upon the head of Militia, and to which, as to that point of Adjournment, no answer was given.

No Papers were given into their Commissioners, in answer to the last mentioned Paper, dated the 22 of Feb. N^o. 197, which came in about two of the clock in the

morning after ; Nor to that of the same date N^o. 135. concerning the *Militia*, which came in with it : Nor to their two last concerning *Ireland* of the 22 of *Feb.* N^o 177, and 178, which came in about 12 of the clock that night all which were of such length, and delivered upon the close of the Treaty, and those which came in about two of the clock upon the departure of the Commissioners, that it was impossible to give present answers, nor could any be given after, as part of the Treaty, without consent, which was required by His Majesties Commissioners, but not granted ; neither is any thing here inserted in answer to those Papers, because by the agreements between the Commissioners in the beginning of the Treaty, nothing was to be taken as part of the Treaty, but what should be put in writing. And this Relation is intended only for a Narrative of the Treaty, (conformable to the agreements) without any observations upon it, or addition to it, other then necessary Introductions, and Transitions for coherence, and more clear understanding the Passages of the Treaty.

F I N I S.

THE
APPENDIX.

HIS
Majesties Message

FROM
EVESHAM

of the 4th of July, 1644.

To the LORDS and COMMONS of Par-
liament Assembled at *Westminster*.

CHARLES R.



WE being deeply sensible of the miseries and calamities of this Our Kingdom, and of the grievous sufferings of Our poor Subjects, do most earnestly desire, that some expedient may be found out, which, by the blessing of God, may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to Peace; from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given Us on the contrary part shall make Us cease, so no success on Ours shall ever divert Us. For the effecting whereof, We are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of Us and Our People, whether by way of confirmation of what we have already granted, or of such further concession, as shall be requisite to the giving a full Assurance

Affurance of the Performance of all Our most real Professions, concerning the maintenance of the true Reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land; As also by granting a general Pardon without or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed Peace, We do desire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, That they appoint such, and so many Persons as they shall think fit, sufficiently authorized by them, to attend Us at Our Army, upon safe conduct, to come and return, (which we do hereby grant) and conclude with Us, how the Premisses, and all other things in question betwixt Us and them, may be fully settled; whereby all unhappy mistakings betwixt Us and Our People being removed, there may be a present Cessation of Armes, and as soon as may be, a total Disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be restored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on Our part, which may make our people secure and happy.

Given at Our Court at Evelham the 4. of July, 1644.

His Majesties Message from *Tavestock*, of the
8. of *September*, 1644.

To the *Lords* and *Commons* of Parliament
Assembled at *Westminster*.

CHARLES R.



II.
DIV having pleased God in so eminent a man-
ner, lately to bless Our Armies in these
parts with success, We do not so much joy
in that blessing for any other considerati-
on, as for the hopes We have that it may
be a mean to make others lay to heart, as
We do, the miseries brought and continued upon Our
Kingdom by this unnatural War, and that it may open
your ears, and dispose your minds, to embrace those of-
fers of Peace and Reconciliation, which have been so of-
ten, and so earnestly made unto you by Us, and from the
constant and fervent endeavours of which We are resol-
ved never to desist. In Pursuance whereof, We do, up-
on this occasion, conjure you to take into consideration
Our (too long neglected) Message of the fourth of *July*
from *Evesham*, which We again renew unto you ; And
that you will speedily send Us such an Answer thereun-
to, as may shew unto Our poor Subjects, some light of a
deliverance from their present calamities, by a happy Ac-
commodation, toward which We do here engage the
word of a King, to make good all those things which We
have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happy
conclusion of this Treaty. And so God direct you in the
ways of Peace. *Given at our Court at Tavestock the 8. of*
September. 1644.

T H E
B I L L F O R A B O L I S H I N G
E P I S C O P A C Y .

III. **W**HEREAS the Government of the Church of England, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellours, and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, depending upon the Hierarchy, hath by long experience been found to be a great impediment to the perfect Reformation, and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the Civil State, and Government of the Kingdom; Be it therefore Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord one Thousand six Hundred forty and three, there shall be no Arch-Bishop, Bishop, Chancellour, or Commissary of any Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, nor any Dean, Sub-Dean, Dean, and Chapter, or Arch-Deacon, nor any Chancellour, Chaunter, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, or Succentor Sacrist, of any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church, nor any Prebendary, Canon, Canon-Residentiary, Petty-Canon, Vicar, Choral, Choristers, Old-Vicars, or new-Vicars, of or within any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church, or any other their Officers, within this Church of England, or Dominion of Wales; And that from, and after the said fifth day of Novemb. the Name, Title, Dignity, Jurisdiction, Office, and Function, of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellours, and Commissaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellours, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors, and Sacrists, and all Vicars, Choral, and Choristers, old-Vicars, and new-Vicars, and every of them, and likewise the having, using, or exercising of any Power, Jurisdiction, Office, or Authority by reason, or colour of any such Name, Title, Dignity, Office, or Function, within the Realm of England, or Dominion of Wales, shall thenceforth cease, determine, and become absolutely voyd, and shall be abolished out of this Realm, and the Dominion of Wales, any Usage, Law, or Statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that
from

from, and after the said fifth day of November, no Person or Persons whatsoever, by virtue of any Letters Patents, Commission, or other authority derived from the Kings Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, shall use or exercise any Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, within this Realm, or Dominion of Wales, but such and in such manner as shall be appointed, and established by Act of Parliament. And that all Counties Palatine, Mannors; Lordships, Castles, Granges, Messuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Leases, Pastures, Woods, Rents, Reversions, Services, Parks, Annuities, Franchises, Liberties, Priviledges, Immunities, Rights; Rights of Action, and of Entry, Interests, Titles of Entrie, Conditions, Commons, Courts=lete, and Courts=Baron, and all other Possessions, and Hereditaments whatsoever, of what nature or quality soever they be, or wheresoever they lye or be (other then Improvements, Parsonages Appropriats, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Pensions, Portions of Tithes, Parsonages, Vicarages, Churches, Chappels, Advousons, Nominations, Collations, Rights of Patronage, and Presentation,) which now are, or lately were of, or belonging unto any Arch-Bishop, Bishop, Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, or any of them, or which they or any of them held, or enjoyed in right of their said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick respectively shall by the authority of Parliament, be vested, adjudged, and deemed to be, and shall be in the very real and actual possession, and seisin of the Kings Majesty, His Heirs and Successors; And shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy the same, to him His Heirs and Successors, without any Entry, or other Act whatsoever, and that the Kings Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, His and their Lessees, Farmers and Tenants, shall hold and enjoy, the same discharged and acquitted of payment of Tithes, as freely and in as large, ample and beneficial means to all intents and purposes, as any Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, at any time or times within the space of two years last past, held or enjoyed, or of right ought to have held or enjoyed the same. Provided nevertheless, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all Leases, Grants, Gifts, Letters Patents, Conveyances, Assurances, or Estates whatsoever, hereafter to be made by the Kings Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, of any the Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, which in or by this Act shall come or be limited, or disposed of, unto His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, (other then for the Term of one and twenty years, or three Lives, or some other Term of years determinable, upon one, two, or three Lives, and not above from the time as any such Lease or Grant shall be made

or granted, whereupon the accustomed yearly Rent or more, shall be reserved and payable yearly during the said Term; And whereof any former Lease is in being, not to be expired, surrendered or ended, within three years after the making of any such new Lease shall be utterly voyd and of none effect, to all intents constructions and purposes, any clause or words of (non obstante) to be put in any such Patent, Grant, Conveyance, or Assurance, and any Law, Usage, Custom, or any thing in this Act to the Contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And be it further Enacted and Ordained, that all Improvements, Parsonages Appropriate, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Portions of Tithes, Parsonages, Vicaridges, Churches, Chappels, Advousons, Nominations, Collations, rights of Patronage and Presentation, which now are, or lately were belonging unto any Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick. And all Mannors, Castles, Lordships, Granges, Messuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Pastures, Woods, Rents, Reversions, Services, Parsonages Appropriate, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Pensions, Portions of Tithes, Parsonages, Vicaridges, Churches, Chappels, Advousons, Nominations, rights of Patronage, and Presentation, Parkes, Annuities, Franchises, Liberties, Priviledges, Immunities, Rights, Rights of Action, and of Entrey, Interests, Titles of Entrey, Conditions, Commons, Courts Leete, and Courts Baron, and all other Possessions, and Hereditaments whatsoever, of what nature or quality soever they be, or wheresoever, they lye or be, which now are, or lately were of, or belonging to any Sub-Dean, Dean, Dean and Chapter, Arch-Deacon, Chanter, Chancellour, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, Succentor, Sacrist, Prebendary, Cannon, Cannon-Residentiary, Petty-Cannon, Vicars, Choral, Choristers, old-Vicars, and new-Vicars, or any of them, or any of the Officers of them, or any of them which they held, or enjoyed in right of their said Dignities, Churches, Corporations, Offices, or places respectively shall by Authority of this present Parliament be Vested, Adjudged, and deemed to be, and shall be in the very real and actual Possession, and Seisin, of Sr. William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sr. John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John Packer Esquire, Peter Malborn Esquire, and they shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy the same to them, their Heirs and Assignes, without any Entrie or other Act whatsoever, and that for themselves, their Lessees, Farmers, and Tenants, discharged and acquitted of Payment of Tithes, as freely, and in as large, ample, and

and beneficial manner to all Intents, and Purposes, as any of the Persons, or Corporations, whose offices or places are taken away by this Act at any time, or times within the space of two years now last past, held or enjoyed, or of right ought to have held, or enjoyed the same. In trust and Confidence nevertheless, and to the intent, and purpose that they the said Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Alderman of the City of London, John Packer, Esq; Peter Malborn Esq; and the Survivors and Survivor of them, his and their heirs, and Assignes shall satisfie; and pay unto all, and every Arch-Bishop, Bishop, Dean, Sub-Dean, Arch-Deacon, Chanter, Chancellour, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, Succentor, Sacrist, Prebendary, Cannon, Cannon Residentiary, Petty Cannon, Vicars Choral, Choristers, old Vicars, and new Vicars, and other Officers, and Persons belonging unto, or now imployed in, or about the said Cathedral or collegiate Churches, such yearly Stipend, and Pensions, for so long time, and in such manner as by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled shall be ordered, directed, and appointed, And shall dispose of all, and singular the aforesaid Mannors, Lands, Tithes, Appropriations, Advousons, Tenements, Hereditaments, and other the Premisses, and of every part, and parcel thereof, and of the Revenues, Rents, Issues, and profits thereof, to the uses, intents, and purposes above, and hereafter expressed, (that is to say) for a competent maintenance for the support of such a number of preaching Ministers, for the service of every Cathedral and collegiate Church, and His Majesties free Chappel of Windsor, as by the Lords and Commons shall be ordered, and appointed; And likewise for the maintenance of preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Barwick, in such places where such maintenance is wanting, and for a proportionable allowance for, and towards the reparation of the said Cathedral, and collegiate Churches, in such manner, and form, and to such persons, and for such other good uses, to the advancement of true Religion, and the maintenance of Piety and Learning, as by this or any other Act or Acts of Parliament now, or hereafter to be made, shall be set down, or declared; And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that all Leases, Gifts, Grants, Conveyances, Assurances, and Estates whatsoever, hereafter to be made by the said Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John

Packer, Esq; Peter Malbourn, Esq; the Survivors and Survivor of them, or the greater part of them, his and their Heirs and Assignes of any of the Mannors, Land, Tenement, or Hereditaments, within, or by this Act shall come, or be limited, or disposed of unto the said Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John Packer, Esq; Peter Malbourn, Esquire (other then for the Term of one and Twenty years, or three Lives, or some other term of years determinable upon one, two, or three Lives, and not above from the time, as any such Lease, or Grant shall be made, or granted, whereupon the accustomed yearly Rent, or more, shall be reserved, and payable yearly during the said Term) whereof any former Lease is in being, and not to be expired, surrendered, or ended, within three years after the making of such Lease, shall be utterly voyd, and of none effect, to all Intents, Constructions, and purposes, any thing in this Act to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Provided nevertheless, where no Lease hath been heretofore made, nor any such Rent hath been reserved, or payable of any the Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, in this Act limited, or disposed of unto the said Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John Packer, Esquire, Peter Malbourn, Esquire, that in such case it shall be lawful for the said Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John Packer, Esq; Peter Malbourn, Esq; the Survivors, and Survivor of them, or the greater part of them, his, and their Heirs, to make any Lease or Estate for the Term of one and Twenty years, or three Lives, or some other Term of years determinable, upon one, two, or three Lives; and not above taking of such Fine as they in their Judgments shall conceive indifferent, and reserving a reasonable Rent, not being under the third part of the clear yearly value of the Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments contained in such Lease. And it is further Declared to be the true intent, and meaning of this Act; That all, and every the Lessees, Farmors and Tenants of all, and every the said Persons, and Corporations, whose Offices or places are taken away by this Statute, now having, holding or enjoying any Estate, Term, or Interest, in possession by himself, his under-Tenants or Assignes, of or in any Manors, Lands, Tenements, Appropriations, or other Hereditaments, whatsoever, shall and may be preferred in the taking and renewing of any Estates, Leases,

Leases, or Grants of any such Mannors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, before any other Person, the said Lessees, Farmors, or Tenants, or other Parties interess'd as aforesaid desiring the same, and giving such Fines, Rents, and other considerations for the same, as by the said Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John Packer, Peter Malbourn, Esquires, or the Survivors, or Survivor of them, or the major part of them, his or their Heirs, or Assignes shall be thought and held just and reasonable. Provided also, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that all and singular Revenues, Rents, Issues, Fees, Profits, Summes of Money, and allowances whatsoever, as have heretofore been, and now ought to be paid disposed, or allowed unto, or for the maintenance of any Grammer School or Schollars, or for or towards the Reparation of any Church, Chappel, High-way, Causey, Bridge, School-house, Almshouse, or other charitable use payable by any Corporations, or Persons whose Offices or places, are taken away by this Act, or which are chargeable upon, or ought to issue out of or be paid, for or in respect of the said premisses, or any of them, shall be and continue to be paid, disposed and allowed, as they were and have been heretofore, any thing in this present Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And to the intent and purpose the Parliament may be certainly and clearly informed of the premisses, to the end the same may be distributed, applied, and imployed to, and for such pious, and godly uses and purposes as is intended, and herein declared. Be it ordained and enacted that the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England for the time being, shall by vertue of this Act have full Power and Authority, and is hereby required to award and issue forth several Commissions under the great Seal of England into all and every the Counties and Cities within the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, to be directed unto such and so many Persons as by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled shall be nominated, assigned and appointed, thereby authorizing and requiring them or any five or more of them, and giving them full Power and Authority by the Oaths of good and lawful men, as by all other good and lawful wayes and means to inquire and find out what Mannors, Castles, Lordships, Granges, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Leases, Pastures, Woods, Rents, Reversions, Services, Parsonages appropriate, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Pensions of Tithes, Vicaridges, Churches, Chappels, Ad-owsons, Nominations, Presentations,

Rights

Rights of Patronage, Parkes, Annuities, and other Possessions and Hereditaments whatsoever, of what nature or quality soever they be, lying and being within every such County, or City not hereby limited, or disposed of unto His Majesty, do belong, or appertain unto all, every, or any such Arch-Bishop, Bishop, Dean, Sub-Dean, Dean and Chapter, Arch-Deacon, Chanter, Chancellour, Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, Succentor, Sacrist, Prebendary, Canon, Canon Residenciary, Petty-Canon, Vicar Choral, Chorister, old Vicar, or new Vicar, in right of their said dignities, Churches, Corporations, Offices, or places respectively, and what and how much of the same is in possession, and the true yearly value thereof, and what and how much thereof is out in Lease, and for what Estate, and when and how determinable, and what Rents, Services, and other Duties are reserved, and payable during such Estate, and also the true yearly value of the same, as they are now worth in Possession, as also what Rents, Pensions, or other Charges, or other Summes of money are issuing, due or payable out of any the Mannors, Lands, or Premises, and to make an exact and particular survey thereof, and to take and direct, and settle such course for the safe custody, and keeping of all Charters, Evidences, Courts-Rolls, and writings whatsoever, belonging unto all or any the Persons, Dignities, Churches, Corporations, Offices and Places, or concerning any the Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, or other Premises before mentioned, as in their discretion shall be thought meet and convenient, and of all and singular their doings and proceedings herein fairly written, and ingross'd in Parchment to make return, and Certificate into the Court of Chancery, and to this further intent and purpose, that speedy care and course may be taken for providing of a competent maintenance for supply and encouragement of Preaching Ministers in the several Parishes, within the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales. Be it likewise ordained and enacted, that the same Commissioners and Persons authorized as abovesaid, shall have full power and authority by the Oaths of good and lawful men, as by all other good wayes and lawful means, to enquire and find out the true yearly value of all Parsonages, and Vicaridges Presentative, and all other Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Benefices and Livings unto which any Cure of soules is annexed lying and being within such Counties and Cities, and of all such particularly to enquire and certifie into the Court of Chancery, what each of them are truly and really worth by the year, and who are the present Incumbents or Possessors of them,

and

and what, and how many Chappels belonging unto Parish Churches or within the limits of such Counties and Cities, within which they are directed and authorized to enquire, and how the severall Churches, and Chappels, are supplied by preaching Ministers, that so course may be taken for providing both, for Preaching, and of maintenance, where the same shall be found to be needfull and necessary, provided alwayes, that this Act or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to any Colledge, Church, Corporation, Foundation or house of Learning, in either of the Universities within this Kingdom, and the said Sir William Roberts, Sir Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John Packer, and Peter Malbourn Esquires, and the Survivors and Survivor of them, or the greater part of them, his and their Heirs and Assignes, are hereby directed, and authorized, to give and allow, unto such Officers as by them shall be thought fitting, and necessary, for keeping of Courts, Collecting of Rents, Surveying of Lands, and all other necessary imployments, in and about the Premisses, and unto the Commissioners authorized by this Act, and such others, as shall be necessarily imployed by them, all such reasonable Fees, Stipends, Salaries, and Summes of Money as in their discretion shall be thought just, and convenient; And the said Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Atkins, Sir John Wollaston, John Warner, John Towes, Aldermen of the City of London, John Packer, and Peter Malborn Esquires, the Survivors and Survivor of them, his and their Heirs, and Assignes of their severall Receipts, Imployments, Actions, and Proceedings, shall give an accompt, and be accomptable unto the Lords and Commons in Parliament, or such Person or Persons, as from time to time, by both Houses of Parliament shall be nominated and appointed in such manner, and with such Power, Priviledges, and Jurisdiction, to hear, and determine all matters concerning such accompts as by both Houses of Parliament, shall from time to time be thought necessary to be given them, and not elsewhere, nor otherwise, saving to all, and every Person, and Persons, Bodies Politique and Corporate, their Heirs and Successors, and the Heirs and Successors of them and every of them, other then such Person or Persons, Bodies Politique and Corporate, whose Offices, Functions, and Authorities are taken away and abolished by this Act, as to any Estate, Right, Title or Interest, which they, or any of them claim to have or hold in right, of their said Churches, Dignities, Functions, Offices, or places and other then the Kings Majesty, his Heirs and Successors,

Successors, as Patrons, Founders, or Donors, and all and every other Person and Persons, Bodies Politique and Corporate, as may claim any thing as Patrons, Founders or Donors, all such Right, Title, Interest, Possession, Rents, Charge Rent, Service, Annuities, Offices, Pensions, Portions, Commons, Fees, Profits, claimes and demands, either in Law or Equity whatsoever. And all and singular such Leases for Years, Life or Lives, as were before the Twentieth day of January, in the year of our Lord, one Thousand six Hundred Forty two, made unto them or any of them, by any the Persons or Corporations above named, according to the Lawes and Statutes of this Realm, and warranted by the same, and all such Leases and Estates, as having been heretofore made, have been established, or settled by any Judgment or Decree, in any of the Courts at Westminster, and have been accordingly enjoyed; And all duties and profits whatsoever, which they, or any of them, have, or may claim, or of right ought to have, of, in, to, or out of any the said Mannors, Lands or Premises whatsoever, or any part, or parcel thereof, in such sort, manner, form, and condition, to all intents, constructions and purposes, as if this Act had never been made.

The

The Articles of the late Treaty, of the date
Edenburgh, the 29. of Novemb. 1643.

Die Mercurii 3. Januarii, 1644.

ARTICLES of the Treaty agreed upon betwixt the Commissioners of both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, having Power and Commission from the said Honourable Houses, and the Commissioners of the Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, Authorised by the Committee of the said Estates concerning the solemn League and Covenant, and the Assistance demanded in pursuance of the ends expressed in the same.

WHEREAS the two Houses of the Parliament of *Eng-*
land, out of a just and deep sence, of the great and imminent danger of the true Protestant Religion, in regard of the great Forces of Papists, Prelates, Malignants, and their Adherents, raised and imployed against the constant Professors thereof in *England*, and *Ireland*, thought fit to send their Commissioners unto the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to Treat with the Convention of Estates and general Assembly there, concerning such things as might tend to the preservation of Religion, and the mutual good of both Nations; And to that end, to desire a more near, and strict Union betwixt the Kingdoms: And the Assistance of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, by a considerable strength to be raised, and sent by them into the Kingdom of *England*. And whereas upon a consultation held betwixt the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, the Committees of the Convention of Estates, and General Assembly; No means was thought so expedient to Accomplish, and strengthen the Union, as for both Nations to enter into a solemn League and Covenant, and a form thereof drawn and presented to the two Houses of Parliament of *England*, the Convention of Estates, and General Assembly of *Scotland*, which hath accordingly been done, and received their respective Approbation. And

IV.

Y y y y

whereas

whereas the particulars concerning the Assistance desired by the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, from their Brethren of *Scotland*, were delivered in by the *English* Commissioners, *August* the 19. to the Convention of Estates, who did thereupon give power to their Committee, to consider and debate further with the *English* Commissioners, of what other Propositions might be added, or concluded; Whereby the assistance desired, might be made more effectual and beneficial: And in pursuance thereof, these Propositions following, were considered of, and debated by the Committee and Commissioners aforesaid; To be certified with all convenient speed, to the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, and the Convention of Estates of *Scotland* by their respective Committees and Commissioners, to be respectively taken into their consideration, and proceeded with, as they should find cause. Which being accordingly done, and these ensuing Propositions approved, agreed, and concluded of by the Houses of the Parliament of *England*, and the Committee of the Estates of *Scotland* respectively, and power by them given to their respective Committees, and Commissioners, formerly to agree and conclude the same as may appear by the Votes of both Houses, dated the first of *November*, and the Order of the Committee, bearing date the 17th of *November*, Wee the said Commissioners, and Committees, according to their Votes, and Orders, do formally conclude, and agree upon these Articles following. And in confirmation thereof, do mutually subscribe the same.

1. It is agreed and concluded, that the Covenant represented to the Convention of Estates, and General Assembly of *Scotland*, and sent to both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, in the same form as it is now returned from the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to their Brethren of *Scotland*, and allowed by the Committee of Estates, and Commissioners of the General Assembly, be sworn, and subscribed by both Kingdoms, as a most near Tye, and Conjunction between them, for their mutual defence against the Papists and Prelatical Faction, and their adherents in both Kingdoms, and for pursuance of the ends expressed in the said Covenant.

2. That an Army to this purpose, shall be Levied forth-

forthwith, consisting of Eighteen Thousand Foot effective, and two Thousand Horse, and one Thousand Dragoons effective, with a sureable Train of Artillery: To be ready at some General Rendezvous near the Borders of *England*; to March into *England* for the purposes aforesaid, with all convenient speed, The said Foot and Horse, to be well and compleatly Armed, and provided, with Victuals and Pay for Forty days: And the said Train of Artillery, to be fitted in all points ready to March.

3. That the Army be commanded by a General, appointed by the Estates of *Scotland*, and subject to such Resolutions and directions as are, and shall be agreed, and concluded on mutually between the two Kingdoms: or by Committees appointed by them in that behalf, for pursuance of the ends above mentioned.

4. That the Charge of Levying, Arming, and bringing the said Forces together Furnished, as also the fitting the Train of Artillery in readiness to March, be computed and set down according to the same Rates, as if the Kingdom of *Scotland* were to raise the said Army for themselves, and their own Affairs: All which, for the present, is to be done by the Kingdom of *Scotland* upon Account, And the Account to be delivered to the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *England*: and when the Peace of the two Kingdoms is settled, the same to be repaid or satisfied to the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

5. That this Army be likewise paid, as if the Kingdom of *Scotland*, were to imploy the same for their own occasions, and towards the defreying thereof, (it not amounting to the full months pay) shall be Monthly allowed and paid the sum of thirty thousand pounds *sterling* by the Parliament of *England*, out of the Estates and Revenues of the Papists, Prelates, Malignants, and their Adherents or otherwise; And in case the said Thirty thousand pounds Monthly, or any part thereof, be not paid at the time when it shall become due, and payable, The Kingdom of *England* shall give the Publick Faith for the paying of the remainder unpaid, with all possible speed, Allowing the rate of eight pounds *per centum*, for the time of the performance thereof. And in case, that notwithstanding the said Monthly Sum of Thirty Thousand pounds paid as aforesaid, the States and Kingdom of *Scotland*, shall have

just cause to demand further satisfaction of their Brethren of *England*, when the Peace of both Kingdoms is settled; for the pains, hazard, and charges they have undergone in the same, They shall by way of brotherly assistance, have due recompence made unto them by the Kingdom of *England*; And that out of such Lands and Estates of the Papists, Prelates, Malignants, and their Adherents, as the two Houses of the Parliament of *England* shall think fit; And for the assurance thereof, the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *England* shall be given them.

6. And to the end the said Army in manner aforesaid, may be enabled and prepared to march: The Kingdom of *England* is to pay in ready money to their Brethren of *Scotland*, or such as shall have power from the Estates of that Kingdom, the Sum of one hundred thousand Pounds *sterling*, at *Leith*, or *Edenburgh*, with all convenient speed, by way of advance, before hand, which is to be discounted back again unto the Kingdom of *England*, by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, upon the first Monthly allowance, which shall grow due to the *Scotish* Army, from the time they shall make their first entrance into the Kingdom of *England*.

7. That the Kingdom of *Scotland* to manifest their willingness to their utmost ability, to be helpful to their Brethren of *England*, in this common Cause, will give the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be joyntly made use of with the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *England*, for the present taking up of two hundred thousand pounds *sterling*, in the Kingdom of *England*, or elsewhere, For the speedy procuring of the said Hundred Thousand pounds *sterling* as aforesaid, As also a considerable Sum, for the satisfying in good proportion, the Arrears of the *Scotish* Army in *Ireland*.

8. That no Cessation, nor any Pacification, or Agreement for Peace whatsoever, shall be made by either Kingdom: or the Armies of either Kingdom, without the mutual advice and Consent of both Kingdoms, or their Committees in that behalf appointed, who are to have full Power for the same in case the Houses of the Parliament of *England*, or the Parliament, or Convention of Estates of *Scotland* shall not sit.

9. That the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, shall

shall be given to their Brethren of *England*, That neither their entrance into, nor their continuance in the Kingdom of *England*, shall be made use of to any other ends, then are expressed in the Covenant, and in the Articles of this Treaty; And that all matters of difference that shall happen to arise between the Subjects of the two Nations, shall be resolved and determined by the mutual advice and consent of both Kingdoms, or by such Committees, as for this purpose shall be by them appointed, with the same power, as in the precedent Article.

10. That in the same manner, and upon the same conditions as the Kingdom of *Scotland*, is now willing to aid and assist their Brethren of *England*, the Kingdom of *England* doth oblige themselves to aid and assist the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the same, or like cases of streights, and extremities.

11. Lastly, it is agreed and concluded, That during the time that the Scottish Army shall be employed as aforesaid, for the defence of the Kingdom of *England*, There shall be fitted out as Men of War, Eight Ships, whereof six shall be of Burthen, betwixt one hundred and Twenty, and two hundred Ton, the other between three and four hundred Ton, whereof two shall be in Lieu of the two Ships appointed by the *Irish* Treaty; All which shall be maintained at the charge of the Kingdom of *England*, to be employed for the defence of the Coast of *Scotland*, under such Commanders as the Earl of *Warwick* for the time of his being Admiral shall nominate, with the approbation of the Committees of both Kingdoms, which Commanders shall receive from the said Earl, general Instructions, that they do from time to time observe the directions of the Committees of both Kingdoms.

The Ordinance for calling the Assembly of Divines.

An Ordinance of the *Lords* and *Commons* in Parliament, for the calling of an Assembly of Learned and Godly Divines, and others, to be consulted with, by the Parliament, for the setting of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and for vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.

- v. **W**Hereas amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this Nation, none is, or can be more dear unto us, then the purity of our Religion, and for that as yet many things remain in the Liturgy, Discipline and Government of the Church, which do necessarily require a further and more perfect Reformation, then as yet hath been attained : and whereas it hath been declared and resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament that the present Church-government by *Arch-bishops*, *Bishops*, their *Chancellors*, *Commissaries*, *Deans*, *Deans and Chapters*, *Arch-deacons*, and other Ecclesiastical Officers depending upon the *Hierarchy*, is evil and justly offensive and burthensome to the Kingdom, a great impediment to Reformation and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the State and Government of this Kingdom, and that therefore they are resolved that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the Church, as may be most agreeable to Gods holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of *Scotland*, and other reformed Churches abroad, and for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of *England*, from all false calumnies and aspersions, It is thought fit and necessary, to call an Assembly of Learned, Godly, and judicious Divines, who together with some Members of both the Houses of Parliament, are to consult and advise of such mat-
- ters

ters and things touching the premises, as shall be proposed unto them by both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, and to give their advice and counsel therein, to both or either of the said Houses, when and as often, as they shall be thereunto required. Be it therefore ordained by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That all and every the persons hereafter in this present Ordinance named, that is to say, *Algernon Earl of Northumberland, William Earl of Bedford, Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William Earl of Salisbury, Henry Earl of Holland, Edward Earl of Manchester, William Lord Viscount Say and Seal, Edward Lord Viscount Conway, Philip Lord Wharton, Edward Lord Howard of Estr. John Selden Esqu. Francis Rows Esqu. Edmund Prideaux Esqu. Sir Henry Vane Knight senior, John Glyn Esqu. Recorder of London, John White Esqu. Bouldstrode Whitlocke Esqu. Humphrey Salloway Esqu. M. Serjeant Wild, Oliver Saint-John Esqu. His Majesties Sollicitor, Sir Benjamin Rudyard Knight, John Pym Esq. Sir John Clotworthy Knight, John Maynard Esqu. Sir Henry Vane Knight junior, William Pierpoint Esqu. William Wheeler Esqu. Sir Thomas Barrington Knight, Walter Young Esqu. Sir John Evelin Knight, Herbert Palmer of Ashwell Batchelor in Divinity, Oliver Boles of Sutton Batchelor in Divinity, Henry Wilkinson of Waddesdon Batchelor in Divinity, Thomas Valentine of Chalfont-Giles Batchelor in Divinity, Dr. William Twiss of Newbury, William Raynor of Egham, Mr. Hannibal Gammon of Maugan, Mr. Jasper Hicks of Lawrick, Dr. Joshua Hoyle late of Dublin in Ireland, William Bridges of Yarmouth, Thomas Wincop of Ellesworth Doctor in Divinity, Thomas Goodwin of London Batchelor in Divinity, John Ley of Budworth in Cheshire, Thomas Case of London, John Pyne of Bereferrers, Mr. Whidden of Mooteron, Dr. Richard Love of Ekington, Dr. William Gouge of Blackfryers London, Dr. Ralph Brownerigg Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Colledge, John White of Dorchester, Edward Peale of Compton, Stephen Marshall of Finchfield Batchellor in Divinity, Obediah Sedgewicke of Cogshall, Batchellor in Divinity, M. Carter, Peter Clerk of Carnaby, William Mew of Elington Batchellor in Divinity, Richard Capell of Pitchcomb, Theophilus Bathurst of Overton Watervile, Phil. Nye of Kimbolton, D. Broucker Smith*

of

of Barkway, *D. Cornelius Burges* of Watford, *John Greene* of Pencombe, *Stanley Gower* of Brampton-Bryan, *Francis Taylor* of Yalding, *Tho. Wilson* of Otham, *Antho. Tuckney* of Boston, *Batchellor* of Divinity, *Thomas Coleman* of Bliton, *Charles Herle* of Winwicke, *Richard Herricke* of Manchester, *Richard Cleyton* of Showell, *George Gibbs* of Ayleston, *D. Calibute Downing* of Hackney, *Jeremy Broughes* of Stepney, *Edmund Calamy* *Batchellor* in Divinity, *George Walker* *Batchellor* in Divinity, *Joseph Carroll* of Lincolns Inn, *Lazarus Seamen* of London, *D. John Harris*, *Warden* of Winchester Colledge, *George Morley* of Mildenhall, *Edward Reynolds* of Branston, *Thomas Hill* of Titchmarch, *Batchellor* in Divinity, *D. Robert Saunderson* of Boothby Pannel, *John Foxcroft* of Gotham, *John Jackson* of Marske, *William Carter* of London, *Thomas Thoroughgood* of Massingham, *John Arrowsmith* of Lynne, *Robert Harris* of Hanwell, *Batchellor* in Divinity, *Robert Crosse* of Lincoln Colledge, *Batchellor* in Divinity, *James Archbishop* of Armagh, *Dr Matthias Styles* of Saint George Escheap London, *Samuel Gibson* of Burley, *Jeremiah Whitacre* of Stretton, *D. Edmund Stanton* of Kingston, *D. Daniel Featley* of Lambeth, *Francis Coke* of Yoxhall, *John Lightfoote* of Asheley, *Edward Corbet* of Merton Colledge Oxon, *Samuel Helder sham* of Felton, *John Langley* of Westuderley, *Christopher Tisdale* of Uphusborne, *Thomas Young* of Stowmarket, *John Phillips* of Wrentham, *Humphrey Chambers* of Claverton *Batchellor* in Divinity, *John Conant* of Lymington *Batchellor* in Divinity, *Henry Hall* of Norwich *Batchellor* in Divinity, *Henry Hutton*, *Henry Scuddir* of Colingborne, *Thomas Baylie* of Manningford Bruce, *Benjamin Pickering* of Easthoateley, *Henry Nye* of Clapham, *Arthur Sallaway* of Seavernestoake, *Sydrake Sympson* of London, *Anthony Burgesse* of Sutton Coldfield, *Richard Vines* of Calcot, *William Greenbill* of Stepney, *William Moreton* of Newcastle, *Richard Buckley*, *D. Thomas Temple* of Battersey, *Simeon Ashe* of Saint Brides, *M. Nicholson*, *Thomas Gattaker* of Rotherhithe *Batchellor* in Divinity, *James Weldy* of Sylatten, *D. Christopher Pashley* of Hawarden, *Henry Tozer* *Batchellor* in Divinity, *William Spurstow* of Hampden in Com. Bucks. *Francis Channel* of Oxon, *Edward Ellis* of Gillfield *Batchellor* in Divinity, *D. John Hacket* of Saint Andrews Holbourn, *Samuel de la Place*, *John de la March*, *Matthew Newcomen* of Dedham, *William Lyford* of Sherborne

Sherborne in Com. Dorset, M. Carter of Dinton in Com. Bucks. *William Lance* of Harrow in Middlesex, *Thomas Hodges* of Kensington in Com. Middlesex, *Andreas Perne* of Wilby in Com. Northampton, D. *Thomas Westfield* of S. Bartholomew le great London Bishop of Bristol, D. *Henry Hammon* of Penshurst in Kent, *Nicholas Prophet* of Marlborough in Com. Wilts, *Peter Sterry* of London, *John Erle* of Bishopston in Com. Wilts, M. *Gibbon* of Waltham, *Henry Painter* of Exeter Batchellor in Divinity, M. *Michelthwaite* of Cherry-burton, D. *John Wincop* of S. Martins in the fields, M. *Price* of Pauls Church in Covent garden, *Henry Wilkinson Junior*, Batchellor in Divinity, D. *Richard Oldsworth* Master of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge, M. *William Dining* of Coldaston, and such other person and persons, as shall be nominated and appointed by both Houses of Parliament, or so many of them, as shall not be letted by sickness or other necessary impediment, shall meet and assemble, and are hereby required and enjoyned upon summons signed by the Clerks of both Houses of Parliament, left at their severall respective dwellings, to meet and assemble themselves at *Westminster*, in the Chappel called King *Henry* the seventh's Chappel, on the first day of *July*, in the year of our Lord, one Thousand six hundred forty three : and after the first meeting, being at least of the number of forty, shall from time to time sit and be removed from place to place, and also that the said Assembly shall be dissolved in such manner, as by both Houses of Parliament shall be directed ; And the said persons, or so many of them, as shall be so Assembled, or sit, shall have power and authority, and are hereby likewise enjoyned, from time to time during this present Parliament, or until further order be taken, by both the said Houses, to confer and treat amongst themselves, of such matters and things, touching and concerning the Liturgy, Discipline, and Government of the Church of *England*, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same, from all false aspersions and misconstruction; as shall be proposed unto them by both, or either of the said Houses of Parliament, and no other, and to deliver their opinions and advices of, or touching the matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable to the Word of God, to both or either of the said Houses, from time to time, in such manner and sort,

as by both or either of the said Houses of Parliament, shall be required, and the same not to divulge by Printing, writing, or otherwise without the consent of both or either House of Parliament. And be it further Ordained by the authority aforesaid, that *William Twiss* Doctor in Divinity shall sit in the Chair as Prolocutor of the said Assembly, and if he happen to dye, or be letted by sickness, or other necessary impediment, then such other person to be appointed in his place, as shall be agree'd on, by both the said Houses of Parliament; And in case, any difference of Opinion shall happen among the said persons so assembled, touching any the matters, that shall be proposed to them as aforesaid, that then they shall represent the same, together with the reasons thereof to both or either of the said Houses respectively, to the end such further direction may be given therein, as shall be requisite in that behalf. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that for the charges and expences of the said Divines, and every of them, in attending the said service, there shall be allowed unto every of them that shall so attend, during the time of their said attendance, and for ten days before, and ten days after, the Sum of four shillings for every day, at the charges of the Commonwealth, at such time and in such manner as by both Houses of Parliament shall be appointed. And be it further Ordained, that all and every the said Divines, so as aforesaid required and enjoyned to meet and assemble, shall be free'd and acquitted of, and from every offence, forfeiture, penalty, loss or damage, which shall or may arise or grow by reason of any non-residence or absence of them or any of them, from his or their, or any of their Church, Churches, or Cures, for, or in respect of their said attendance upon the said Service, any Law or Statute of Non-residence, or other Law or Statute enjoyning their attendance upon their respective Ministeries or Charges to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; And if any of the persons before-named shall happen to dye before the said Assembly shall be dissolved by Order of both Houses of Parliament, then such other person or persons shall be nominated and placed in the room and stead of such person and persons so dying, as by both the said Houses shall be thought fit and agree'd upon: And every such person or persons

persons so to be named, shall have the like Power and Authority, Freedom, and acquittal to all intents and purposes, and also all such wages and allowances for the said service, during the time of his or their attendance, as to any other of the said persons in this Ordinance is by this Ordinance limited and appointed. Provided always, that this Ordinance, or any thing therein contained, shall not give unto the persons aforesaid, or any of them, nor shall they in this assembly assume to exercise any Jurisdiction, Power, or Authority Ecclesiastical whatsoever, or any other Power, then is herein particularly expressed.

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The

The Votes or Orders delivered with it.

Die Mercurii 5. Julii, 1643.

- VI. **O**rdere*d by the Lords, and Commons in Parliament Assembled, That it shall be propounded to the Assembly to Morrow at their meeting; to take into their Consideration the Ten first Articles of the 39 Articles of the Church of England, to free, and Vindicate the Doctrin*e of them from all Aspersions, and false interpretations.

Jovis 6. Julii, 1643.

Some general Rules for the Assembly, directed by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled.

1. **T**hat two Assessors be joyned to the Prolocutor, to supply his place in case of Absence or Infirmitie.
2. Two Scribes to be appointed to set down all proceedings, and these to be Divines, who are not Members of the Assembly, viz. Mr. Henry Rowberry, and Mr. Adoniram Byfeild.
3. Every Member at his first entrance into the Assembly, shall make a serious and solemn Protestation, not to maintain any thing but what he believes to be Truth, and to embrace Truth in sincerity when discovered to him.
4. No Resolution to be given upon any Question on the same day wherein it is first Propounded.
5. What any man undertakes to prove as necessary, he shall make good out of the Scriptures.
6. No man to proceed in any dispute after the Prolocutor hath enjoyned him silence, unless the Assembly desire he may go on.
7. No man to be denied to enter his dissent from the Assembly, and his Reasons for it in any point after it hath first been debated in the Assembly; And thence (if the dissenting party desire it) to be sent to the Houses of Parliament by the Assembly, (not by any particular Man or Men in a private way) when either House shall require it.
8. All things agreed on and prepared for the Parliament to be openly Read and allowed in the Assembly, and then offered as the Judgement of the Assembly, if the Major part Assent, Provided that the opinion of any Persons dissenting, and the Reasons urged for it, be annexed thereunto (if the dissenters require it) together
with

Treaty for Peace at Uxbridge, 1644.

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with Solutions (if any were) given in the Assembly to those Reasons.

Jovis 6. Julii, 1643.

IA. B. do seriously and solemnly in the presence of Almighty God, that (in this Assembly whereof I am a Member) I will not maintain any thing in matters of Doctrine, but what I think in my Conscience to be Truth, or in point of Discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce most to the glory of God, and the good, and Peace of his Church.

Veneris 15. Sept. 1643.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, That, it be referred to the Assembly of Divines, to set forth a Declaration of the Reasons and Grounds, that have induced the Assembly to give their Opinions, that this Covenant may be taken in point of Conscience.

Eodem Die.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, that it be referred to the Committee formerly appointed, to Treat with the Scotch Commissioners: to Treat with them about the manner of taking the Covenant in both Kingdoms.

Mercurii 22. August. 1643.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, that it be propounded to the Assembly of Divines, to consider of the Doctrine of the Nine next Articles of the 39 Articles of the Church of England, to clear, and vindicate the same from all Aspersions and false interpretations.

The Articles of the Sixth of *August*. 1642.

ARTICLES of the Treaty, concerning the Reducing of the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Obedience of the Kings Majesty, and Crown of *England*, agreed upon between the Commissioners for *Scotland*, authorised by His Majesty, and the Parliament of that Kingdom, and the Commissioners for *England*, authorized by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom, at *Westminster*, the sixth day of *August*, 1642.

VII. **F**irst, *The Scottish Commissioners out of the sense of that duty which the Kingdom of Scotland owes to His Majesty, and the true affection they bear towards the Kingdom of England, being willing to contribute their best assistance for the speedy relief of those distressed parts in Ireland, which lye nearest the Kingdom of Scotland; Have in the name of that Kingdom, made offer of Ten Thousand Men, to be employed in that Service; And for a further Testimony of their Zeal to His Majesties Service and Brotherly respect to the Kingdom of England, have declared, that the Kingdom of Scotland, will upon their own Charge, Levy and Transport these Men.*

Secondly, *Because the Kingdom of Scotland, are to send over with their Army, the number of six thousand Muskets and four thousand Pikes, with such Canon and Ammunition as shall be fitting for the service; It is agreed, that four thousand Muskets, and two thousand Pikes, shall be presently sent by the Kingdom of England, into the Kingdom of Scotland, and delivered at Leeth; As also that the Residue of the said ten thousand Arms, and ten thousand Swords, and Belts, shall be delivered there at the first of August next; And that as many Canon and Field-Pieces of the same bore, weight, and mettle, shall be carried into Scotland, upon their demand, as they shall Transport into Ireland for the service of that Kingdom. And that the said whole Arms and Ammunition shall remain in Scotland, until the return of the Scottish Army from Ireland, At which time the same shall be restored to the Kingdom of England, the Kingdom of Scotland receiving satisfaction for such of their Arms and Ammunition, as shall be spent or lost in the service of Ireland; As also that there shall be presently sent over from England, and delivered to the Scottish Army in Ireland, for the defence of the Province of Ulster, six Pieces*

Pieces of Dewy-Canon, of the Ball of Four and twenty pound weight, with their Equipage.

Thirdly, It is agree'd, That there shall be two Ships of War presently sent by the Kingdom of England, to Lochryan, Lamlach, Port-Patrick, or Air, to Guard and waft over the Scottish Souldiers; And that the said Ships shall attend at the Ports in Ireland, for serving the Scottish Army, in going, and returning betwixt the Coasts, and keeping the Passages clear, as they shall receive Orders from the chief Commanders of the Scottish Army for the time being, according to Instructions received, or to be received by the Master of these Ships from the Lord Admiral, or Commissioners of the Admiralty for the time being, to that purpose.

Fourthly, it is agree'd, That there shall be Levied and furnished by the Kingdom of England, ten Troops of sufficient and well Armed Horsemen, consisting of sixty in a Troop, besides the Officers; And that there shall be a Commissary General, a Serjeant-Major, and a Quarter-master appointed over them, which shall joyne and remain with the Body of the Scottish Foot, and shall receive and obey the Orders and Instructions of the Commanders of the Scottish Army; And that there shall be presently advanced the sum of twelve Hundred Pounds sterling, for the Levying of a Troop of one hundred Horsemen in Scotland, besides the Officers, to be a Guard to the General of the Scottish Army.

Fifthly, It is agree'd, That the Commanders and Soldiers of the Scottish Army, shall have such Pay respectively as the Commanders and Soldiers of the English Army have, according to a List presently agree'd upon by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms; As also that the Officers of that Army, shall have such allowance for their Waggon, as is contained in the said List.

Sixthly, It is agreed, That the Towns and Castle of Carick-fergus and Colrayne, shall be put into the hands of the Scottish Army, to be places for their Magazines, and Garrisons, and to serve them for Retreat upon occasion; And that the Magistrates, and Inhabitants thereof, shall be ordained to carry themselves to the Commanders of the said Army as is fitting and ordinary in such Cases; And that the said Towns, and Castle shall remain in the Scots hands, until the War shall end, or that they shall be discharged of that service, Like as the Commissioners for the Kingdom of Scotland do promise in the Publick Faith of that Kingdom, to redeliver the said Towns and Castle, to any, having Commission from the King and Parliament of England, as also

also the Commissioners for the Kingdom of England, do promise in the name, And on the Publique Faith of that Kingdom, That Payment shall be made to the Kingdom of Scotland, and their Army, of all dues that shall rise upon this present Treaty, and that when the Scottish Army imployed in the service of Ireland shall be discharged, they shall be disbanded by Regiments, and no lesser proportions, and so many of them payed off, as shall be disbanded, and the residue kept in pay, till they be disbanded.

Seventhly, It is agreed, that the Towns of Charickfergus, and Colrayne, shall by the Kingdom of England, be with all expedition provided with Victuals necessary for Souldiers, either in Garrisons, or expeditions, according to a List to be agreed on, and Subscribed by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms; And that such quantities thereof, as the Scottish Army shall have occasion to use, shall be sold unto them, and bought by them, at the several Prices contained in the aforesaid List. And also that the said Towns of Carickfergus, and Colrayne, shall be provided by the Kingdom of England, with Powder, Ball, Match, and other Ammunition for the service of the said Army, conform to the particular List to be condescended unto by both Commissioners, and that Carts and Waggons shall be provided by the Kingdom of England, for carrying of Ammunition for the use of the said Army in Marches; As also, that there shall be Gun-Smiths, Carpenters, and one, or two Engineers, appointed to attend the Army, and that hand Mills shall be provided to serve the Companies in Marches.

Eightly, It is agreed, that the Kingdom of England, shall deposite two Thousand Pounds English money, in the hands of any to be appointed by the Scottish Commissioners, to be disbursed upon accompt, by warrant of the General of their Army, upon Fortifications, Intelligences, and other Incidents: so that there be not above the sum of two Thousand pounds in a year Imprested upon these occasions, without particular and special warrant from the Parliament of England, As also that there shall be deposited, two Thousand and five hundred pounds English, to be disbursed upon Accompt, for the providing of a thousand Horses, for the Carriage of the Artillery, the Baggage, and Victual of their Army, and for Dragoons upon occasion: And likewise that the Scottish Army during the time of the War, shall have power to take up such Horses in the Country, as be necessary for the uses aforesaid.

Ninth, It is agreed, that the Inhabitants of the Towns and Villages, in the Province of Ulster, and in any other Province of Ireland, where the Scottish Army shall be by it self, for the time, shall receive Orders from the Scottish Commanders, And shall bring in Victuals for Money in an orderly way, as shall be directed by them, with Provision of Oates, Hay, and Straw, and such other Necessaries, And that the Country People shall Rise and Concurr with the Scottish Troops, when the Commanders thereof shall find it for the good of the Service and shall receive Orders and Directions from the said Commanders of the Scottish Army.

Tenth, It is agreed, that the said ten thousand men, to be sent out of the Kingdom of Scotland, shall go in the way and order of an Army under their own General, and Subaltern Officers; And the Province of Ulster is appointed unto them, wherein they shall first prosecute the War, as in their Judgment they shall think most expedient for the Honour of the King, and Crown of England, And that the Commanders of the said Army, shall have Power to give Conditions, to Townes, Castles, and Persons which shall render and submit themselves, as shall be most expedient for the service according to the course of War. Provided no Toleration of the Popish Religion be granted, nor any condition made touching or concerning any of the Rebels Lands, and that the Commanders of the Scottish Army shall be answerable for their whole deportment, and proceedings to His Majesty, and the two Houses of the Parliament of England only, but shall from time to time give an accompt thereof, to His Majesty, the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and to the Chief Governour, or Governours of Ireland for the time being, that such Towns and Places, as shall be recovered from the Rebels by the Scottish Army, shall be at the disposing of the Commanders thereof, during their abode for that service in those parts, where such Towns and Places are; And if it shall be found for the good of the service, that the Scottish Army shall joyn with the Kings Lieutenant of Ireland and his Army, in that case, the General of the Scottish Army shall only cede to the Kings Lieutenant of Ireland, and receive in a free and honourable way Instructions from him, or in his absence from the Lord Deputy, or any other who shall have the Chief Government of that Kingdom for the time, by authority derived from the Crown of England, and shall preceed all others, and that he only shall give Orders to the Officers of his own Army; And that the Armies shall have the right & left band, V and, and Rear, Charge,

and Retreat successively, and shall not mix in Quarterings, nor Marchings, and when it shall be found fit to send Troops out of either Army, that the Persons to be sent out of the Scottish Army, shall be Commanded out by their own General, the Lieutenant of Ireland prescribing the number which shall not exceed the fourth part of the whole Foot of the Scottish Army, nor of the Horse appointed to joyn therewith, whereunto they shall return when the service is done. And that no Officer of the Scottish Army, shall be Commanded by one of his own quality, and if the Commanders of the Troops so sent out of either Army, be of one Quality, that they Command the Party by turns; And it is nevertheless provided, That the whole Scottish Army may be called out of the Province of Ulster, and the Horses appointed to joyn with them by His Majesties Lieutenant of Ireland, or other Chief Governour, or Governours of that Kingdom for the time being, if he, or they shall think fit, before the Rebellion be totally suppressed therein.

Eleventh, It is agreed, That the Scottish Army shall be entertained by the English for three months, from the Twentieth of June last, and so along after, until they be discharged; and that they shall have a months Pay advanced, when they are first Mustered in Ireland, and thereafter shall be duly paid from Month to Month; And that there shall be one Muster-Master appointed by the English Muster-Master General, to make strict and frequent Musters of the Scottish Army, and that what Companies of Men shall be sent out of Scotland, within the compass of the ten Thousand Men, shall be paid upon their Musters in Ireland, although they make not up compleat Regiments.

Twelfth, It is agreed, That the Scottish Army shall receive their discharge from the King and Parliament of England, or from such Persons as shall be appointed and authorized by His Majesty and both Houses of Parliament for that purpose; And that there shall be a Months warning before hand of their disbanding: which said discharge and Months warning, shall be made known by His Majesty and them, to the Council of Scotland, or the Lord Chancellour, a Month before the discharging thereof; And that the Common Souldiers of the Scottish, at their dismissal, shall be allowed fourteen days Pay for carrying of them home.

Thirteenth, It is provided and agreed, That at any time, after the three Moneths now agreed upon for the entertainment of the Scottish Army, shall be Expired, and that the two Houses of Parliament

Parliament, or such Persons as shall be authorized by them, shall give notice to the Council of Scotland, or to the Lord Chancellor there, That after one Month from such notice given, the said two Houses of Parliament will not pay the said Scottish Army now in Ireland any longer, then the said two Houses of Parliament shall not be obliged to pay the said Army any longer then during the said Month; Any thing in this Treaty contained to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Ordinances of the 9th of March,
and 11th of April.

Die Sabbati 9. Martii, 1644.

Resolved upon the Question by the Lords and Commons
in Parliament Assembled.

THat he who doth, or shall command in chief over the said ^{VIII.} Army, by joint Advice of both Kingdoms, shall also command the rest of the British Forces in Ireland; And for the further managing of that War, and prosecuting the ends expressed in the Covenant. That the same be done by joint advice with the Committees of both Kingdoms.

Die Jovis 11. April, 1644.

Resolved upon the Question by the Lords and Commons
in Parliament Assembled.

THat the Earl of Leven, Lord General of the Scots Forces in Ireland (being now by the Votes of both Houses agreed to be Commander in Chief, over all the Forces, as well British as Scots, according to the Fourth Article of the result of the Committees of both Kingdoms passed both Houses) be desired with all convenient speed by the advice of the said Committees, to appoint and nominate a Commander in chief under his Excellency over the said Forces, to reside with them upon the place.

Resolved, &c.

THat Committees be nominated and appointed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, of such numbers and Qualities as shall be by them agreed on, to be sent with all convenient speed to reside with the said Forces, and inabled with all ample Instructions by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, for the Regulatng of the said Forces, and the better carrying on of that War.

The Letter of the Lords, Justices, and Council of Ireland, to the Speaker of the House of Commons in England, 4. April. 1643. a Duplicate whereof (the original being sent to Westminster) was by them sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas for His Majesty.

SIR,

IX. **O**ur very good Lord the Lord Marquess of Ormond having in his march in his last expedition, consulted several times with the Commanders and Officers of the Army in a Council of War, and so finding that subsistence could not be had abroad for the Men and Horses he had with him, or for any considerable part of them, it was resolved by them, that his Lordship with those Forces should return hither, which he did on the six and twentieth of March.

In his return from Ross (which in the case our Forces stand, he found so difficult to be taken in, as although our Ordnance made a breach in their walls, it was found necessary to desert the Siege) he was encountred by an Army of the Rebels, consisting of about six thousand Foot, and six hundred and fifty Horse well Armed and Horsed, yet it pleased God so to disappoint their Councils and strength, as with those small Forces which the Lord Marquess had with him, being of fighting men about two thousand five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse not well armed, and for the most part weakly Horsed, and those as well Men as Horses much weakned by lying in the field several nights in much Cold and Rain, and by want of Mans-meat and Horse-meat, the Lord Marquess obtained

obtained a happy and glorious deliverance and Victory against those Rebels, wherein were slain about three hundred of them, and many of their Commanders and others of quality, and divers taken Prisoners, and amongst those Prisoners Colonel *Cullen* a Native of this City, who being a Colonel in *France*, departed from thence, and came hither to assist the Rebels, and was Lieutenant General of their Army in the Province of *Leinster*, and the Rebels Army were totally Routed and defeated, and their Baggage, and Munition seized on by His Majesties Forces, who lodged that night where they had gained the Victory, and on our side about Twenty slain in the fight, and divers wounded.

We have great cause to praise God, for magnifying his goodness and mercy to His Majesty, and this his Kingdom so manifestly, and indeed wonderfully in that Victory.

However the joy due from us upon so happy an occasion, is we confess mingled with very great distraction here in the apprehension of our unhappiness, to be such, as although the Rebels are not able to overcome His Majesties Army, and devour his other good Subjects here as they desire, yet both his Army and good Subjects are in danger to be devoured by the wants of needful Supplies forth of *England*, for as we formerly signified thither, those Forces were of necessity sent abroad to try what might be done for sustaining them in the Country, so as to keep them alive until Supplies should get to us; But that design now failing, those our hopes are converted into astonishment to behold the unspeakable miseries of the Officers and Souldiers for want of all things, and all those wants made the more unsupportable in the want of Food, whilst this City (being all the help we have) is now too apparently found to be unable to help us, as it hath hitherto done, and divers Commanders and Officers in the Army do now so far express their sense of their sufferings, (which indeed are very great and grievous) as they declare that they have little hope to be supplied by the Parliament, and press with so great importunity to be permitted to depart the Kingdom, as it will be extream difficult to keep them here.

By our Letters of the three and twentieth of *March*, we signified thither the unsupportable burthen laid on this
City,

City, for Victualling those of the Army left here, when the Lord Marquess with the Forces he took with him, marched hence, which burden is found every day more heavy then other, in regard of the many house-keepers thereby daily breaking up house, and scattering their Families, leaving still fewer to bear the burden. We also by those Letters, and by our Letters of the five and twentieth of *February*, advertised thither the high danger this Kingdom would incur, if the Army so sent abroad, should by any distress, or through want be forced back hither again, before our relief of Victuals should arrive forth of *England*.

When we found that those men were returning back hither, although we were (and are still) full of distraction, considering the dismal consequences threatned thereby in respect of our wants, yet we consulted what we could yet imagine feasible, that we had not formerly done, to gain some Food for those men, and found, that to send them, or others abroad into the Country, we cannot, in regard we are not able to advance Money for procuring the many requisites incident to such an expedition. In the end therefore, we were enforced to fix on our former way, and so to see who had any thing yet left him untaken from him to help us, and although there are but few such, and some of them poor Merchants, whom we have now by the Law of necessity utterly undone and disabled, from being hereafter helpful to us, in bringing us in Victuals, or other needful Commodities, yet were we forced to wrest their Commodities from them, and certainly there are few here of our selves, or others, that have not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of our proceedings, towards preserving the Army, so as what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to us to do, then it is heavy to others to suffer, and by our descending (against our hearts) far below the honour and dignity of that power we represent here, under his Royal Majesty, we have with unspeakable difficulty prevailed, so as to be able to find Bread for the Souldiers for the space of one month.

We are now expelling hence all strangers, and must instantly send away for *England*, thousands of poor dispoyled *English*, whose very eating is now unsupportable to this place.

And

And now again and finally, we earnestly desire, (for our confusions will not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any) that His Majesty and the English Nation may not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoidably be the consequence of our not being relieved suddenly, but that yet (although it be even now at the point to be too late) supplies of Victuals, and Munition in present be hastned hither to keep life, until the rest may follow, there being no victual in the store, nor will there be a hundred barrels of powder left in the store, when the out-Garrisons (as they must be instantly) are supplied, and that remainder according to the usual necessary expence, besides extraordinary accidents, will not last above a month, and the residue of our provisions must also come speedily after, or otherwise *England* cannot hope to secure *Ireland*, or secure themselves against *Ireland*, but in the loss of it, must look for such enemies from hence, as will perpetually disturb the Peace of His Majesty, and his Kingdom of *England*, and annoy them by Sea, and Land, as we often formerly represented thither, which mischiefs may yet be prevented, if we be yet forthwith enabled from thence with means to overcome this Rebellion.

We hope that a course is taken there for hastening hither the provisions of Armes and Munition mentioned in the docquet, sent with our Letters of the twentieth of *January*, and the six hundred Horses, which we then moved might be sent hither for recruits, and that the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings for Armes to be provided in *Holland* (besides those we expect in *London*,) hath been paid to *Anthony Tierens*, in *London*, or to *Daniel Wibrants* in *Amsterdam*, and if that Sum had been paid as we at first desired, we might well have had those provisions arrived here by the tenth of *March* as we agreed, however we now desire that that Money, if it be not already paid, may be yet paid to *M. Tierens* in *London*, or *M. Wibrants* in *Amsterdam*, that so those provisions may arrive here speedily, which (considering that Summer is now near at hand) will be very necessary, that when our supplies of Victuals, Munition, Clothes, Money, and other provisions shall arrive, we may not in the publick service here lose the benefit and advantage

Treaty for Peace at Uxbridge, 1644.

vantage of that season. And so we remain, from His Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, 4. *April*. 1643.

POST-SCRIPT:

As we were ready to sign this dispatch, we received at this Board, a Paper signed by sundry Officers of the Army, now here at *Dublin*, which is in such a stile, and threatens so much danger, as we hold necessary to send a Copy thereof here inclosed, whereby still appears the high necessity of hastening away money, for them, and the rest of the Officers, and Victuals for the Soldier, without which it will be impossible to contain them from breaking out into mutiny.

The Letter inclosed.

MY LORDS,

AT our first entrance into this unhappy Kingdom, we had no other design, then by Our Swords to assert and vindicate the right of His Majesty, which was here most highly abused, to redress the wrongs of His poor Subjects, and to advance our own particulars in the prosecution of so honest undertakings; And for the first of these, we do believe they have since our coming over succeeded pretty well, but for the last which concerns our selves, that hath fallen out so contrary to our expectations, that in stead of being rewarded, we have been prejudiced; in stead of getting a Fortune, we have spent part of one; and though we behave our selves never so well abroad, and perform the Actions of honest men, yet we have the reward of Rogues and Rebels, which is, misery and want when we come home. Now (my Lords) although we be brought to so great an exigence, that we are ready to rob and spoil one another: yet to prevent such outrages, we thought it better to try all honest means for our subsistence, before we take such indirect courses; Therefore if your Lordships will be pleased to take us timely into your considerations, before our urgent wants makes us desperate, we will as we have done hitherto, serve your Lordships readily and faithfully; But if your
Lordships

Lordships will not find a way for our preservations here, we humbly desire we may have leave to go where we may have a better being, and if your Lordships shall refuse to grant that, we must then take leave to have our recourse to that first and primary Law, which God hath endued all men with, we mean the Law of nature, which teacheth all men to preserve themselves.

The Letter of the Lords Justices, and Council
of Ireland to His Majesty, of the 11. of May. 1643.

May it please Your most excellent Majesty,

AS soon as we your Majesties Justices, entred into X.
the charge of this government, we took into our consideration at this Board, the state of your Army here, which we find suffering under unspeakable extremities of Want of all things necessary to the support of their Persons, or maintenance of the War, here being no Victuals, Cloaths, or other provisions requisite toward their sustenance; No Money to provide them of any thing they want; Nor Armes in Your Majesties stores, to supply their many defective Armes, Not above forty Barrels of Powder in Your stores; No strength of serviceable Horses being now left here, and those few that are, their Armes for the most part lost or unserviceable, No Ships arrived here to guard the Coasts, and consequently no security rendred to any that might (on their private adventures) bring in provisions of Victuals, or other necessaries, towards our subsistence, and finally, No visible means by Sea or Land, of being able to preserve for You this your Kingdom, and to render deliverance from utter destruction, to the remnant of Your good Subjects yet left here.

We find that Your Majesties late Justices, and this Board, have often and fully by very many Letters, advertised the Parliament in *England* of the extremities of Affaires here, and besought relief with all possible importunity, which also have been fully represented to Your Majesty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, to be made known to Your Majesty, and al-

Bbbbbb

though

though the Winds have of late for many days (and often formerly) stood very fair for accessions of supply forth of *England* hither, and that we have still with longing expectations, hoped to find provisions arrive here, in some degree answerable to the necessities of Your affairs, yet now (to our unexpressible grief) after full six months waiting, and much longer patience and long suffering, we find all our great expectations answered in a mean and inconsiderable quantity of provisions, (*viz.*) threescore and fifteen barrels of Butter, and fourteen Tun of Cheese, being but the fourth part of a small Vessels loading, which was sent from *London*, and arrived here on the fifth day of this Month, which is not above seven or eight days provision for that part of the Army which lies in *Dublin*, and the out-Garrisons thereof, No mony or victuals (other then that inconsiderable proportion of Victual) having arrived in this place, as sent from the Parliament of *England*, or from any other forth of *England* for the use of the Army, since the beginning of *November* last.

We have (by the blessing of God) been hitherto prosperous and successful in Your Majesties affaires here, and should be still hopeful by the mercy of God, under the Royal Directions of Your Sacred Majesty, to vindicate Your Majesties Honour, and recover your rights here, and take due vengeance on these Traytors, for the innocent blood they have spilt, if we might be strengthened and supported therein by needful supplies forth of *England*: but these supplies having hitherto been expected to come from the Parliament of *England*, (on which if Your Majesty had not relied, we are assured You would in Your High Wisdom have found out some other means to preserve this Your Kingdom) and so great and apparent a failer having hapned therein, and all the former and late long continuing Easterly Winds, bringing us no other Provisions, then those few Cheeses, and Butter; and no advertisements being brought us of any future supply, to be so much as in the way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood, that considerable means of support for Your Majesties Army, might arrive here in any reasonable time, before we be totally swallowed up by the Rebels, and Your Kingdom by them wrested from you. We find our selves so disappointed of our hopes from the Parliament,

liament, as must need trench to the utter loss of the Kingdom, if Your Majesty in Your high Wisdom, ordain not some present means of preservation for us.

And considering, that if now by occasion of that unhappy and unexpected failing of support from thence, we shall be less successful in your Services here against the Rebels, then hitherto (whilst we were enabled with some means to serve you) we have been, the shame and dishonour may in common construction of those that know not the in-wards of the cause be imputed to us, and not to the failings that disabled us, and considering principally, and above all things, the high and eminent trust of your Affairs here, deposited with us by your Sacred Majesty, we may not forbear in discharge of our Duty, thus freely, and plainly to declare our humble apprehensions, to the end your Majesty thus truly understanding the terrible-ness of our Condition, may find out some such means of support to preserve to your Majesties and your Royal Posterity, this your Ancient and Rightful Crown and Kingdom, and derive deliverance and safety to the Remnant of your good Subjects, yet left here; as in your Excellent Judgement you shall find to be most for your Honour and Advantage.

And so praying to the King of Kings to guide and direct you for the best in this high and important Cause, and in all other your Councils and Actions, we humbly remain from your Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, the 11th day of *May*, 1643.

*Your Majesties most Loyal, and most
faithful Subjects and Servants.*

F I N I S.

HIS
MAJESTIES
ANSWERS

TO

Certain PAPERS, delivered in to His Commis-
sioners at *Uxbridge*, upon the close of the

TREATY:

ONE

Concerning the MILITIA,

AND TWO

Concerning IRELAND,

To which (being long, and coming in so near
the breaking up of the Treaty) no Answers could then
be given.

See them in the Narrative, No 136. 177. and 178.

MALLETTS
ANSWERS

Answer to the first question, in the
second part of the first volume of the
works of the late Sir Isaac Newton

TREATY

Concerning the MATHESIS

Part Two

Concerning the MATHESIS

To which (being long and curious in its
nature) is added an Appendix containing
the answers to the several questions
proposed in the first part of the
works of the late Sir Isaac Newton

Printed in the Year 1705, by J. Streater, at the
Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church-yard

H I S

Majesties Answers to certain Papers delivered in to His Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, upon the close of the Treaty, concerning the *Militia*, and *Ireland*, &c.

See them in the Narrative, n^o. 136. 177. & 178.



AVING received an account of the passages of the late Treaty from our Commissioners, We caused a Narrative thereof to be made and published, wherein besides the necessary connexions there is nothing set down but what passed in writing; But because their last Paper upon the subject of the *Militia*, and two last Papers concerning *Ireland*, were delivered upon the close of that Treaty; although We conceive the answers given in the Papers formerly delivered by Our Commissioners, are abundantly sufficient to give satisfaction to those also: Yet because there may be a want of memory in some, and of observation in others, who shall read that Narrative, to bring home and apply the former answers of Our Commissioners to those Papers; and because they seem to expect answers, which (the Treaty being determined) cannot be given by Our Commissioners, and to vindicate Our Self from many passages scattered in those Papers, particularly reflecting upon Our Person, and Royal Authority, We have thought fit for the further satisfaction of all Our good People to make these ensuing answers.

And first to that * Paper concerning the *Militia*.

* See it in the Narrative, n^o. 136.

Whosoever shall observe the passionate expressions in the close of this Paper, (wherein they do most earnestly desire Our Commissioners, as they tender the deplorable Estate of these bleeding Kingdoms, the settling Religion, Our Honour, and the composing these miserable distractions, to give full and clear answers to the demands concerning the *Militia*) might very well believe, that they who so importunately demanded,

manded, would as willingly have received an answer. But when it shall be considered, that this Paper was not delivered in till after two of the clock in the morning, upon the breaking off the Treaty, when they had denied any further time to treat, or to receive any Papers dated as within the time of the Treaty, (as formerly was mutually done, and this very Paper of theirs delivered in truth upon the 23, was received as dated the 22 of *February*) it will be most apparent they kept it as a Reserve to be purposely, and by design delivered so, as it should remain unanswered.

For the matter of that Paper, They say, they *have by their answers satisfied the several questions proposed to them by Our Commissioners touching the Militia*, It was necessary they should have done so, that it being proposed to Us to part with so great a trust as the power of the Sword, and to put it wholly out of Our own hands, we might know, how, and to whom, and for what time, and upon what terms We parted with it. But We will look back upon some of their answers, that it may appear what they are.

See the Narrative, n^o. 77.

N^o. 78.

Our Commissioners desired to know, who the Commissioners should be, in whose hands the Forces both by Sea and Land should be entrusted, and whether we might except against such persons, and name others in their places of known affections to Religion and Peace. To that part of the question, whether we might except against the Persons, they made no answer, To the other part requiring who the Commissioners should be, they answered, *That the Commissioners were to be named for England by the two Houses, and for Scotland by the Estates of the Parliament there*; whereas the question was not, who should name those Commissioners; but who they were that should be named, a thing most necessary for us to know, before we entrusted them with so great a power.

N^o. 80.

N^o. 81.

Our Commissioners desired to know, whether the *Militia of London* should be independent and not subordinate to those Commissioners? They answered, *It appeared by the Propositions, the same was to be ordered in such manner, as should be agreed on by both Houses.* Which was no answer

to

to the question, though likewise necessary to be known, the *Militia* of *London*, being so great and of such importance.

Our Commissioners desired to know, what Authority N^o. 105, & 107. the Commissioners, nominated by the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, were to have in the *Militia*, and settling of all Forces by Sea and Land in this Kingdom, and what influence the advices and orders from the Estates of that Parliament, should have upon this Kingdom? They answered, *That might be fully satisfied by the Propositions concerning the Militia.* And though Our Commissioners desired it, N^o. 106, 107, 112. they could get no other answer from them in writing.

Our Commissioners desired to know, what Jurisdiction N^o. 109. they intended the Commissioners of both Kingdoms should have, by the power given to them to hear and determine all differences that might occasion the breach of the Articles of the Peace, and by what Law they should proceed to hear and determine the same? They answered, *That the Commissioners were to proceed in such manner as* N^o. 110. *was expressed in the Propositions.* Whereas the Propositions express no more, then what is contained in the words of the question. And being further pressed to an answer, they answered, *That the matter of the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners was expressed in the Propositions;* N^o. 111. and for the manner of exercising of it, and by what Law they should proceed, *The same was to be settled by the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively.* This being no answer, and a full and direct answer being required to these questions, the answer given was, *That they referred themselves therein to their former answers.* N^o. 113, 115.

Our Commissioners desired to see the Act of the late N^o. 116. Treaty for the settling of the Garrison of *Berwick* of the 29th of *November*, 1643. (being made betwixt the two Houses and those of *Scotland*, without Our Privity) as relating to the business of the *Militia*, They answered, *It was* N^o. 117. *not then to be Treated on, but was reserved to its proper time,* and Our Commissioners could never see it.

Our Commissioners desired to know, whether by the N^o. 118.

N^o. 119.

joint power mentioned in the Propositions to be given to the Commissioners for both Kingdoms, to preserve the Peace between the Kingdoms, and the King and every one of them, they intended any other then Military power for suppressing Forces only, which question was asked, because in the Proposition, there are two distinct Clauses, one whereby they have that power to preserve the Peace; the other, whereby they have power to suppress Forces: In answer to this, they refer Our Commissioners to the Propositions.

That these answers (though made to questions arising upon the doubtful expressions in their Propositions) referring to the Propositions themselves, or to what was not then, but was after to be settled by the two Houses, are not satisfactory answers to those questions, is most evident, but We do not wonder they were unwilling We should see the clear drift of those Propositions the ill consequence whereof (which hereafter appears) We are willing to believe most of those who agreed unto them, did not at first apprehend.

* These are their words, but seem to be mistaken, for our Commissioners always insisted, we should name some of them.

They say, *They marvel why it should be insisted on, that the Commissioners for the Militia should not be nominated by the two Houses onely, and that we who were to be equally secured, should name * none, since this power was not to be exercised, till a Peace concluded upon the Treaty, and then we had been secured by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by the duties and affections of Our Subjects*: We think it far more matter of wonder (since it is confessed, that We, and such Our Loyal Subjects, who have faithfully and constantly adhered to Us, were equally to be secured) that they would allow Us no security at all, but to put Our Selves wholly upon them, who even afterwards in this Paper, deny Our Just Power of the Militia, and of making Peace and War, and might with much more colour hereafter do so, if by Our Consent that power should be once, though for a time onely, put wholly into their hands. It is true, the Lawes of the Land, and the hearts of the people, are the best security for a Prince that he shall enjoy what belongs to Him: But it is as true, that the Laws of the Land, and the Love of the Prince towards His People are likewise their best security that they shall

shall enjoy what belongeth to them ; It is a mutual confidence each in other that secures both : But this is to be understood in calm and quiet times, the present distempers have bred mutual Jealousies, and if they think it not at this time reasonable wholly to trust the Laws and Us concerning their security, but require the power of the *Militia*, in which they have no Right, much less is it reasonable, that We should wholly trust them concerning Our security, who avowedly bear Arms against Us ; but if for the love of Peace We are content for a time to part with this great Power which is our known Right, it is reasonable that We should have the nominating of some of those who should be trusted with it ; yet on Our part We were well content to repose Our Selves in that security they mention, if the two Houses would likewise have relyed upon the same security of the Laws, and affections of the people, to which they so much pretend ; But though it was offered that We should return to Our two Houses, whereby all Armies being Disbanded, both they and We, might have been restored to the Laws, and guarded by those affections of the people, yet that was not admitted. They say, *This power of the Militia was not to be exercised till after a Peace*, but they do not remember it is to be agreed on before a Peace, and proposed in order to a Peace ; and We might with as much reason (and far more Justice, in respect of Our undoubted Right over the *Militia* of this Kingdom) have insisted upon the sole nomination of the Commissioners, because their power was not to be exercised till a Peace concluded, as they for that cause to have excluded Us from the nomination of an equal number, and assumed that power wholly to themselves, not affording Us so much as the Liberty to except against any of them. And whereas they say these Commissioners for the *Militia*, *have a rule prescribed, and being removeable and lyable for any miscarriage to a severe punishment, cannot do any thing to Our prejudice, contrary to the trust reposed in them ;* If they had such a Rule (which yet by their Propositions and Papers We cannot find, (having by general and indefinite terms and unlimited power given to them :) it proves they should not, not that they would not break it. He that hath power (as these Commissioners would have the greatest that ever Subjects had) and will to abuse that

See Our
Commissioners
Paper,
touching Our
Return to the
two Houses,
after Dis-
banding of
Armies, no.
191.

power, may extend and interpret the Rule prescribed Him, as He shall please himself, and therefore since out of Our ardent desire of Peace, We were content to part with this power) We had reason to require, that at least some of those who should execute it, might be such, whom We Our Selves should nominate, and could trust.

- For that which is said, that *if the Commissioners had been severally chosen, the memory of these unnatural divisions must needs have been continued, and probably being severally named, they would have acted dividedly according to several interests, and the War thereby might be more easily revived.* It is apparent the memory of the War must as much continue where any Commissioners are named at all, as where they are named by either party, since by putting that power into their hands, it is put out of the proper Channel, but it is not the memory of a past War that is dangerous, but such a Remembrance of it; as is joyned with a desire or inclination to revive it; And if it were probable, as is alleadged, that if the Commissioners were partly chosen by Us, and partly by them, that being severally named, they would have acted dividedly according to several Interests, it would be much more probable, that being wholly named by them, they would have acted only according to their Interest, and so on Our part, instead of an equal security, we must have been contented with what Laws and conditions they would have imposed. But We shall again remember, that the offer on Our part, was to name such, against whom there could be no just exception, if the Persons were named equally betwixt us. It was likewise offered, That those Commissioners should take an Oath for the true discharge of their trust, that We Our Selves were willing to take an Oath to observe the Articles of the Treaty, and that all Persons of any immediate trust by offices or attendance upon Us, and all others whom they should nominate, should take the like Oath, and with such penalties, that whosoever should infringe the agreement, should be accounted most pernicious enemies to us and the Kingdoms. And if this way of mutual nomination were not approved, there was another proposed, that the Persons should be nominated between our Commissioners and theirs, by whose mutual consent, it might well have been hoped, such persons might have been named, in whom we and they might

might have confided; but to this no answer hath been vouchsafed, nor could any thing satisfie concerning the Militia, unless, without knowing who the persons were who should be entrusted, we should with an implicate Faith in Persons whom we did not know, put that power into their hands.

They say, that though by their Propositions the Commissioners were to continue without any limitation of time, yet *they have since proposed a time of seven years.* We know not that they have, during the whole Treaty, in any one particular, receded from insisting on their demands, as they are set down in their Propositions *in terminis.* And in this point though they seem to reduce the time, which in their Propositions was indefinite, to a certainty, to which yet the *Scottish* Commissioners have not absolutely agreed, the alteration is more in shew, then indeed, and rather to the heightning, then abating their demands; for whereas they have limited the time to seven years, yet it is with an additional clause, That after those seven years, it was to be executed as We and they should agree, and not otherwise; so that though the Commissioners should have the power but for seven years, yet we should not have it after those seven years, nor at any time unless they and we could agree in it: so much would they have gained by this seeming compliance in point of limitation of this power to a time, though not to that time of three years, which we proposed. But they justify the reasonableness of it, for whereas our Commissioners in their Paper, (to which this of theirs is applied as an answer) tell them, that if the time for this power be unlimited, *we and our posterity shall for ever part with our peculiar Regal Power, of being able to resist our Enemies, or protect our good Subjects, and with that undoubted and never denied right of the Crown to make War and Peace, or ever more to have jurisdiction over our own Navy and Fleet at Sea.* (the Command thereof being also a part of this great power to be given to these Commissioners.) They answer plainly, *They cannot admit of this peculiar Regal Power, which Our Commissioners mention to reside in us concerning the Militia, and to make Peace and War, or that it is otherwise to be exercised then by authority from us and both Houses of Parliament of England, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively.* We approve of their ingenuity;

N^o. 131.

See n^o. 132.

N^o. 130.

N^o. 136.

nunity, that now at the breaking off of the Treaty, they tell us in plain terms what they mean, though the Common Law-books and Records of Parliament have mentioned, that the sole power of protecting the Subjects belongs to the King, and that he alone hath power to make Peace and War, though it hath been the language of former Parliaments, even of the last Parliament, and at the beginning of this Parliament, *that the power of Peace and War is in the King, but if he will have money from His Subjects to maintain the Wars, he must have their consents*, and though the universal consent and common opinion heretofore hath gone accordingly: yet they cannot admit thereof as to have been our right (for the answer is made to the assertion concerning our right) And not admitting it, it seems their oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, to defend our Crown and Dignity, and to assist and defend, all *Jurisdictions, Priviledges and authorities* belonging to us oblige them not; And as they do not admit this power in right to have been in us alone for the time past, so neither will they admit it for the time to come, in Us, or Our Successors, to be able to resist our Enemies, or protect our Subjects, or to make Peace or War, but it must be, *by authority from Us and the two Houses, and the Estates of the Parliament of Scotland respectively*. They are to be associated in these Regal Powers, and the Scepter and the Sword may in Pictures or Statues, but are not indeed to be in the Kings hand alone. Upon these grounds, We wonder not that they would have the Navy and Fleet at Sea, to be put into the hands of their Commissioners for seven years as the Militia for the Land, and after the seven years to be commanded in such manner as they and we should agree and not otherwise, for they say, *the reasons are the same for them, as for the Militia by land*: It is a principal means they say of their security, and We cannot find they think themselves to have any security, if We and Our Successors have any Power; But if We will part with Our Power wholly unto them We and Our Posterity shall be fully secured by the affections of Our Subjects (that is by the Lords and Commons now at *Westminster*, who in their sense represent all the people) who by themselves during the Parliament, or when they shall please to make any recesses by their Commissioners during the intervals, will free us
from

from the burden of the *Militia*, and of Our Navy, and so of protecting Our Subjects, and will save Us the Charge of Our Navy, because *it is to be principally maintained by the free gift of the Subject out of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Impositions upon Merchandise.* And having taken this care for Our security (sutable to all their Actions these three years last past) They say, that for security of those who have been with Us in the War, an Act of Oblivion is desired to be passed, whereby all Our Subjects would have been put in one and the same condition, and under the same protection, with some exceptions mentioned in the Propositions. We are not willing to mention those exceptions, by which not onely most of Our best Subjects (who have been with Us in the War according to their duties) by express or general terms are excepted, but all the Estates of some of them, and a great part of the Estates of the rest of them for that very cause, because they were with Us in the War, are to be forfeited; As for securing them by an Act of Oblivion, they have less cause to desire it, than they who propose it, as being more secured by the Conscience of doing their duties, and the protection of the known common Law of the Land, if it might take place, then any protection under the two Houses, or their Commissioners for the *Militia*; yet We were not unwilling for the security of all Our Subjects to have assented to an Act of Oblivion, being willing as much as in Us lies, to have made up these breaches, and buried the memory of these unhappy Divisions.

It was urged by our Commissioners, that according to the literal sense of the Propositions (in the powers given to the Commissioners for the *Militia*) *That Sheriffs and Justices of Peace, and other legal Ministers could not raise the posse Comitatus, or Forces to suppress Riots, without being lyable to the interpretation of the Commissioners.* To this they answer, *That this is no part of the Militia to be exercised by the Commissioners, but in executing of Justice and legal Proceß, nor can be intended to be any disturbance, but for the preservation of the Peace.* We shall admit that to be their meaning, but it being by the Propositions made Treason in any, *who shall leavy any Forces without authority or consent of the Commissioners, to the disturbance of the publick Peace,* it is apparent that the Sheriffs or Justices of Peace, if they raise any Forces to suppress

press any tumultuous Assembly, (which it is possible some of the Commissioners may countenance) or for executing of other legal Acts, may not onely be lyable to the interpretation of being disturbers of the publick Peace, but feel the punishment of it. And whereas they say; *That the Power* (given by the Propositions to the Commissioners for the *Militia* of both Kingdoms as a joint Committee) *for the hearing and determining Civil Actions and differences cannot be extended further then preservation of the Articles of the Peace to be made*: We conceive that a Court being thereby allowed to them for the hearing and determining of Civil matters for the preservation of the Articles of the Peace, they may in order thereunto (upon pretence it is for the preservation of the Peace) entertain and determine any cause or difference they please, especially their power by the Propositions, being *not onely to preserve the Peace, but to prevent the violation of the Articles of the Peace*; and having the power of the Sword in their hands, and being not tyed up to any certain Law, whereby to judge, (for ought appears by their answers to the questions proposed by Our Commissioners) and the common Law not being the rule in such case, (because part of them are to be of the *Scotish Nation*) they may without control exercise what arbitrary power they please.

And whereas it is insisted upon in this paper, That an answer be given to the fifteenth Proposition, which is, *that the Subjects be appointed to be Armed, Trayned, and Disciplined in such manner as both Houses shall think fit*; which Our Commissioners thought fit to have deferred till after the Peace established, and then to be settled by Us and the two Houses: It is apparent, that Proposition concerned not (that which was desired as the end of their Propositions) the security for the observation of the Articles, and We conceive there is already sufficient provision made by the Law in such cases, and if there were not, it were fit that that defect were supplied by Law, not to be left at large, as the two Houses should think fit, without expressing the manner of it, but to proceed by a Bill, wherein we might see before we consented to it, how Our Subjects should be charged, we being as much concerned and sensible of the burden to be put upon Our Subjects, as the two Houses
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can be, who, We are sure, since they took upon them the authority of imposing upon their fellow Subjects without Us, have laid the heaviest Impositions that ever were.

And whereas they say, the scope of those their Propositions touching the Militia, was to take away occasions of future differences, to prevent the raising of Armes and to settle a firm and durable Peace: If we look upon the whole frame of their Militia; as they have proposed it to us, we cannot but conclude those Propositions to be most destructive to those ends: For first, they have proposed it to us (as they have settled it already by their Ordinance) That the whole Militia of Ireland, as well of Our English Subjects as Scottish, shall be Commanded by Lesley Earl of Leven their Scottish General, and be managed by the joint advice of the Scottish and English Commissioners, and therein the Scottish as well as the English to have a Negative Voice, and so by consequence subjecting the whole Government of that Kingdom to the manage of Our Scottish Subjects. And (having thus ordered the Militia of Ireland, where they will be sure to keep Forces on Foot (for that is another part of the Propositions, That We shall Assent to whatsoever Acts shall be proposed for moneys for the War of Ireland) which Forces shall be ready upon all occasions to serve them) For the Militia and Navy of England, that is likewise to be ordered and Commanded by these Commissioners, and though We their Sovereign are denied to nominate any to be joint Commissioners, they are content to admit those of Scotland (who though Our Subjects, yet are strangers to their Government) to a nomination of Scottish Commissioners to be joyned with them. These Scottish Commissioners in matters wherein both Kingdoms are jointly concerned (and they may easily call, and make what they will to be of joint concernment) are to have a Negative Voice, so that the English can do nothing without them, not so much as to raise Force to suppress a Commotion, or prevent an Invasion, if the Scottish Commissioners, though not a third part of the number of the English, say it is of joint concernment; And in matters solely concerning England, the Scottish Commissioners (to a third part of the whole number of the Commissioners) are to reside in England, and to Vote as single Persons.

These Commissioners, as well *Scottish* as *English*, as they have the sole power of the Forces by Sea and Land, so they must have a Court in a Civil way, to hear and determine whatsoever Civil action that shall tend to the preservation of the Peace, or whatsoever else is for the prevention of the violation of it, within which general words, and in order thereunto, they may comprehend any cause or thing they please; And as these Commissioners, as well *Scottish* as *English*, are to name all Commanders and Officers in Our Forts and Ships, so in the intervals of Parliament, lest there should be too much dependance upon us, they are to name all the great Officers and Judges of both Our Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*.

To these so unreasonable Propositions, wherein the Parliament and Subjects of *Scotland*, would have so great an influence and power over the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, if (as reflecting meerly upon our selves, and not entertaining such thoughts of our *Scottish* Subjects, as perhaps some may by the danger of such a power) we should have agreed, as hoping that the good affections of our Subjects in *Scotland*, might in time have restored to us that power which the two Houses of *England* would take away; yet when we consider, that we are in conscience obliged to maintain the Rights of Our Crown, so far as to be able to protect Our Subjects, and what jealousies and heartburnings, it might probably produce betwixt Our Subjects of the two Kingdoms, what reluctancy all Our Subjects here may have, when they shall see Our Power so shaken, and they must have so much dependency upon their fellow-Subjects both *English* and *Scotch*, We conceive it so far from being a remedy to the present distempers, (as they affirm in their Papers) that as at present it would alter the whole frame and constitution of the Government of this Kingdom, both Civil and Military, so in the conclusion it would occasion the ruin and desolation of all Our Kingdoms.

H I S
M A J E S T I E S
A N S W E R

T O

The two Papers concerning *IRELAND*.

IT hath been one of the chiefeft designs of the Authors of the present distractions, to insinuate unto our people, that We were either privy to the Rebellion in *Ireland*, or assenting to the continuance of it ; And if it could not be personally fixed upon Our self, yet to perswade them into a belief that evil Counsellors, and others prevalent with us did encourage and assist it. By this means having a colour to raise Forces, and to levy money for the supply of those Forces, they might so dispose of both, as under a pretence of suppressing the Rebels in *Ireland*, they might thereby also raise a War in *England*, for the effecting of their Ambitious and Covetous desires in both Kingdoms ; And they so carried on this design, that whereas out of Our earnest desire of the relief of Our poor Subjects in *Ireland*, and to shew the great sence we had of their miseries, We had given way to several unusual Bills for raising of Forces, and likewise to the Bill for the 400000^l for the adventurers and others, for raising of Moneys, (which Moneys by those Acts were to be paid to particular Persons, or otherwise out of the ordinary course, and not into Our Exchequer (as was usual in like cases thence to be issued for publick use) those supplies were diverted and imployed to feed and nourish a Rebellion in *England*, rather then to suppress that in *Ireland*. Thus 100000^l of the Adventurers Money was imployed for the Earl of *Essex* his Army when he first Marcht against us,

and that imployment of it, though contrary to the exprefs words of the Act, which are, that no part of that Money shall be imployed to any other purpose, then the reducing of those Rebels, was publickly justified by a Declaration made in the name of the House of Commons, the 6th of September, not long before the Battail at *Edge-Hill*, and at the same Battail, several Regiments of Horse and Foot raised for *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Whar-ton*, Lord of *Leny*, S. *Faithful Fortescue* and others, were imployed against us at *Edge-Hill*, the moneys raised upon the Bill of 400000, and others have been wholly made use of against Us, And it was impossible, without thus working themselves (under the specious pretence of suppressing the Rebellion of *Ireland*) into the managery of that War, and misapplying the aids intended for *Ireland*, to have brought this Kingdom into the bleeding and desperate condition wherein it now languisheth.

The Propositions concerning *Ireland*, as they are insisted upon by these Commissioners (though in charity we shall hope not so intended by all of them) are apparently in pursuance of that original design, in begetting a suspicion of our Integrity in that business of *Ireland*, and ingrossing the managing of that War, and the Power of that Kingdom into their hands. They would have the Cessation (which We have avowed to be assented to by Us, and advised as most necessary for the preservation of that Kingdom) to tend to the utter destruction of the Protestants there, and the continuance of the Cessation there, (though but during the War here) to be a countenancing of that bloody Rebellion, and We our selves are charged to be privy, and to give directions for the seising of some provisions made, and sent for the supply of the Protestants in *Ireland*. In the next place, concerning the War there, they demand that the prosecution of that War be settled in both Houses of Parliament, to be managed by the advice of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* (that is, a Committee of both Kingdoms, those of each Kingdom to have a negative voice) And all the Forces there, to be under the Command of the *Scotch* General: The Lieutenant and other great Officers and Judges there, to be nominated by both Houses, and that we should consent to pass all Acts to be proposed

posed by them, for the raising of moneys, and other things necessary for the prosecution of that War. And notwithstanding all the zealous and pathetical expressions in those Papers, desiring the continuance of that War, and the execution of Justice upon those Rebels: It is not barely the prosecution of the War in zeal of Justice that is desired, that might be managed either by Us (whom God and the Law have entrusted solely with that power, and whose Predecessors have alone, and without the concurrence of their Parliaments, other then by competent assistance with Moneys, suppressed great Rebellions in that Kingdom) or by fit Ministers to be appointed, upon just occasion to be removed by Us, They have not made any the least Proposition or desire to that purpose. But they insist upon such a prosecution of the War, wherein those who are in Arms against us, may have the sole managing of the War, and of money to maintain that War, even while they are in Arms against us. For the Cessation already made, it is apparent it was the only visible means; whereby the Kingdom was preserved, the poor Protestants there being in danger inevitably to have perished, either by Famine, for want of Food; or by the Rebels, for want of Ammunition, there being not above Forty Barrels of Powder there, as appears by the Letters of the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, mentioned by Our Commissioners, and no supplies of Victuals or Money sent in six months time before those Letters (although Our Ships were then taken away from Us, and all the Forces at Sea belonging to this Kingdom, were under their command.) Neither could the not making void, or declaring against that Cessation, have hindered a Peace upon this Treaty, if it had been intended really on their part, it being to expire in *March*, and so before the Treaty could probably have been perfected, and there being no further Peace or Cessation made in *Ireland*, And therefore Our Commissioners did earnestly desire them to make such Propositions, as were fit to be consented to, for the growth of the Protestant Religion, and the good of that Kingdom.

But instead of such Propositions, they still except against the Cessation, and though expiring within a month, they insist upon their demands of *an Act of Parliament to make*
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that Cessation void, to which if We should have consented, as We must have rendered our selves incapable of being trusted at any time after, and odious abroad in breaking that Cessation, solemnly made by our publick Ministers of State in *Ireland*, and after consented unto by our selves, so we must have implicitey confessed, contrary to the truth, that which they alledge against the Cessation, that it was destructive to the Protestants there, and a countenancing of that bloody Rebellion, and thereby having lost the Plea of our innocency, have also lost the hearts of Our people, and rendred our selves guilty of those infamous slanders which have been charged upon Us concerning the *Irish* Rebellion, and which some were so willing to fix upon Us, that even during this Treaty, when *Mack Quire* was impeached by them for this Rebellion, for which he was by them after executed, (though they well knew confessions of men in his condition, in hopes of Pardon or Reprives are not to be credited,) he was strictly examined concerning Us (as We are credibly informed) whether or no We gave any Commission to the Rebels of *Ireland*, or any assistance to them, and if he had not absolutely denied it to his last, with more sense of Conscience in that particular, then they who examined him expected, it is likely whatsoever untruths reflecting upon Us had been forced from him, had been (as others were) published to Our disgrace. And although they long questioned the credit and truth of those Letters of the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, notwithstanding one of them being directed to the *Speaker* of the House of Commons, was received and communicated to the House, and Ours was but a Duplicate thereof, and Copies were delivered to them of both Letters, which two of their Commissioners compared with our Originals, and saw the names of all the Council-Subscribers, as well as the two Lords Justices, some of which Councillors were of principal estimation with themselves, and they might also have had Copies of their names who subscribed, if they would have assured Our Commissioners, that such of them as should have come into their Quarters, should not have been prejudiced by it; yet the extremity of Our poor *English* Subjects, inducing that Cessation, being so notorious, and that attestation thereof undeniable, they fall at last to confess
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and avoid them. They say, That some who were of the Council when those Letters were written, assure them, that those Letters were written onely to press for Supplies, without any intention of inducing a Cessation, neither do the Letters contain any mention of a Cessation. It is true those Letters do not, nor was it alledged they did mention any Cessation, but they pressed for Supplies from hence, and laid open their necessities to be such, that it was apparent to any man (as we had also private advices from some of the Council there, and of credit with those at *Westminster*) that if Supplies failed there was no way for the preservation of Our good Subjects there, but by a Cessation. And these bleeding wants of Our Army, and good Subjects there, so earnestly calling for Relief, and (this Kingdom being then ingaged in the height of an unnatural War) Our Selves unable to supply them, and no timely supply, nor hopes of it coming from the two Houses, what course less dishonourable for Us, or more for the good and safety of the poor *English* there could be taken, then to admit of a Treaty for a Cessation, which was managed by Our publick Ministers of State there, and that Cessation assented unto as best for that Kingdome, by the chief Officers of the Army, and the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, before Our Approbation thereof.

They say, That those necessities were made by a design of the *Popish and Prelatical Party*, (the Prelatical Party must come in upon all turns, though none suffered more by the *Irish Rebellion*, nor were less advantaged by the Cessation, then those poor Prelates) and that at this very time, when the Protestants were in such Extremity, Provisions sent thither by the Parliament for their relief, were disposed of and afforded to the Rebels: The Letters of the Lords Justices and Council, tell us, That no Provisions at all were sent by the Parliament, and if they had not told it, yet this being barely affirmed, might as easily be denied, unless they had instanced in particular, what Provisions were sent, and how, and when, and by whom, or to whom they were disposed. But they say, That at the same time the Officers of the Army and Garrisons, pressing for leave to march into the Enemies Country to live upon them, and save their own stores; some could not obtain leave to go, and those who were drawn forth,

had great quantities of Provisions out with them, yet were not permitted to go into the Enemies Country, but kept near Dublin, till their Provisions were spent, and then Commanded back again. They might remember, at that time (wherein they suppose this miscarriage) the chief manage of those Affairs was in the hands of such Ministers of State, whom they did, and do still relie upon; but sure those Ministers are not to be blamed, if they durst not suffer the Soldier to march far, or stay long in the Enemies Country, when there was but forty Barrels of Powder in all the Store, or if they called them back in such case when the Enemy approached.

Let such as these, or what other pretences, and excuses soever be made for not relieving *Ireland*, we are sure the chief Impediment to it was their active promoting this Rebellion in *England*; And therefore, as they made use of the Supplies both of Men and Money, provided for that Kingdome, against Us at *Edge-Hill*: so from the time of that Battail (some Supplies sent before (which else perhaps had been also countermanded) arriving in *Ireland*, about the time, or shortly after that Battail) they were so careful of recruiting and supplying their Armies here, that though they received much Moneys for *Ireland*, and had at their disposal great store of Our Ammunition, neither the one, nor the other was ever after afforded to the *English* Army and Forces, or to the Protestants about *Dublin*, though the Cessation was not made till *September* following. As for those Protestants in *Munster*, *Connaught*, and *Ulster*, who, they say, opposed the Cessation, and did and do still subsist, they were most of them of Our *Scottish* Subjects, the rest (excepting some few wrought upon by private interest or particular solicitation) were such, who being under their power, were forced for their relief to concur with them against it. These indeed, as they did not suffer under so great wants as the *English* at the time of the Cessation, as is well known, though it seem to be denied, more special Provisions being made for them, and for their Garrisons, then for the *English*, (as doth in great part appear even by the Articles of their Treaty of the sixth of *August*) so they have since subsisted by Supplies sent from the two Houses, whereof none were suffered to partake

partake but such as take their new Covenant, and doubly break the bonds of their obedience and duty, both by taking that dangerous ensnaring Oath prohibited by God and their King, and opposing Our Ministers of State there, without whose Authority (a Cessation being concluded) during that Cessation they ought not to have continued a War in that Kingdom. We easily believe the Provisions they mention are, or may be, sent for supply of those Forces as being a means to keep up a Party against Us there, and to have a Reserve of an Army ready upon any accidents of War to be drawn hither against Us, and being also necessary for the satisfaction of Our *Scottish* Subjects (whom they must please) who would not be so forward in their service without some good assurance (such as is the having an Army of theirs kept on foot in *Ireland* at the charge of this Kingdom, and two of our strongest Towns and Castles there delivered to them Cautionary Towns, as we may believe *Berwick* also is (being denied the sight of that Treaty) and by the Command of all the *English* Forces there by the General of the *Scots*) that they shall be well paid the Arrears to the Armies in both Kingdoms before they quit their Interest in *Ireland*. If we shall allow Provisions thus employed to be for the preservation of the *English* Protestants in *Ireland*, We may believe they have repaid the 100000^l taken up of the Adventurers money; and yet thus to resatisfie this money, admitting it be currant satisfaction for the debt, can be no satisfaction or excuse for the former *diversion*.

But since they cannot excuse themselves for this diversion of the Adventurers money, nor of the other moneys raised, for *Ireland*, nor of the employing the Forces raised for that Kingdom, under the Command of the Lord *Whar-ton* against us at *Edge-Hill*, which they deny not, They fall to recriminate Us.

They say, *They have mentioned particulars of provisions for Ireland, (besides those few clothes taken near Coventry, which being formerly answered by Our Commissioners, they do not again urge) asserted to be seised, not without Our own knowledge and directions, as they were informed. This they had formerly alledged and our Commissioners had an-*

swered (as we do now) that they have instanced no particulars at all of any such provisions seised. And whereas they say, that Our *forbearance to seise some provisions* (which Our Commissioners alledged in our greatest wants, we forbore to take, though they lay in Magazines, within Our own Quarters, but took order to send away into *Ireland*,) *was no excuse for seising others*, they misapply that to be an excuse, which was alledged as an evidence that We seised none, since we might in Our great want have seised those if we had been minded to have seised any.

They say again, *the service of that Kingdom, was much prejudiced by denying the Lord Wharton's Commission, of which they have not received satisfaction.* To this it hath been already answered, that those Forces were raised for him, before any Commission demanded from us, and that the Commission for him proposed to us, was, to have been independant of the Lieutenant of that Kingdom; Causes (though not satisfactory to them) yet sufficient in themselves to justify Our refusal. But besides these, it is apparent the Army which was brought down against Us, was their raising, that the Lord *Wharton* was one of the most active in it, and We had cause to be confident (nor did he fail us therein) that what Forces he should raise for *Ireland*, he would imploy against us in *England*, neither did that service depend upon the Lord *Wharton*, other able Officers were appointed over those Forces, whom (if they had as much affected that service as the Person of the Lord *Wharton*) they might have trusted with the Transport of them to *Ireland*, where others of more experience and fitter for Conduct, then the Lord *Wharton*, might have taken the charge of them. They say further, That it was *one end for which the Cessation was made, that the Forces might be brought hither to Us, out of Ireland, and imployed against the two Houses.* The bleeding necessities of the poor *English* there (which have been mentioned, and whereof they cannot but be convinced) will best speak the cause of that Cessation, and the sight of those Soldiers half starved, when they came over, having neither Clothes to their Backs, nor so much as Shoes to their Feet, nor any pay to provide either, will witness the necessity of bringing them over, when there
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was no subsistence for them in *Ireland*, nor use for them there, during the Cessation; And for making use of them here, how can they quarrel at Our imploying Our own *English* Soldiers, who should otherwise have disbanded; when they make use of an Army of *Scots* against Us.

They have been told that they brought over out of *Ireland* the Earl of *Leven*, their General, and divers *Scottish* Officers, (which they deny not;) and that before the *English* Forces brought over, they attempted the bringing once the *Scottish* Forces in *Ireland*, as likewise divers *English* Officers there into this Kingdom; to which all the answer given is, that the *Scottish* Forces, which came over, were not sent for. Which as it denies not what is objected, so neither can it excuse their not sending them back to the service of *Ireland*, and imploying them here in an unnatural Rebellion against Us.

But whatsoever their own acts or failings have been in this business of *Ireland*, and though apparently the necessities, which caused the Cessation, were occasioned by the two Houses, yet rather than they shall be guilty of the blame and neglect therein, Our people must be made to believe, that either there were no such necessities, or when that is so apparent, then that those necessities were designed and contrived by a Popish and Prelatical party, prevalent with Us, and the supplies denied and stopped by Our Self; and so that it is reasonable for them to press and insist, (as they do with much fervour) in their last Paper concerning *Ireland*, upon their demands for the settling of the prosecution of the War in themselves, or the *Scots*, excluding Us, and that there shall be no further Cessation or Peace made there; (though the War should continue here,) to have the nomination of the Lieutenant, and all the great Officers there, and to have Us bound up to assent to whatsoever acts they shall propose for moneys, or other necessaries for the prosecution of that War, and if We agree not to these Propositions, We are like to be charged with countenancing of that Bloody Rebellion.

And therefore (though the unreasonableness of those Propositions hath been fully laid open by Our Commis-

sioners in their Paper, yet because this of theirs is framed in answer to those, and the fervency and fluency of their expressions may make impressions on those who do not warily weigh the matter, We shall examine what new enforcements they bring to make good those demands:

The prosecution of the War there, though it be demanded (generally) in the 13th Proposition, to be settled in both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by the joint advice of both Kingdoms, yet according to their 17th Proposition, it is to be ordered according to the Ordinance of the 11th of April, 1644. which is also proposed to be enacted. By that Ordinance the *Scottish* General Leven is to command all the Forces in *Ireland*, both *English* and *Scottish*, and that War is to be managed by a joint Committee, to be named by the two Houses of *England*, and the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, And the Committees of each Kingdom is to have a negative voice; They insisting to have the prosecution of the War thus settled, Our Commissioners answered, That this was in effect to deliver the Kingdom of *Ireland* into the hands of Our Subjects of *Scotland*, and neither agreeable to the rules of honour or prudence. That it was unreasonable if the War continued here, that We by Our consent to Act of Parliament for the managing of that War, and raising moneys for that purpose; should put so great power into their hands, who during these troubles may turn that power against Us. And lastly, that if the distractions continued here, the Forces and Wealth of this Kingdom would be so employed at home, that the prosecution of that War to the subduing of the Rebels, was impossible, but probably might be destruction of the remainder of Our good Subjects.

For the power given to Our *Scottish* Subjects in that Kingdom, Our Commissioners urged, that General *Leven* being to Command all the Forces in *Ireland*, and the Committee of *Scotland* having a Negative voice upon difference of opinion, that War must either stand still to the ruine of Our Subjects there, or be carried as the *Earl of Leven* pleased, whose power was not bounded by any reference to Us, or Our Lieutenant of *Ireland*, no nor to the Houses of *England*, and though it had been answered, that

in cases of disagreement betwixt the Committee, the two Houses might prosecute the War, observing the Treaty of the sixth of *August*, and the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, yet by referring to that Ordinance, (which is desired to be enacted) and by that Ordinance the power being thereby put into the Earl of *Leven*, and that Committee without mention of the two Houses, it was apparent the Earl of *Leven* would not be bound to observe the directions of the Houses of *England* by themselves.

But they Reply in this last Paper of theirs, That as the Ordinance of the 11th of *April*, 1644. so the Treaty of the 6th of *August*. 1642. is desired to be confirmed, by which the Commander of the *Scottish* Forces in *Ireland* was to be answerable to Us, and the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, for his whole deportment. But this is apparently no answer at all, for this Treaty of the sixth of *August*, binds not the Committee who are to manage that War, and relates to the *Scottish* General as General of the *Scots* only, the other of *April*, 1644. being later in time, giving him power also as Commander in chief over the *English* Forces in *Ireland*, and according to this later, he is to receive his Orders from the Committee, without reference to us or the two Houses, neither can the two Houses be hereby brought in to have Command over this *Scottish* General, or Committee more than Our Selves, whom they intend wholly to exclude; yet We cannot but observe even upon these Articles of the Treaty of the sixth of *August*, how little cause there is to expect this *Scottish* General will manage that War for the good of this Kingdom, who being by those Articles to be answerable to Us, as well as to the two Houses (for then though the same design was on foot, yet their outward pretences were somewhat more modest than now they are) did without directions from Us leave his charge in *Ireland*, to bring an Army into *England* against Us. Well they say at last, they had (by the 13th Proposition) desired the prosecution of the War to be settled in the two Houses, and so taking all together, that the Earl of *Leven* cannot manage that War according to his own discretion: But we must remember them, the Proposition is not barely to settle the prosecution of the War in the two Houses, but to settle it in the two Houses, to be managed by the joynt advice
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of both Kingdoms, and that joint advice is by a joint Committee according to the Ordinance of the 11th of April, in which Committee they confesse those of Scotland have a Negative Voice, and by the last part of the 17th Proposition, *the War of Ireland is to be ordered according to that Ordinance.*

But they say, *The Scottish Commander is to receive Orders from the Lieutenant of Ireland, if a Lord Lieutenant shall be chosen by the two Houses (for a Lieutenant nominated by Us, is not allowed by them to give Orders to the Scottish General)* This indeed (though not warranted by their Propositions, upon which nevertheless they insist) yet being admitted in this latitude might seem to give some power to the two Houses over the Scotch General in the manage of the War, as giving the Lieutenant such a power, and by consequence the two Houses who have power over this Lieutenant. But they say not generally, that he shall receive Instructions from the Lieutenant, but *that he shall receive Instructions from the Lieutenant in such manner as they have set down in their Paper of the 20th of February, that is, when it shall be necessary for the good of that Service, that he and the Commander in chief of the Scottish Army joine; but how shall it be for the service that he joyne with him when he shall Command no Forces with which he may joyne, the Scotch General being by the Ordinance of the 11th of April, to Command all the Forces whatsoever in Ireland? But admit them to have joined; Then the Scotch General is to receive Instructions from the Lieutenant, according to the Orders which shall be given by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, so and no otherwise.* Still the case is the same: The Scottish General is not bound to obey any Orders, but such as shall come mediately or immediately from the Committee of both Kingdoms. And (whatsoever evasions and disguises are made to cover it from Our Peoples Eyes) the Scottish Committee being an equal number, and having an equal share in the Councils; and their General having the Command of all the Forces; It is apparent the whole power over that Kingdom, is in effect to be transferred to them.

But should We admit that these Propositions did not
give

give so great power in *Ireland* to Our Subjects of *Scotland*, yet how should it be imagined, that We should put the prosecution of this War in the two Houses in such manner as is insisted on by them, so long as they maintain a Rebellion against Us in this Kingdom? It is not denied, but by their authority, divers Forces raised, and the Moneys levied for *Ireland*, were imployed against us in *England*, and upon the same pretences, that they made use of those ayds (because (as they alledge in their Declaration upon that Subject) *that the subsistence of Ireland, depended upon their welfare here*) they may still make use of such Power as shall be given them for the manage of that War, and raising Moneys for that purpose against Us in *England*, neither if a Peace should be concluded here, could we assent that the prosecution of the War should be settled in the two Houses, excluding Our Selves as they intend it by those words, *The King not to molest them therein*, Queen *Elizabeth* managed the War in *Ireland* solely, when the two Houses were sitting, and excluded them, though we insist not upon that example, we should be wanting to the trust we have received from God, and that care of our Subjects which lies upon us (and of which We are to give him an account) to exclude Our self. They themselves know, great bodies are not so fit to carry on the War as a few, and therefore they have in a manner given up their power in this unhappy War at home to their State Committee, whose resolutions are rather brought to them for Countenance and execution, then for debate and deliberation.

They tell us, *the Parliament of England is a faithful Council to us, and that we have trusted them with the prosecution of that War, and they faithfully discharged their parts in it.* We wish, though We are willing to be silent in it, that yet the ruines and desolations of this Kingdom would not speak to posterity what Councillors those are, who have divested Us of Our Revenue, Armes, Ships, Power, and even the security of Our person, who have Armed Our Subjects here, who have brought in the *Scots* into this Kingdom, to the tearing up the bowels of it, who have infamously libelled against Us and Our Consort, who have threatned to depose Us, and impeached Her of Treason, and who those are, who have denied Peace to this miserable

ble Kingdom, unless We would consent to their unreasonable destructive Propositions, overturning the whole frame of Government, both in Church and State. They say, and it is true, *We trusted them with the Prosecution of that War*, and how faithfully they discharged it, We will not again repeat, but We never trusted them so, as to exclude Our Selves, as they now suppose, and if we had relied more on the judgements and advice of Our Privy Council, and less on theirs, neither that nor this Kingdom, had been in the condition they now are ; It was their Interposition and advice which hindered the transportation of the Army of *Irish* Natives out of that Kingdom into *Spain* (even to Our disreputation abroad, who had agreed with the *Spanish* Embassadour to send them over, and he in confidence of Our performance, had disbursed Money for their transport) and had they been transported (their stay as it provoked them, so it emboldening and strengthening the other *Irish*, we are confident the flames of that Rebellion would never have broken forth at all, or at most have been so small, as might suddenly have been extinguished : It was their advice that staid Our going over thither in person, which probably might have stopped the rage of that War, and by the blessing of God, would have saved the effusion of much blood, which was since shed in that Kingdom : It was their unseasonable Declarations at the beginning of the Rebellion (before the old *English* and other Papiſts had engaged themselves with the Rebels of *Ulster*) of making it a War of Religion, and against that connivence which had been used in that Kingdom ever since the Reformation, and tending to make it a National quarrel, and to eradicate the whole stock of the *Irish* (which they now pursue by giving no quarter to those few of that Nation in *England*, who never were in that Rebellion, but according to their duty assist Us their Sovereigne) which made the Rebellion so general, whereas otherwise the old *English*, as in former times (though Papiſts) would have joined against those Rebels. When we had offered in *December 1641*. That 10000 Volunteers should be raised presently in *England*, for the service of *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would declare they would pay them ; Instead thereof, in *January* following, Propositions were made for the transporting the *Scots* in-

to *Ireland*, and We were advised by the two Houses, to give the Command and keeping of the Town and Castle of *Carickfergus* to the *Scottish*, who were to be transported thither, and paid by this Kingdom, to which we returned answer, *That we did not approve the same as prejudicial to the Crown of England, and the service intended, and implying too great trust for auxiliary Forces, yet afterwards because, We perceived the insisting upon it would breed a great delay in the necessary supply of that Kingdom, we did admit of the advice of the Parliament in that particular, (and since by the Articles of the 6th of August 1642. (which though said to be made by Commissioners, authorized by Us and the Parliament of England, we never were made acquainted with them, till upon this Treaty almost three years after) both the Towns and Castles of Carickfergus and Colerane, are left with them as Cautionary) the consequence whereof was such, that though the service of Ireland was little advanced, or the poor English Protestants relieved by it, and this Kingdom drained to pay those (whose great arrears growing upon that agreement, must be paid out of Lands in Ireland, where they have so good footing already, or of Our good Subjects in England, according to their other Propositions) By this means the Scottish having an Army there, under colour of supplying them, Our Armes and Ammunition were sent into Scotland, for the supply of another Army, to be brought into England, and the countenance of that Army in Ireland, as it gave encouragement to some of Our Scottish Subjects, so it over-awed others, and was a means without any the least provocation to those Our ungrateful Subjects, of bringing of another Army into this Kingdom where they still remain, to the utter ruine of many of Our good Subjects, and the probable destruction of the whole Kingdom. And lastly, it was upon their advice in February 1641. (shortly after those Propositions tendred for transporting the Scots into Ireland) that we agree, that the Rebels Lands should be shared amongst the Adventurers, and the Rebels to have no Pardons, though we then expressly declared, *We did it meerly relying upon their Wisdom without further examining, (what we in Our particular judgment were perswaded) Whether that course might not retard the reducing of that Kingdom, by exasperating the Rebels, and rendring them**

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desperate

desperate of being received into grace, if they should return to their obedience. And it is most apparent, that those Propositions, and the Act drawn upon them, wherein also a further Clause (not observed by Us, but passed, as conceiving that Act had wholly pursued the Propositions) was inserted, *That every Person, who should make, enter into, or take any Compact, Bond, Covenant, Oath, Promise or Agreement, to introduce, or bring into the said Realm of Ireland, the Authority of the See of Rome, in any case whatsoever, or to maintain or defend the same, should forfeit his Lands and Goods, (as in case of Rebellion)* were great causes, not onely of provoking, but increasing and encouraging the Rebels: who having no pretence before for that horrid Rebellion, had now some colour to make it a matter of Religion, and so to make their application to Forraign Princes, and to negotiate with them for delivering that Kingdom into their hands. We profess Our aversion from their Religion and hatred to their Rebellion, but though We think them worse Christians, because they are Rebels, we think them not worse Rebels, because they are Papists. A Protestant Rebel in the same degree of Rebellion, hath far more to answer, as having more light, and it being more expressly against the Religion he professeth, whereof it hath heretofore been a Maxime (though it be now taken for Apocryphal doctrine) *not to take up Armes against their Prince upon any pretence whatsoever.* And as we have endeavoured by Our Personal example and otherwise, so we shall still continue, by all good means to propagate the Protestant Religion, but we are far from that *Mahumetan* doctrine, that we ought to propagate Our Religion by the Sword. And though We shall be most willing to hearken to the advice of Our People Assembled in a free Parliament, yet we should be wanting to the Trust that God hath reposed in Us, and Our use of that reason with which he hath endowed Us, if We should wholly give up that Kingdom to be managed solely by their Councils, secluding Our Selves from all Interest therein, especially when We consider that which experience hath taught Us, if they have the sole power of that War (by which all the Soldiers and Commanders, being to be nominated and paid, removed & advanced by them the necessary application (passing by Us) must be made to such as are powerful with them) how

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ease a matter it will be for a prevalent Faction (if they shall have a mind to demand other things hereafter not fit to be granted) again to bring over an Army raised and payed by them into this Kingdom, especially so much composed of Our *Scottish* Subjects. And whereas they desire further, *The nomination of the Lord Lieutenant, and other great Officers and Judges in that Kingdom* (which they also desire in this of *England*) they cannot but know, that it must of necessity take away all dependency upon Us, and application to Us, when the power to reward those who are worthy of publick Trust, shall be transferred to others, and having neither force left Us to punish, nor power to reward, We shall be in effect a titular contemptible Prince. We shall leave all our Ministers to the known Laws of the Land to be tryed and punished according to those Laws if they shall offend, but We cannot consent, to put so great a Trust and Power out of Us, and we have just cause to conceive, that notwithstanding all their specious, pretences this desire of nomination of those great Officers, is but a cloke to cover the Ambition of those, who having been the Boutefeux of this Rebellion, desire to advance themselves and their own Faction. And to that which is said, that Our *bad choice of Our Lieutenants of Ireland, was the loss of many thousand Lives there, and almost of the whole Kingdom from Our Obedience:* They cannot but witness who know that Kingdom, that during the Government there by Lieutenants of Our Choice, that Kingdom enjoyed more plenty and Peace, then it ever had since it was under the subjection to the Crown of *England*; Traffique by Sea, and Trade by Land encreased, Values of Land improved, Shipping multiplied beyond belief, Never was the Protestant Religion more advanced, nor the Protestant protected in greater security against the Papists; And We must remember them, that that Rebellion was begun, when there was no Lieutenant there, and when the Power and Government, which had been formerly used in that Kingdom, was questioned and disgraced, when those in the Parliament there, by whom that Rebellion was hatched, were countenanced in their Complaints and prosecution.

But they are not content to demand all the power over

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Ireland,

Ireland, and the nomination of all Officers, but We must also engage Our Self, to *pass such Acts as shall be presented to Us for raising of Moneys and other necessaries for that War*: Our former readiness to pass Acts for Ireland, because they were advised by the two Houses, (when they were apparently prejudicial to Our Self, and contrary to Our own Judgement) might sufficiently satisfy them, We would make no difficulty to consent to such Acts as should be for the good of that Kingdom, but they have been already told it was unreasonable to make a general engagement, before we saw the Acts whether reasonable or no, and whether *those other necessaries may not in truth comprehend what is not onely unnecessary, but very inconvenient*. But the People they say, *who have trusted them with their Purse will never begrudge what they make them lay out upon that Occasion*. The two Houses indeed were entrusted, that Our Subjects should not be charged without them, but they never were solely trusted by Our Subjects, with a power to charge them, the care that no pressure in that, or any other kind should be upon Our Subjects, is principally in Us, without whose consent (notwithstanding the late contrary and unexampled practice) no such charge can, or ought to be levied; and we ought not to give that consent, but where it is visible for the good of Our Kingdoms, which upon such an unbounded power of raising Moneys may fall out otherwise, especially in so unusual a case as this, where those who must have the sole manage of the War, shall have the sole command of the Purse, without any check or control upon them. But they say again; *We have heretofore been possessed against the Parliament, for not giving away the Money of the Subject when We had desired it, but never yet did We restrain them from it*. It is true, We had no great cause heretofore to restrain the two Houses from giving the Subjects Money to Us, having found more difficulty to obtain from them three or four Subsidies, then they have met with, in raising so many Millions. But Our People cannot think themselves well dealt with by Us, if We shall consent to put an unlimited power of raising what Moneys they please, in those Persons, who have drained more wealth from them in four years, then We believe all the Supplies given to the Crown in 400 years before have amounted unto.

In the last place, We wish every man to consider how the Rebels in *Ireland* can be reduced by War, whilst these unhappy distractions continue here, whilst contrary Forces and Armies are raised in most parts of this Kingdom, and the blood of Our People is spilt like water upon the ground, whilst the Kingdom is wasted by Souldiers, and the people exhausted by maintaining them, and (as if this Kingdom were not sufficient to destroy it self) whilst an Army of *Scots* is brought into the bowels of this Kingdom and maintained at the charge of it, whilst this Kingdom labours under such a War, how is it possible that a considerable supply of men or money can be sent into *Ireland*?

To this with much fervour of expression they say, *It must not depend upon the condition of Our other Kingdoms to revenge Gods quarrel upon such perfidious Enemies to the Gospel of Christ, who have imbrewed their hands in so much Protestant blood. That the Cessation is for their advantage. Arms and Ammunition, and all manner of Commodities may be brought to them. That it is not fit there be any agreement of Peace or respite from hostility with such Creatures as are not fit to live, more then with Wolves or Tygers, or any ravenous Beasts destroyers of mankind.*

We are most sensible of the blood and horror of that Rebellion, and would be glad that either a Peace in this Kingdom, or any other expedient might furnish Us with means and power to do justice upon it. If this cannot be We must not desperately expose Our good Subjects to their Butchery without means or possibility of protection. God will in his due time revenge His Own Quarrel, in the mean time His Gospel gives us leave in case of War to sit down, and cast up the cost, and estimate Our power to go through with it, and in such case where prudence adviseth, it is lawful to propose conditions of Peace, though the War otherwise might justly be pursued. And surely as a Cessation in *Ireland* may be some advantage to the Rebels, as all Cessations in their nature are to both parts they having thereby time and liberty to procure Arms and Ammunition to be brought to them: So it is not only for the advantage, but necessary preservation of Our good Subjects

Treaty for Peace at Uxbridge, 1644.

Subjects there, whose bleeding dangers call for Our bowels of Charity and Compassion, by suspending the rage of the Adversary by this Cessation, till means may be found to turn their hearts; or to disable their malice from pursuing their cruelty, to the utter ruine of that remainder of Our good Subjects there, it being more acceptable to God and man to preserve a few good men from destruction, then to destroy a multitude, though in the way of Justice, and perhaps a Cessation may bring some of those Rebels to reflect upon their offences, and to return to their duty, all are not in the same degree of guilt, all were not authors of, nor consenting to the Cruelties committed, some were enforced to comply with, or not resist their proceedings, some were seduced upon a belief the Nation was designed to be eradicated, and the War not against the Rebellion only, but their Religion. The War destroys all alike without distinction, (even innocent Children have suffered, not by the Rebels only) and all are not Tigers, or Wolves, there may be grounds of mercy to some, though no severity be excessive towards others, However We cannot desire the destruction, even of the worst of those *Irish* Rebels, so much as We do the preservation of the poor English remaining there; But should make choice rather, to save the Rebels, for preserving the lives of those poor Protestants, then destroy them to ruin the Rebels. And therefore exceeding strange it is to Us, and we are sorry to find, that any *English* men (who have seen this their Native Country heretofore, (even in Our time) flourishing beyond most of the Kingdoms and Churches in the World, and now most hideous and deformed, weltring in the blood of her own Children, and if this War continue, like to be a perpetual spectacle of desolation,) should express, that *they desire War in Ireland, as much as they do peace here*, no more valuing the sparing of *English* blood here, then they do the effusion of the blood of the Rebels in *Ireland*. They say indeed, *they are willing to lay out their Estates and Lives, both for the War in Ireland, and peace in this Kingdom*, but withal they say, *They have made Propositions for both, if Our Commissioners would agree to them*: These are the conditions they offer, neither peace is to be had here, without agreeing to their Propositions, nor that War in *Ireland* to be managed, but according to those Propositions,

positions, such Propositions, as apparently tend to the ruine of the Church, to the subversion of all Our Power, to the setting up a new frame of popular government, to the destruction of Our Loyal and true-hearted Subjects; Propositions, which associate Our Subjects of *Scotland* in their Counsels and power, and invest them in a great share of the Government and wealth of this Kingdom, and render both the wealth and Power of *Ireland*, to be at their command. These Propositions they insist upon, and for the obtaining these, they are resolved to engage *the Lives and Estates* of Our poor People in this unnatural Rebellion. But We trust God Almighty, will open the Eyes and the Hearts of Our People, not to assist them any longer against Us in the shedding innocent Blood in this War. And We cast Our Selves on him, waiting his good time for the restoring the Peace of Our Kingdomes, and Our deliverance from these Troubles, which at length We are assured he will give unto Us.

F I N I S.

The first part of the history is a general account of the state of the world at the beginning of the world. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the second part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the third part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world.

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